











GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL

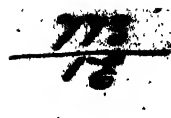
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vol. 169 (Pt. 1 + 2)



THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,  
OR  
*CRITICAL JOURNAL:*  
FOR  
JANUARY, 1889 . . . . . APRIL, 1889.

*TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.*

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JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

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VOL. CLXIX.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO., LONDON.

ADAM, AND CHARLES BLACK,  
EDINBURGH.

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1889.

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Vol. 169 (P 119)

PRINTED BY  
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE  
LONDON

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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,  
JANUARY, 1889.

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4. *Lettres sur l'Inde.* Par M. JAMES DARMESTETER. Paris: 1887.

NO dissertation upon, or narrative of, the recent history of England is thought complete without a careful and comprehensive study of the beginning, growth, and present condition of our Indian possessions. Professor Seeley's work on the expansion of England made wide and honourable room for India; and Mr. Spencer Walpole's latest volume of the History of England from the year 1815 contains a most instructive and able condensation of Indian events and transactions, showing a remarkable appreciation of their character and relative importance, and of their connexion with the general course of European politics. Sir John Strachey has just published twelve lectures on India, delivered by him before the University of Cambridge. In this volume will be found information of every kind regarding the civil and military administration of the Indian empire, with some most valuable dissertations upon the social and religious characteristics of the people, upon the principles of our government, and generally upon the political condition and prospect of the English sovereignty. Turning to foreign literature, we may recollect that Baron Hübner, in his travels 'Through the British Empire,' tarried long in India and closely examined our position;

while the later work of M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, to which we shall refer again presently, attests the warm yet critical interest taken by a distinguished French writer in the progress and destiny of the English rule in India. And, lastly, in '*Lettres sur l'Inde*,' by M. James Darmesteter, we welcome a small book showing a rare sympathy with the characteristic tone of Asiatic life; with the simplicity, tragic or comical, that runs through the passions and beliefs of primitive races; the tone which underlies all antique poetry, and which modern art, confused by the shiftiness and complexity of civilised existence, is becoming fatally unable to comprehend or recall.

The system of registering the historic chronology of a country under the names of its successive rulers or chief magistrates is ancient and almost universal. We say of a public act or incident that it belongs to a reign or a consulship. The only European nation that once deliberately abolished this system is France; and France has ever since been reduced to the ominous expedient of marking time by serial changes not of the personalty, but of the form, of her government. The practice is manifestly the outcome and revival of a state of society when personal rule was everything to the people, and when the character and capacity of their chief governor were of the highest concern to them. In the Western world such ideas may have become mainly traditional; in the East the kingly power still passes, like a divine energy, into successive visible embodiments; and thus the Viceroy of India still represents in his person a distinct ruling force. For a century at any rate, since Warren Hastings relinquished the office which Lord Dufferin has now, to our great regret, laid down, popular usage, though not formal procedure, has placed the names of each Governor-General at the head of the chapters which divide the chronicle of our Indian empire. We are therefore well justified by custom and precedent in treating the withdrawal from his Viceroyalty of so distinguished a statesman and diplomatist as Lord Dufferin as one of the standpoints at which men naturally turn round and look back in order to review the general movement of recent affairs, and to form a judgement upon the political record of the period with which his name has been associated.

Lord Dufferin's previous career had designated him as eminently qualified for the duties of the Governor-Generalship. He had been Under-Secretary of State for India from 1864 to 1866; he had shown remarkable ability and firmness as British representative upon the Commission

in Syria; he had latterly been Viceroy in Canada; and above all he had proved brilliantly successful in the very important embassies at St. Petersburg and Constantinople; the two European courts whose attitude, whether towards England or to each other, is of particular importance to India. The news of his appointment elicited a unanimous expression of confidence and satisfaction. He reached India in December 1884, and found himself at once in charge of a question of some magnitude and no small difficulty. It is well known that some of the most serious and complicated problems of Indian administration have grown out of the extraordinary diversity and intricacy of the land tenures in a country where they are as various and multiform as the religious beliefs. From the beginning of our dominion there has hardly been a time when the Government has not been occupied in some part of India with the investigation of systems of rent or land revenue, and with passing laws to finish disputes or remedy agricultural grievances. Lord Ripon, as soon as his successful settlement of Afghanistan had left him at leisure for internal affairs, had turned his attention towards the hardly less arduous enterprise of readjusting the relations between landlord and tenant in two very important provinces of India. With great vigour and determination he took up the question of giving greater protection to the tenants in Bengal. His proposals inevitably raised strenuous opposition from the most powerful body of landlords in India; but for two years Lord Ripon had been carrying on the contest, yielding ground here and there, but steadily holding his main points, until he made over the reins of office to his successor. It then became Lord Dufferin's duty to assume command of the legislative forces of the Government in the field, and to complete an unfinished campaign.

The new Viceroy, however, was perfectly familiar with all the issues raised by the Bengal Tenancy Bill. He had been Under-Secretary of State at the time when Lord Lawrence, as Governor-General, by insisting on an investigation of the status of ryots in Oudh, set on foot a famous discussion, in which all the highest authorities in India and at the India Office took different sides. He had also taken during many years an active part in discussions of the agrarian questions in Ireland, and the resemblance between those questions and similar problems in India had not been lost upon him. No better training, in short, than that of the India Office and of Irish politics could have been given to a

statesman who had to pass a Bengal Tenancy Bill within a few months after his arrival in India. What meaning and what measure of legal recognition, should be allotted to usage and prescription; how far the law ought to interfere for the control and modification of agricultural contracts; to what extent double ownership in land can be adjusted by statutory definition—all such questions are common, more or less, with differences and variations, to Ireland and to India; to our earliest as to our latest territorial acquisitions beyond the English seas. In India, as in Ireland, we are still actively engaged in mediating between the two interests of ownership and occupancy in agriculture—interests which still, as of old, lie at the basis of civil society, and are yet so sensitive to economic changes that the most skilful attempts to distribute them formally or to provide by legislation, however elastic, for all the incidents of the connexion have hitherto failed to prevent severe periodical strains. But whereas in Ireland the superior ownership and the rent went altogether to private landlords, in India both property and profit have usually been shared between the landholders and the State. The consequence has been to give all Indian administrations a very direct and substantial motive for looking vigilantly to the position and rights of the cultivators; while, as Mr. Froude has observed, the fact that in India there is no English landlordism has kept these questions free from entanglement with the rivalry of races. To a viceroy of Lord Dufferin's antecedents the whole subject presented features of curious analogy and familiar characteristics; and he took the first occasion of publicly expressing his satisfaction at finding himself associated with the passing of the Act. His position enabled him to arbitrate with conclusive authority between landlord and tenant upon the several matters which, after long debate and still longer report-writing, still remained undetermined. The final decision of the Legislative Council was on most of these points in favour of the landlord; but Lord Dufferin, in moving that the Bill should pass, disallowed in very plain terms the main contention of the landlord party, that an interference between Bengal zemindars and their tenants amounted to an infringement of the permanent settlement made by Lord Cornwallis in 1798. He declared, on the contrary, that the Bill had his hearty and sincere support mainly because it was in harmony with the intentions, and carried out the ideas, of Lord Cornwallis. The Act was passed by a large majority; and, so far as can be judged

from its working during the past five years, it has been accepted on both sides as a fair adjustment of the grievances it was intended to remove.

A second measure of the same kind was passed later in Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty. In 1882 Lord Ripon's Government, acting upon disclosures made in a particular case, had directed an inquiry to be made into the condition of the tenants in Oudh; and upon the report thereafter submitted a scheme for protecting tenants from incessant eviction had been proposed to the Secretary of State. But as these proposals were not accepted, and were even generally discouraged, it remained for Lord Dufferin to decide whether they should be again pressed, after revision, upon the India Office, or whether the whole scheme should be dropped. Lord Dufferin, after taking counsel with the local authorities, resolved that, for the purpose of protecting the tenant and improving his security, the law must be amended. Here, again, Lord Dufferin's experience, as a landlord and as a legislator, of similar difficulties and their remedies invested him with great influence in bringing the whole matter to an amicable conclusion. As the Bengal zemindars had appealed to the permanent settlement of 1798, so the Oudh talukhdars were disposed to find their *magna charta* in a declaration made in 1866 that the Oudh tenant could prove no right of prescriptive occupancy. Whether he must, therefore, be left exposed in perpetuity to arbitrary ejectment and unlimited rack-renting was the point at issue; but to attempt a recapitulation of the controversy would be now out of place. Everyone is agreed that rents must vary with the circumstances of a country, and no one maintained that in Oudh the ordinary tenant had any proprietary right in his holding. But the landlords claimed illimitable power to eject or enhance, while by law the cultivating tenure held good for twelve months only—a state of things that led to depression of the cultivating classes and was undeniably adverse to good farming. Many years before this time Lord Dufferin, in his speeches on the Irish land question, had pointed out that when large estates are plotted out to small farms the farmers must make the improvements; and he had insisted on the necessity of giving them security and a period of lease adequate for profiting by the investment of their money. The situation was very much the same in Oudh: the evils to be cured were great insecurity of holdings and incessant competition among cottiers for the land; and the remedy applied was to prescribe a statutory period of

tenure and to place a check upon indiscriminate enhancement of rents. The steady support given by Lord Dufferin to these moderate amendments of the law so far overcame the natural opposition of the talukhdars that the Oudh Rent Act was finally passed with their acquiescence. That such a compact and influential association of landowners of the old Indian type, headed by some of the largest proprietors in Upper India, should have been thus reconciled to a measure which, however necessary, was adverse to their immediate interests, must be counted as a notable exploit of administrative diplomacy. And there is no doubt that if, as may be expected, the new law improves the condition of the tenants, and encourages their industry by protecting it, the landlords will thereby earn a material reward for the excellent spirit in which as a body they have accepted and are co-operating in this important agrarian reform.

The third and latest Land Tenancy Bill passed by Lord Dufferin's Government relates to the Punjab. The different systems of land tenure established by English law in the three great provinces of Bengal, the North-West, and the Punjab represent mainly, of course, the state of things we found existing in the country. But they also reflect the changes which took place in our own policy as our knowledge of such questions extended with the expansion of our territory, and became more accurate. In Bengal our permanent revenue settlement at the end of the last century left the tenants with rights vaguely recognised but not guarded; in the North-West Provinces we took much trouble, about thirty years later, to protect at least one large class of occupants; in the Punjab, which came last under British rule, the recognition and record of the rights of actual cultivators, proprietary or occupant, formed a chief feature of our land legislation. In the Punjab, as elsewhere in India, the uncertain value of land and the usual dread of the English system of fixed and inexorable demand for revenue made the landlords not unwilling, when they first became our subjects, that the tenants should share their responsibility for revenue payment by obtaining a sort of co-proprietorship in the land. At first everyone preferred the loose haphazard method of native taxgatherers, who sometimes took everything and often got nothing. But as property became secure and prices rose, the question of the proportionate division of the large and steady profits of agriculture became much more important, and naturally engendered a plentiful crop of litigation. Some twenty

years ago an Act had been passed to effect a compromise on the matter ; but by 1886 the increasing disputes showed that the law needed amendment, and under Lord Dufferin's Government the task was undertaken by the Punjab authorities. The Punjab is for the most part a country of small landowners and peasant proprietors, and it is with these that the tenants, a very numerous class, have to deal ; so that we have these two considerable bodies, of owners and tenants, both directly interested and, for the most part, actually engaged in the cultivation. The problem, therefore, was to distribute and define, as between these two very similar classes, the right of occupation and the profits of agriculture according to well-known usage and sentiment, especially in regard to prescriptive possession by length of tenure and to the reclamation of waste lands. The object of the Bill of 1886 was to carry further this principle by supplementing and enlarging preceding laws ; it was passed, after much discussion, in 1887, and here again, as in Oudh, the new measure has been accepted by the country without discontent or friction. We are quite aware that in all these cases the way to final legislation was smoothed and straightened by the address, experience, and ability of the local officers. Nevertheless, in making up the general account of Lord Dufferin's government, we are bound to give it fair credit for the accomplishment of very substantial improvements of the land laws, to the benefit of the cultivating classes, in Bengal, in Oudh, and in the Punjab.

But Lord Dufferin was reminded very early in his viceroyalty that a Governor-General of India is rarely permitted to devote continuous and undivided attention to internal administration. Most of his predecessors have taken up their high office with a fervent desire to preserve peace, to consolidate rather than to augment territorial possessions, and particularly to avoid the distrust and misunderstandings that are bred out of disputes between civilised and semibarbarous states. In these good intentions almost all have failed, the pacific not much less signally than the more enterprising. And those who have carefully studied the history of British India know that neither the Governors-General nor the Indian services are to be held primarily answerable for a system under which we have been incessantly proclaiming peace and prosecuting war, disavowing any wish for territorial extension and steadily enlarging our borders.

So long ago as in 1819 Mr. Canning, speaking on the



vote of thanks to Lord Hastings,\* pointed with a true insight to the causes why the English dominion had been spreading so rapidly over the interior of India; and he described a process of expansion that went on for forty years after his speech was made. Of the loose disorderly kingdoms which, starting at the same time with our own power, had been our rivals in the contest for superiority, some became absorbed by cession or conquest, while the rest have been confirmed and established under our suzerainty; until after this manner, and with the full consent of the English nation expressed through its Parliament, our successive Governors-General have pushed by forced marches to the extreme natural boundaries of India. It is just a century since the parliamentary leaders at Westminster were engaged in impeaching the last of the East India Company's Governors-General for unjust and unprovoked wars, and for violent arbitrary dealings with native princes. Yet the impartial student will not fail to observe that the parliamentary Governors-General were dealing, almost before Warren Hastings's trial had ended, in wars, annexations, and high-handed political enterprises generally, upon a scale far beyond anything ever contemplated by the Company's servants. Mr. Spencer Walpole may be right in declaring that every prominent statesman of the time disliked and forbade further additions to the Company's territories; and it is true that in 1784 an Act had been passed forbidding Governors-General to make wars, or treaties leading to wars, except under sanction from home. Nevertheless the fact remains that the era of extensive wars and conquests began when the Crown superseded the Company in supreme executive command; and if the foundations of an Asiatic empire were laid by merchants, its lofty superstructure was run up by the generals and proconsuls of the national government. The period of twenty years, from 1786 to 1805, during which British India was ruled (with short intervals) by the first two parliamentary Governors-General, was also the epoch of our earliest Indian wars on a grand scale, and of our widest annexations; the largest developement of our territory coincides precisely with their tenure of office. We have not far to seek for explanations of this contrast between what English statesmen desired and what they did. A Governor-General in confidential relations with such a

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\* Speech on the vote of thanks to the Marquis of Hastings, March 4, 1819.

Cabinet as that of William Pitt, and virtually independent of the Directors, had a clear superiority in strength and freedom over his predecessors under the earlier *régime*, and with a victorious party at his back in England he was irresistible in India. The connexion between our foreign policy in Europe and in Asia became much closer and more sympathetic; a warlike spirit at home spread rapidly abroad; the Indian campaigns of Cornwallis, Wellesley, and Lake were episodes in the great epic of the war between France and England; and the generation which saw almost every throne in Europe upset by Napoleon was not greatly troubled by the dismemberment of Indian principalities whose title deeds were neither older nor better than our own. But let us now overleap fifty years from Warren Hastings's time, and see what was our position, and what was the Governor-General's chief occupation, in the first year of the splendid and memorable reign which has lately celebrated its jubilee. In the north, south, and west of India we have acquired enormous additional territory, and only the Punjab lies in front of us; while beyond the Indus the scenes and personages shift and change rapidly, for the curtain is just rising upon the first incident of the great drama of Central Asian adventures. In 1838 Lord Auckland, backed and encouraged by Lord Melbourne's Cabinet, was just entering upon the line of forward policy that sent English troops for the first time across the Indian frontiers into Afghanistan. The second half-century passes, and now in 1889 her Majesty the Queen-Empress surveys all India united under her sovereignty; the whole of Burmah has been added; the two great high roads into North and South Afghanistan through the Khyber and the Bolan Passes are in English hands; our railways have traversed Biluchistan, and our military outposts are on the Afghan frontier within eighty miles of Kandahar.

With the latest steps that have led up to this commanding position Lord Dufferin's name will always be connected. The treaty of Gandamak concluded by Lord Lytton in 1879 obtained for us permanent cessions of some important territory; the firmness with which Lord Ripon insisted in 1881, against much opposition in India and at home, upon the retention of Pishin and Quetta, has secured for us a strategical frontier of the highest value on the south of Afghanistan; and his support established the present Amir upon the throne to which he had been summoned by the politic foresight of Lord Lytton. For Lord Dufferin, when

after a year's survey of his viceroyalty he turned from home to foreign affairs, the principal matter in hand was evidently to cement the work of his predecessors by entering into closer and clearer relations with our Afghan ally. The meeting between the Viceroy and the Amir at Rawulpindi in March 1885 was a straight stroke of policy towards this end. On two previous occasions an Amir of Kabul had paid a similar visit to India, and both Dost Mahomed and Sher Ali had returned to their hills reassured and strengthened by British subsidies and the prestige of the British alliance. But for this very reason such visits were unpopular among their Afghan subjects, who have no liking for despots powerful enough to crush instead of conciliating the tribal chiefs, and whose apprehensions have been fully justified by Abdurrahman's subsequent career. The Amir on his side had long been anxious for the meeting, being quite aware that for keeping his throne he must rely mainly on the same influence that gave it him, and having a lively faith in the fortifying effects of the rifles and rupees to be obtained by even a pacific descent upon India, which is still, as to his forefathers, the land of promise. Times have changed, and Afghan expeditions no longer return across the Indus laden with the spoils of war. Yet it is still true as ever that to be strong in his barren hills a Kabul chief must draw the sinews of his power from the fertile plains below; and the later Amirs, who are not less insatiable than their fathers, have merely discovered a method of gaining by diplomacy what their predecessors took from India by force.

To these considerations Abdurrahman was thoroughly alive, and the meeting took place at Rawulpindi, a British station not too far from the confines of his kingdom to prevent his keeping a vigilant watch on the doings of his restless subjects at home. He arrived on March 30, a stout burly man dressed in a black half-uniform coat decorated with two diamond stars, with long black boots and an Astrachan cap; a prince of frank and even bluff, yet courteous, manners; quite at his ease amid a crowd of foreigners; speaking pleasantly of the first railway journey he had ever undertaken; a man of some humour in jokes, with a face occasionally crossed by a look of implacable severity—the look of Louis XI. or Henry VIII.—that is now never seen in civilised life. The interviews that followed must have been of striking interest and novelty even to a diplomatist of Lord Dufferin's wide and varied experience. The Amir showed a clear and shrewd understanding not only of his own position,

but also of its bearing upon the relations between Russia and England; and the discussion was proceeding satisfactorily when matters were suddenly brought to a sharp point by the news of the collision between Afghan and Russian troops at Penjdeh, which took place on the very day on which the Amir had reached Rawulpindi. It was undoubtedly fortunate that the Amir was in the English camp at this critical moment. There was something very characteristic, and certainly unexpected, in the equanimity, almost amounting to indifference, with which Abdurrahman first heard of an incident that startled all the courts and cabinets of Europe, and very nearly kindled a great war. While the English Government treated the act of the Russians as, at first sight, an outrage of the utmost political gravity, the Amir evidently regarded it as one of those not intolerable irregularities which occasionally happen on a rough unsettled frontier, and which are not supposed to have any necessary connexion with formal hostilities. This manner of looking at a border skirmish has disappeared from western Europe, where the strict construction of international laws and responsibilities, and the jealousy of nations, have given to modern states a highly sensitive organisation; but it was familiar enough to ourselves up to the sixteenth century, and in central Asia a ruler would have no peace at all if he troubled himself overmuch about such accidents. Lord Dufferin, nevertheless, lost no time in making energetic preparations for the contingency of a rupture with Russia. His staff of military advisers included Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Frederick Roberts, and General Chesney, men of first-class reputation; and the interval during which war and peace hung in the balance was employed in pushing on supplies towards the Kandahar line of advance, in arranging to mobilise two army corps, and in settling with the Amir the whole plan of his military co-operation with British forces in the event of an advance by the Russians into Afghanistan. The Amir left Rawulpindi greatly pleased and gratified by his reception; nor, although he is occasionally at some pains to control his naturally restive and intractable disposition, has there since been any reason to doubt that he was deeply and permanently impressed by the sight of India and by the personal influence of Lord Dufferin.

We need not go back further upon the Penjdeh incident, although at the time its importance and significance could hardly be overrated. Its result has been to sound a note of warning; it brought us to a very prompt and practical

realisation of our position; it forced us to test our weak points, to calculate our resources, and to press forward our plans. Out of the nettle danger a statesman plucks the flower safety; and Lord Dufferin has taken the hint and the opportunity. The augmentation and improvement of our military forces in India have since advanced with remarkable rapidity; the whole system of land defences and of frontier communications, originally sketched out under Lord Ripon's Government, has been expanded and executed in the last three years to a degree that has greatly increased the empire's power of attack and resistance. Towards Kandahar, in the direction where India is naturally most vulnerable, the frontier is now almost impregnable; and whereas ten years ago our advanced posts lay in the scorching Sinde desert, they are now on the high plateaux of Quetta and Pishin, connected by two railway lines with a base in north-western India. Aided by two military councillors of proved experience and ability, Sir Frederick Roberts and General George Chesney, the Viceroy has raised to a higher level the whole organisation of the Indian army, fitting out and strengthening the armament and defences of the empire, until the process, when complete, will have resembled nothing so much as the conversion of an old-fashioned warship into a modern ironclad of high speed and fighting power.

In the meantime the demarcation of the north-west frontier of Afghanistan, which had been suspended during the crisis of Penjdeh, was again taken up and pressed on against many interruptions and through much controversy. It is right to record that the first overture for the laying down of a definite boundary along the debateable lands between the Oxus and the Hari-rûd came from Russia in 1882; but the scheme had not been taken up seriously until it was pressed upon the English Foreign Office by Lord Ripon's Government in 1884. The annexation of Merv by Russia had given urgency to the question, and after Penjdeh Lord Dufferin carried on the work rapidly. In a case which has three parties constantly intervening from different points of view, and where there is no supreme arbitrator, it is not easy to reach an agreement, and Lord Dufferin's rôle was perhaps the most difficult of all. He not only represented the interests, political and strategical, of India, but he was also acting for the Amir, who could not be much blamed for the profound distrust with which he usually regarded the acts and motives of the two foreign states which were saving him the trouble of laying down his own frontier. We know

the joint commission succeeded, after much debate and delay, in carrying by consent the line of boundary from the Hari-rûd, across the Bâdghis hills and the slopes of the Paropamisus, into the lowlands bordering on the Oxus, but that in respect to the point at which their line should strike the Oxus river they could not agree. Much intricate negotiations followed: Sir W. Ridgeway visited the Amir at Kabul on his return journey to India, where he received the Viceroy's instructions before proceeding to England; there ensued a quadrangular discussion among the authorities at Kabul, Simla, London, and St. Petersburg; until in 1887 the whole boundary was at length finally agreed upon and fixed by landmarks.

The successful termination, after three years of continuous exertion, of this important business will associate Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty with an epoch in the political history of Central Asia. The boundary pillars now set up by British and Russian officers on the Hindu Kush and by the Oxus record the first deliberate and practical attempts made by the two European Powers to stave off the contact of their incessantly expanding Asiatic empires. To those, indeed, who demand permanency for territorial boundaries in Asia it would be instructive to follow, throughout all the transactions and speculations recorded in Anglo-Indian history, the adventures of successive Governors-General in search of a stable and scientifically defensible north-west frontier. Nor can anything illustrate more signally the radical and inherent mutability, the accidental and elastic character, of all territorial and political settlements in Asia, than the fact that at this moment our statesmen are still in pursuit of that promised borderland whose margin fades for ever as we follow it. We have usually begun by projecting a political frontier, by interposing, that is, some faithful ally between our real territories and the Power beyond whose approach seemed to threaten us; but the result of this manoeuvre has been too often a collapse of the alliance, and an extension of our own territory up to the line at which we desired to arrest the advance of a possible rival or antagonist. More than a century ago Warren Hastings began throwing forward his advanced posts into the north-west, under cover of an alliance with the Oudh Nawabs, in order to protect Bengal and to fend off the Marattas from its vicinity. Then came Lord Wellesley, who, 'for the security and defence of our north-western frontier,' first extorted the cession of large districts from

the Nawab of Oudh, and then pushed forward our borders, by one great stride of conquest, to the upper waters of the Jumna and the Himalayas, where he did actually lay down a north-west frontier that lasted nearly half a century. The next stride, right across the Punjab and the Indus, was taken by Lord Dalhousie, who thus reached the extreme limits of the great Indian plain and planted his landmarks on the skirts of the Afghan mountains. Here was a natural frontier, the dividing line between different countries and races, and it lasted forty years, though we soon began again to reconnoitre for a political frontier beyond the range of our actual dominion. For the next discovery made was that a frontier, to be scientific, must occupy not the base of a mountain range, but the ridge; and, later, that it ought to command the valleys on the further side. But since Eastern Afghanistan consists of a succession of mountain ranges with valleys between them, this doctrine might be expected to lead us onward some distance; and as a matter of fact we have now taken ground considerably in advance of India's geographical limits. Yet so far are we from having fixed the permanent ring-fence of our dominions, that the problem of a tenable north-west frontier is still under close investigation, while already the Helmund, and even the Oxus, are treated as points upon the strategical chessboard. Without doubt these frequent moves forward, this constant looking beyond our actual position, are symptoms of a not altogether healthy restlessness; for to be still bringing new races and fresh territory within our pale involves a continual displacement and readjustment of the political equilibrium. A large Burnese population on the south-east, and on the west an interesting assortment of wild border-clans, Biluch and Pathan, have recently been added to her Majesty's very extensive ethnological collection of subjects; and in both directions we are plainly travelling beyond the natural habitat of the races who might some day be fused into one or two great Indian nations. The introduction of new elements undoubtedly postpones and complicates the process, if it is at all practicable, of some such consolidation; and it also increases the necessity, in the meanwhile, of holding together such mixed materials by the strong pressure and cement of a supreme central authority. Whether the tranquillity or the security of our possessions will suffer in the long run from the exigencies of this new situation is still an open question. There is much to be said for the opinion that definitely settled boundaries, regular

diplomatic relations with civilised neighbours, the gradual opening of great trade routes and communications across Asia, and the manifest demonstration, from the close contiguity of warlike Powers, that only England's strength preserves India from foreign invasion, are all elements of stability that go far to counterbalance the obvious risks and liabilities of establishing a common frontier with such a State as Russia, and to confirm England's right of rule and occupancy in India.

However this may be, we have evidently not yet reached that stationary phase of political existence which succeeds complete development and is the precursor, as some philosophers hold, of decay. Very recently, indeed, our laborious search for a peaceful and stable frontier has taken a new direction, for we have found ourselves compelled to dethrone King Theebaw in the midst of his dealings with the same great republican government whose sympathetic friendship in the last century ruined Tippu of Mysore. It has fallen to the lot of Lord Dufferin, as of his great predecessor Lord Dalhousie, to be forced into important military and diplomatic complications arising successively, almost simultaneously, at the opposite extremities of the empire. Lord Dalhousie had scarcely pacified the Punjab and planted the British standard at Peshawar, when he became involved in that dispute with the Burmese Court which led to war and the annexation of Lower Burmah. Lord Dufferin had only just disentangled Afghanistan from the consequences of the Penjdeh disaster, and the mobilisation of our troops in north-west India had been hardly relinquished, when there supervened the long expected and almost inevitable rupture of our relations with Mandalay. The story is well known, and has already been told at length in this Journal. The attempt of King Theebaw to impose intolerable exactions upon a British trading company was the final act and consummation of a long course of injury and insolence, and the crisis was intensified by the foreign policy of the Burmese Court. Her Majesty's Government were, as is well known, in possession of ample evidence that the French were endeavouring to obtain a predominant influence at Mandalay. It is not likely that M. Ferry, who was the Foreign Minister at Paris, had in view any immediate territorial acquisitions in that direction, for this would merely have added another to the numerous points at which the Asiatic territories of France are already exposed, in case of war, to the attack of irresistibly superior forces. What he desired was not to multiply



our means of pressing on a weak spot, but to add to his own, by securing the political ascendancy of France in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy, and by giving France large commercial interests in the country. To embarrass an opponent without exposing oneself, by taking up points well within his board, is a device familiar to players of political backgammon; nor can the French be blamed for endeavouring to extend their influence in Indo-China, though it is curious, after a hundred years' interval, to find ourselves again face to face with them in southern Asia. Remonstrances and threats having proved equally fruitless with King Theebaw, an ultimatum, backed by an army on his frontier, was sent to Mandalay, making the very reasonable demands of an investigation of the trading company's grievance, and the reception of an accredited British agent. As these terms were not accepted, the troops advanced with speed and decision straight upon Mandalay; the Burmese army offered no resistance; the capital was occupied; the king was transferred to India, and, after consultation with the Home Government, the decision was announced which incorporated Upper Burmah with her Majesty's dominions.

The grounds upon which it was resolved by Lord Salisbury's Government to annex Upper Burmah, instead of maintaining it as a protected or dependent state, have never been seriously disputed. The maintenance of the native States of India, which lie within our borders and have acknowledged our sovereignty, has become an established principle of public policy. But in dealing with a semi-barbarous independent neighbour, which has access to and is affected by other influences that may be adverse or hostile to us, and whose action may compromise the peace or security of our own frontier, it has always been most difficult, when the country has once been subdued by arms, to stop short of placing it under our direct dominion. To impose treaties upon Asiatic governments is of little use, for the defeated ruler, if left in possession, is more likely than ever to seek liberty and revenge by adverse intrigues and alliances. To set up and support a more friendly prince or dynasty is a device that has been often tried, and has almost always failed; for the new government, introduced and upheld by foreign troops, is essentially weak, unpopular, and troublesome. If indeed it is possible to withdraw completely from the country, leaving it in the hands of a not unfriendly and capable ruler, as we did after the last Afghan war, the problem is for the time solved. But such a successor, with

the ability needed for reorganising a government in confusion, is very rarely found ready to hand, and there was no prince of the Alompra family to whom the task could be entrusted. In these circumstances it was decided by Lord Dufferin, with the full consent of her Majesty's Government, that the annexation of Upper Burmah to the British Crown was necessary. The liabilities thereby incurred were plainly foreseen; nor did anyone who knew Burmah suppose that a race addicted from time immemorial to brigandage, in a country of dense jungle, without roads, and impassable in the rainy season, would be speedily converted into a settled law-abiding population. We know by experience that the provinces which are easily taken are often the harder to hold; for it stands to reason that a vigorous resistance will exhaust the strength and satisfy the pride of the fighting classes. Of the three great provinces annexed by Lord Dalhousie, the Punjab, which was taken by hard fighting, gave us no subsequent trouble at all; Lower Burmah was easily conquered, but pacified with great difficulty; and Oudh, which surrendered without firing a shot, broke out afterwards into violent rebellion. Moreover, in Upper Burmah the military operations had been carried out with such remarkable judgement and celerity that all subsequent interruptions, however insignificant, of our success took English public opinion by surprise; and those who had no objection to the country's annexation were impatient at its inevitable though temporary consequences. Petty mishaps and casualties, appearing in large print and in the front pages of influential London journals, were seen by the British public through a coloured magnifying glass. No Asiatic province has ever fallen under our rule in which the natural obstacles to complete internal pacification have been so great and manifold as in Upper Burmah; yet on no such occasion has English opinion, often misled by informants not altogether disinterested, been so exacting or more prone to premature misgivings. It stands on record that Lord Dufferin himself spared no pains and omitted no precautions: he armed his lieutenants in Burmah with ample powers; he gave them unlimited credit on the imperial resources for troops, police, and the best officers in the civil or military service of India; and he insisted, often against their opinion or in advance of it, on reinforcing the military garrison and the civil administration. That the local authorities should not have always foreseen or accurately estimated the cost and difficulty of bringing under effective police control such

a population as that of Burmah, would be scarcely a matter for surprise, still less for censure, in any country or at any time but our own. That the Viceroy's comprehensive survey of the situation and its contingencies should have been wider and more circumspect than the view taken by those on the spot, to whom nevertheless much was necessarily left, is in no way wonderful. What might be really remarkable would be the lack of patience and experience betrayed by those who were easily persuaded into minute and ephemeral criticisms of the details of arduous and complex operations, were it not that this tendency has been in all times an inevitable characteristic of popular government. But we have no doubt whatever that an impartial retrospect over the whole course of events will convince the English nation that in the pacification of Upper Burmah, in the reorganisation of its government, and in the arrangement of our relations with the petty states and half-tamed tribes along its eastern frontier and with China and Siam beyond, Lord Dufferin's whole action and management have been up to the level of his high reputation. And we know that the commemoration of these and other important services by his elevation to the marquissate, with the addition of Ava to his hereditary title, is universally approved by his countrymen.

Within the space of sixty years, from 1825 to 1886, we have now had three wars with the Burmese rulers; and the last war has ended with the extinction of their dynasty and the annexation of their kingdom. It is not to be supposed that this increase of wealth and territory will have been unaccompanied by larger and heavier imperial responsibilities. We have broken new ground in Asia; we have new languages to learn, new forms of society and religion to study and preserve; we have to explore our new frontiers by crossing rivers and mountain ranges hitherto almost unknown to Europeans; we have to press forward our railways and to enlarge the outlines and fill in the details of our ever-widening territorial maps. There now remains a tract of country bounded on the north and east by China, on the west by Burmah, and on the south by Tonquin and Siam, which is one of the few squares left still vacant on the political chessboard of Asia; its future is uncertain, but it is not likely to remain unoccupied. Our protectorate over the wild tracts lying eastward of Burmah proper had up to 1886 scarcely passed the Salween river; it must now be extended over groups of petty chiefships lying along and even beyond the great Cambodia river, not far from a point of triple junction be-

tween the boundaries of Burmah, China, and Tonquin, up to which the French are already pushing their reconnaissances. The occupation by England of Upper Burmah is evidently an important stage in the political reconstruction of South-Eastern Asia ; for it must lead to the developement of points of contact between populations that have long been kept apart, and to the revival of lines of regular communication between the great trade centres of the interior and the seaboard. Our policy, on the new Indo-Chinese frontier as on the Afghan border, is to establish over the dependent tribes a protectorate sufficiently effective to enable us gradually to reclaim them from brigandage, to convert them from border plunderers into a border police, and to exclude all foreign influences or encroachments. Lord Dufferin's Government has already taken measures for placing on this footing the Shan States, over whom the Mandalay kings held a rather impotent sovereignty ; and under Sir Charles Crosthwaite's judicious handling the rough country beyond the Salween has as yet given remarkably little trouble. Nevertheless, we are not free from the possibilities of rivalry in this quarter, for the time may not be far distant when the overland commerce with south-west China will acquire not much less value and importance than the maritime trade with the northern Chinese seaports. Nor can anyone fail to perceive in all these movements and transactions the source of much jealousy and active competition among the powerful communities who hold in their hands the world's trade, and who know that trade not only leads but follows the flag. If France succeeds in establishing a firm basis of operations on the south-eastern coast of Asia, she will undoubtedly follow our example by striking inland along the great rivers ; nor is it impossible that we may some day find ourselves discussing with her the question of the integrity and independence of Siam. A new and complex difficulty may thus be added to the great problem of the permanent settlement of the Asiatic continent ; and we shall have to recognise a multiplication of the chances that a contest in Asia may again, as in the last century, form an episode of any future war between the foremost nations of Europe.

In the meantime, although western and central Asia may seem destined to partition among the great European Powers, in the far East they are still confronted by an Asiatic Government of extraordinary strength and solidity. The empire of China, for a long time accessible only by sea, now

finds itself in contact, upon three different frontiers, with Russia, England, and France ; and for various reasons the importance of maintaining amicable relations with China has become for us much greater than formerly, when our interests in that direction were purely commercial. It is therefore fortunate that our dispute with the Tibet authorities, which brought about a kind of semi-official war on the Sikkim frontier, is now, through Lord Dufferin's skill and patience, in a fair way towards settlement. The particulars of this affair illustrate the curious and intricate structure of Asiatic politics, and the very delicate nature of the relations between differently civilised societies. Sikkim lies on the outer slopes or ranges (towards India) of the Himalayas ; it is a State under our protection, bound by treaty to admit no foreign troops without our permission, and to abide by our arbitration in respect to its foreign affairs. But the Raja is Tibetan by descent, is married to a Tibetan wife, is also a Buddhist by creed, and the Buddhist Lamas have much influence with the people. The Tibetan Government claims his allegiance for some interior districts of his chiefship ; and all these circumstances, religious and political, favour the constant pretensions of Tibet to predominance in the country. Tibet itself is a State under the theocratic home-rule of the Lamas, acknowledging Chinese sovereignty and the entire control of Peking over its external relations ; so that Calcutta and Peking are politically connected by a chain, of which the intermediate links are Sikkim and Tibet. In 1886 the Tibetans positively refused to receive a commercial mission that was preparing to set out from Bengal. We believe that Lord Dufferin had been in no way responsible for the initiation of this project, which appears to have failed mainly because those who had undertaken to conduct it did not understand that for such expeditions the preparations should be studiously unostentatious, and that, however strange it may seem to modern commerce, the more they are advertised the less they are likely to succeed. However this may be, the mission withdrew but the Tibetans advanced ; and they took up a position within the protected territory of Sikkim, on one of the main roads to India. The English Government began by calling upon the Chinese Foreign Office to enforce its authority at Lhasa, where two ambas, or Chinese *chargés d'affaires*, are usually stationed ; but this the Chinese have always found it very difficult to do, owing partly to the great distance between Peking and Lhasa and partly to the mysterious sanctity which surrounds the ruling Lamas, who are spiritual

heads, by successive embodiments, of northern Buddhism. Moreover, China has herself been always very sensitive to the touch of English pressure upon any part of the independent territory that blocks us out from immediate access to her south-western provinces. It was, therefore, to be expected that the Peking Foreign Office should adopt the traditional tactics of delay and procrastination, alleging the necessity of careful local inquiry as to the facts, and being evidently either unable or unwilling to insist upon the unconditional withdrawal of the Tibetan force that had entrenched itself on Sikkim land. Lord Dufferin wrote direct to the Dalai Lama, and a long diplomatic correspondence with Peking also ensued; until, when the resources of diplomatic warning and expostulation had been exhausted, a small body of Indian troops summarily ejected the intruders. Our forbearance, nevertheless, had so far encouraged the arrogance of the ruling Lamas, that they returned to the attack, when their army was again severely beaten; but in such a position, and with such antagonists, it is impossible to remain long on the defensive, and the Peking Government, being in no way desirous to see Lhasa threatened by an English expeditionary force, has since been interposing in earnest. The Tibetans will henceforward be prohibited from attempting any interference whatever in the affairs of Sikkim, and a precise boundary will be laid down over which no trespass will be permitted. Remembering that the Tibetans had actually invaded a frontier state under our protection, and that fighting, like fire, is hard to stop or limit when once it breaks out, we may accord much praise to the firmness and moderation with which these proceedings, diplomatic and military, have been guided and held in hand by Lord Dufferin's Government.

The successful termination of another petty border war closes the varied list of military and political operations which the necessity of protecting our Indian frontier has imposed upon Lord Dufferin's Government. It became necessary in October last to send an expedition against certain tribes inhabiting the Black Mountain, which overlooks the extreme north-west district of the Punjab. The country inhabited by these tribes forms a triangle, bounded on the north by the high mountains of Kohistan, on the west by the river Indus, and on the east by the British frontier. They occupy the western face of the great mountain, a mass of precipitous wooded glens sloping down to the Indus; and for twenty years these savage highlanders

have been raiding, murdering, and kidnapping across the border with comparative impunity. In consequence of two wanton incursions made by them on British villages in 1887 one tribe had been put under blockade; but in June last they attacked a party of British troops within our own territory, when two officers and four Gurkha soldiers were killed. Upon this final provocation, and as the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir James Lyall, insisted very strenuously upon the duty of protecting our own people and punishing assassins, a considerable British force marched into the mountains, and compelled the tribesmen to submit to the terms fixed and to pay the penalties demanded. The affair, which was in itself simple enough, attracted some interest on the frontier from the fact that this country was the scene, in 1862-63, of the expedition known as the Ambeyla campaign; when a smaller force of British troops was brought to a standstill and somewhat roughly handled by a widespread combination of the tribes of this region; and on the present occasion it was quite possible that more united opposition might again be attempted. The trans-Indus tribes this time held aloof, and almost all the offending tribes have been speedily brought to submission, though one or two outlying sections are still defiant. To penetrate far into these highlands, and to chase recusants from one steep range to another, is a kind of warfare in the highest degree unprofitable. But enough has been done to punish actual criminals and to spare Lord Dufferin the unpleasant necessity of considering whether the safety of our people may not some day compel us to occupy permanent posts in the narrow strip of highland which interposes between our present frontier and the Indus, and which has for centuries sheltered a set of indomitable brigands.

We have now gone rapidly over the salient features of India's foreign policy under Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty, and we have endeavoured to describe the general position in which he has placed our external relations. The affairs of Afghanistan, within and without, have been at last brought into something like order by the Amir's severity, and by the demarcation of his frontier upon the only side which is exposed to serious attack so long as he remains our friend. Burmah is settling down under the composing influence of a strongly organised civil administration, vigorously directed by the Viceroy's lieutenant at Rangoon. The Indian border, though it has been greatly enlarged, and has been recently disturbed, is now for the time quiet along its whole length.

If we now take a comprehensive survey of the situation thus attained, we can see that we have reached a different environment from that in which we were formerly placed. We have worked through almost all the loose political formations, effete or ephemeral, upon which we have from time to time attempted to build an outer line of defence; and it is to be hoped that we are at last reaching the solid limits of our territorial extension inland from the Indian seaboard. On the north-west we have a frontier scientifically fortified, with excellent communications in the rear, and an open line of advance, if necessary, into south Afghanistan. On the north and north-east we are still covered by the triple range of the Himalayas; but there are signs of movement beyond the mountains, for even a veil of perpetual snow cannot long seclude the active and enterprising races on each side of it; and all North Asia, along the whole breadth of the continent, now belongs to Russia and China, two States of a rank and magnitude co-ordinate with our own. We have also arrived within a measurable distance from countries more or less under the political influence of France. In these circumstances, the view taken of our position by competent foreign critics is of much value to us, because it is certain not to be too favourable, and because it is not likely to underestimate our peculiar difficulties in India. Such observers may certainly be relied upon for due appreciation of the degree to which the vicinity of such a military Power as Russia must affect the character of our foreign policy, of our military establishments, and probably of our administration in India. In the present condition of Europe, when huge armies can cross an enemy's frontier in a fortnight, and may crush their adversary in a month, the saying of Hobbés, that the law of nature is the same thing as the law of nations, has been abundantly verified. The primitive necessity of self-preservation casts a dark shadow over the most brilliant civilisation; nor is it to be expected that India should long remain free from the hazards that attach to the possession of a great empire. Upon some foreign critics this aspect of the present situation—the important change in our environment produced by the approach of Russia—makes the greater impression. With others the chief interest centres in the problem of controlling the fermentation of novel ideas and modern aspirations among our Indian fellow-subjects.

Of all the travellers who have visited India, perhaps no one has been better qualified than Baron Hübner to pro-



nounce upon the real import and eventual consequence to India of the Russian movements in Central Asia. An eminent diplomatist, thoroughly conversant with European politics, and well acquainted with courts and cabinets, his opinion upon such a question is of the highest value. Yet Baron Hübner, in whose work on the British Empire India holds a foremost place, refers in a calm and slightly incredulous tone to the prevalence among Anglo-Indians of apprehensions with regard to the ambitious designs of Russia. In concluding his remarkable survey of the whole field of Indian politics, he says: 'It is not the contingency of Russian aggression that would disturb me if I were an Englishman. The internal policy to be pursued in India is the subject that would absorb my attention.' Sir George Campbell quotes this sentence in his *brochure* on the British Empire as expressing his own conclusions, and adds some observations characterised by his usual shrewdness and his complete mastery of the subject; so that we have the concurrent judgement of recognised authorities in European and in Indian politics.

But while the parting words to us of the Austrian statesman, who has twice seen his own empire invaded and dismembered, are that 'England has in India only one enemy to fear, herself,' such is not the opinion of the distinguished French writer whose book is named at the heading of this article. M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's work abounds with generous appreciation—we might say, admiration—of the courage and perseverance shown by the English in the acquisition of India, and of the spirit in which they are now pursuing its gradual civilisation. He has carefully studied our administrative system, he is thoroughly acquainted with all the latest official publications that record our proceedings; and he realises all the risks and responsibilities that beset great internal changes and reforming experiments among a vast Asiatic population. Nevertheless, when he, too, asks the inevitable question, 'Will England be able to complete her work in India?' M. Saint-Hilaire looks not within but beyond our Indian borders for an answer. In the very first page of his introduction, which is suggestively headed 'L'Angleterre et la Russie,' and which summarises his conclusions and latest impressions, he strikes a note of warning; and the whole subsequent tenor of his dissertation upon Central Asian politics discloses strong apprehension regarding the designs and movements of Russia. He begins thus:—

‘L’entreprise des Anglais dans l’Inde mérite que tous les amis de l’humanité et de la civilisation en souhaitent le succès. . . . Mais, tout en l’admirant, on ne peut se défendre d’une appréhension, que de récents événements justifient de plus en plus, en s’accumulant chaque jour. L’Angleterre pourra-t-elle achever son œuvre? La paix, qui lui est indispensable, lui sera-t-elle laissée pendant le temps nécessaire? Un voisin ne viendra-t-il pas troubler et empêcher l’exécution de ses desseins magnanimes? Aucune puissance ne tentera-t-elle de remplacer le gouvernement britannique, au risque d’échouer là où il réussit, aux applaudissements sincères de tous les esprits éclairés et impartiaux? Sur une telle question, le doute n’est pas permis. Ce serait fermer volontairement les yeux à la lumière que d’hésiter à répondre. C’est l’empire russe, qui seul peut songer, dans un avenir plus ou moins lointain, à déposséder les Anglais et à se substituer à eux dans l’administration de l’Inde.’

M. Saint-Hilaire then proceeds to sketch rapidly the political and military history of Russia and England in Central Asia during the last fifty years. His brief account of our adventures in Afghanistan is clear and correct, except that he shares the ordinary error of greatly exaggerating our military losses in the disastrous retreat from Kabul in January, 1842.\* He describes the course of events and the series of steps that have carried Russia eastward across Asia during the present century, until she now presses with multiplied momentum upon the somewhat feeble political barriers interposed between her outposts and the Indian frontier. He calculates the resources of the Russians for an organised attack, he traces their line of advance into Afghanistan, and marks its stages. He enlarges upon the might and magnitude of the Russian empire in terms and by comparisons that may well strike the very susceptible imagination of Orientals, among whom an empire is but the house kept by a strong man armed until a stronger cometh. The ‘incontestable reality,’ according to M. Saint-Hilaire, is that we are confronting in Asia the greatest and most populous

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\* M. Saint-Hilaire writes: ‘La garnison anglaise de Caboul, forte de ‘six mille hommes, avait été forcée de se rendre après un long siège et avait ‘été massacrée. Le reste de l’armée, assailli dans sa retraite sur l’Indus, ‘avait perdu son effectif entier de vingt mille hommes environ.’ (Introduction, p. 26.) We actually lost some four thousand five hundred fighting men, and about twelve thousand camp followers and civilians, including women and children. In the same way, M. Darmesteter, usually so accurate, writes that we lost 15,000 men on that occasion; and he falls into the not uncommon error of supposing that the disaster took place in the Khyber Pass, in the country of the Afridis, whereas the actual scene was between Kabul and Jelalabad.

empire of the civilised world, with an enormous army, and a nationality that can be deeply excited by religious and patriotic enthusiasm. Such is the Power that directly threatens India and Turkey; Austria and Germany are in almost equal danger, and the independence of Europe is said to depend upon a coalition of these two states with England to stay the torrent of Russia's southward irruption, and to save Constantinople. It is some relief to find that we share our perils with companions that might be good at need; although, if M. Saint-Hilaire's warnings and forebodings are well founded, Englishmen in India may form some idea of the feelings with which their ancestors heard of the coming Spanish Armada, just three centuries ago. In that reminiscence, however, they will find nothing very disheartening: the rough narrow seas served us well in the sixteenth century, and the Afghan deserts and defiles have yet to be crossed by a great land army. Russia's march through Asia has hitherto been irresistible, because it has been practically unopposed; whereas in Afghanistan she would find her path stopped by an obstacle very different from any that she has yet met upon that continent. She would have to force a country of great natural strength, held by martial tribes and fortified by English skill; and in the most fortunate circumstances she must lose many battalions, and spend many millions, before her commanders can hope to look down from the Suleiman range or the Biluch hills upon the valley of the Indus.

We are not, in short, disposed to lose heart over M. Saint-Hilaire's formidable anticipations, and we think that threatened nations, like threatened men, live long. But we agree that any movement of Russia from her present stations on the Murghab and Oxus rivers may compel us to some steps for giving finality to our own policy with regard to Afghanistan. That policy has been subject to wide oscillations in the last fifty years. The disastrous episode of the first occupation of Kabul had its counterpart in the total failure of the Russian expedition against Khiva in 1839. Both nations made simultaneously a premature and precipitate stride forward into the central regions of Asia, and both retired with heavy discomfiture. For rash attempts to set up an Afghan king the English then substituted the principle of absolute non-intervention in dynastic struggles. This principle was proclaimed by Sir John Lawrence in 1867, when it was labelled with the well-known phrase of 'masterly inactivity.' Sir Stafford Northcote explained to

Parliament that 'England had no policy in Central Asia,' and Mr. Grant Duff told the House of Commons (rightly) that 'what was wanted was a quiet Afghanistan, just as we 'wanted a quiet B rmah,' an illustration to which recent transactions have since given a new significance. For some five and thirty years Afghanistan was really left to itself ; but in this interval we twice interposed between the Russians and Constantinople, with the effect, on both occasions, of accelerating, instead of retarding, the advance of Russia towards our Eastern possessions, where she perceived an opening in our armour. Then came again, in 1878, an abrupt forward movement; we dethroned two Amirs, set up their successor, and drew back once more after establishing our advanced posts of observation towards Kandahar. Now at last those events seem near at hand of which the distant shadows alarmed and misled Lord Auckland so many years ago. For in the present aspect of Afghan affairs, internal and external, we can scarcely hope to escape the necessity of some authoritative interposition whenever the next acute crisis supervenes; nor is it possible to rely upon the durability of the existing *r gime*, although it has now given seven years of comparative quiet to Afghanistan.

The policy of 1880, which placed the Amir Abdurrahman at Kabul, has accomplished its immediate object. The whole country is now under a strong ruler, who commands a well appointed army, which he has used for breaking the power of the free tribes, and for establishing his authority with unrelenting severity. All the leading nobles and tribal chiefs of note are dead or in exile; and although the stronger clans still keep up a guerilla warfare in their hills, they cannot long resist his regular battalions. His cousin Ishak Khan, who was at first his leading adherent, and who governed his northern provinces for him well and faithfully, has just been driven into revolt, has been defeated and has fled into exile across the Oxus. But on the Amir's life depend the fortune of his family and perhaps the integrity of his kingdom, because the whole force and political cohesion of the government are embodied in his person. He is building palaces at Kabul and laying up treasures in the stronghold of Badakshan; he may have some hope that his sons, of whom little is known, may succeed him, although in Afghanistan an undisputed succession would be an amazing and unprecedented novelty. It is much more probable that every Afghan, from the Amir down to the Ghilzai highlander, regards the present reign of tranquil-

lity caused by terror as a mere interlude, and that no man is prepared to say who will come on the stage after Abdurrahman leaves it. The natural consequence of the death of a powerful Afghan prince is a fierce struggle for the mastery among his kinsfolk, such as ensued upon the decease of Dost Mahomed twenty-five years ago. But the sons of the Amir Sher Ali, whose claims are strongest and most popular, are detained in India and Persia under political surveillance; and their energies are said to have been depressed by misfortune and long banishment. With the prospect before them of a vacant throne and a masterless kingdom, with a country which the Amir's policy of breaking the strength and fighting spirit of the free tribes has laid open to the next invader, with a deep-seated and impartial mistrust both of England and Russia, it is no wonder if the Afghans themselves believe the future of their nation to be darker than ever.

The high and prominent importance that belongs to the relations between England and Russia in Asia must be our excuse for dwelling so long in this article upon the state of affairs in Afghanistan. For, although we may not hold with M. Saint-Hilaire that upon this point hang the destinies of India, we may admit that it is influencing the whole external policy of the British nation. But it is now time that we should return to India itself, where indeed, although we shall find sufficient cause for reasonable solicitude, we enter upon a different order of considerations. M. Saint-Hilaire's tone becomes more hopeful and congratulatory as he describes the vigour and high-spirited determination with which, in his opinion, the English are pushing on the 'prodigious enterprise' of bringing India permanently within the circle of civilised nations. He devotes several chapters to the study of our administrative system, and of the profound and comprehensive effect that it is producing upon the manners and morals of the people. His careful study of the papers bearing on his subject has led him to conclusions upon which our nation may well be congratulated. Nevertheless his tone of genuine admiration is still interrupted here and there by a note of misgiving, by a query as to the durability of a civilisation so rapidly constructed, by an involuntary comparison between the smooth and prosperous appearance of India within our borders, and the rough menacing aspect of affairs outside. The feeling is natural enough, for the contrast is, in truth, as striking and abrupt as is the actual transition from the Afghan hills to

the plains of India; and nowhere, perhaps, in the world are civilisation and barbarism in such close contact as along the British border line at the mouth of the Khyber Pass. Immediately across this line may be seen in the Afridi tribes a complete and living facsimile of the picture drawn by Hobbes of man in his aboriginal condition of perpetual war, under no government at all, in constant danger of ending, by a violent death, a life that is 'poore, nasty, brutish, 'and short.' A few steps back into British India bring us among men of the same tribe and traditions, dwelling without arms in ease and security, pleading before regular law courts, reading in English schools, and taking their share in all the business and duties of a fairly civilised society. M. Darmesteter gives an accurate and very amusing description of the manners, feelings, and ways of life of the tribes who live on both sides of our Peshawar frontier, and who are much vexed by the problem of living up to ideas of Afghan honour without breaking British law. And as the traveller moves down into the interior of India, the signs of settled civilisation multiply so fast that he might be excused if he at first failed to discern the premonitory symptoms of latent complications indicated by Baron Hübner's friendly warning to us. Upon this subject, however, no inquirer would be long left without ready and copious explanations. One party would assure him that social and political changes are being pushed on much too fast; another would declare that progress is everywhere far too slow. A large majority among natives would say that a government which alters, levels, and modernises everything must expect trouble; an important and ardent minority would denounce the immobility of a reactionary bureaucracy that is afraid to move with the times. The impartial inquirer would soon perceive that these contradictory views are the natural outcome of an anomalous situation at a period of transition; that the Afghan frontier dilemma, between the old ways and the new, more or less exists everywhere; and that the latter stages of England's enterprise in India are beset by difficulties no less arduous than the rough obstacles she had to surmount at an earlier period.

Of these difficulties Lord Dufferin has had his full share. The question of finance lies at the root of all regular government; and though among natives of India opinions may be divided as to the necessity of improving the quality of our administration, there is remarkable unanimity in their reluctance to pay for it by increased taxation. Yet adminis-

trative machinery must be constantly adapted to the more refined needs of a prospering people; while the development of the country, its equipment with railways, the strengthening of its military power and defences, are all charges which gradually enhance the annual debt of India to Europe. It is, however, to the rapid fall in the exchange value of silver that must be attributed the serious strain upon the resources of Indian revenue that has lately given so much anxiety to the Government. Since the remedy, if any exists, for this growing evil lies beyond the jurisdiction of Indian statesmen, Lord Dufferin could only represent in very forcible language the grave objections against laying on taxes to supplement the constant loss caused by the payment of foreign debt out of a steadily depreciating currency. To a certain extent the expenditure on frontier defences and on the army has formed a just ground for specially increasing the national income. The income tax, which was reimposed in 1885, represents, therefore, a demand for contribution on this account from the wealthier classes; and the enhancement last year of the salt tax made a slight addition to the very few burdens that are shared by the whole population of India. On the other hand, Lord Dufferin's Government has made strenuous and not unsuccessful exertions to reduce expenditure and to enforce economy in all departments of the State. A special commission was appointed to revise every branch of the public service; the financial arrangements between the Government of India and the local governments have been accurately scrutinised; and no means have been left untried that might aid to strengthen the Indian treasury against the extraordinary drain that has been caused by the demonetisation of silver in Europe.

But in India light taxation is, as Lord Lawrence once said, the panacea of foreign rule; it is the chief if not the only virtue of our government in the opinion of the masses; and financial straits are apt to lead all administrators into troubled waters. Fiscal demands so invariably suggest other questions, and so effectively sharpen political curiosity, that even the moderate income tax recently levied upon the wealthier classes in India may have some connexion, among other motives, with a perceptible diffusion of the taste for political discussion. Until very recently the English in India have been traversing the two stages, well known on the beaten track of history, of the conquest and the consolidation of a great dependency. We are now entering upon a third

period, at which historic precedents fail us, so that we are left to make new experiments and discoveries in the science of politics, a science which has never yet advanced in Asia beyond some form of wise and enlightened absolutism. Our educated fellow-subjects in India, whose number increases year by year, are not unnaturally beginning to desire a larger share in the higher administration of their country, and even to suggest, with regard to the form of government, that the Asiatic model has served its time.

The British government of India may be described as a highly organised machine of great power, which needs scientific management and control, and which has therefore, like steam locomotives and other dangerous and complicated engines, hitherto been almost exclusively managed in its important functions by an English civil service constantly recruited from Europe. One of the consequences of the wide diversity of races and climates throughout Asia is that the richest tracts are not apt to produce a hardy population; and where wealth and warlike qualities are thus separated there will be constant invasions and chronic instability of government. Foreign dominion must necessarily be more or less arbitrary for some time after its establishment, and must rely for its support upon a close connexion with the mother country. It was the continuous influx of new blood from Central Asia that sustained the Pathan and Moghul dynasties, and regularly filled almost all the high offices with foreigners, whose descendants lost their native vigour by settling down in India. So at each fresh invasion or revolt the northern provinces changed hands until the power at last fell to the English, who are strong because they do not settle, but have worked up to the present time with relays of their own countrymen. Upon the supply of fresh men from without, and upon a succession of able rulers within, upon good management of the army and the revenue, depended the continuance of the Moghul empire; it broke up when these sources failed, and the dynasty decayed in proportion as it became domiciled. There is no disguising the fact that the English government has hitherto rested upon precisely analogous principles, developed out of similar needs and conditions of political existence. But the time has now come when the English nation, which has long ago formally discarded the principle of an exclusively English civil service, is prepared, upon grounds of equity and expediency, to admit the natives of India to a larger participation in the higher functions of



administration. How this can best be done is a question which has occupied the Government of India for some twelve years past, and to which the Public Service Commission appointed by Lord Dufferin's Government has just proposed an answer. We understand that the recommendations of the Government upon this report, which are now before the Secretary of State, will prove that, whatever may be the final conclusions on the ways and means of opening the India civil service more freely to natives, Lord Dufferin has spared no pains to promote a very liberal arrangement.

But our readers will not fail to perceive that the real importance of this civil service question lies in its bearing upon the general problem of the administrative relations between a dependent and a dominant State—a problem that must have exercised Lord Dufferin's mind in Canada, and indeed nearer home. He would probably agree that it has nowhere yet found satisfactory solution, and that the history of the government of dependencies (which has yet to be written, for we have only a sketch by Sir G. C. Lewis) is for the most part a record of failures. The dependence of India upon England obviously presents almost all the main difficulties and enigmas inherent in this relation. The distance between the two countries is wide; their language, religion, and manners are in strong contrast; and their respective systems of government have been hitherto, naturally and necessarily, as unlike as everything else. If, indeed, the current of events that brought India inevitably under European dominion had taken a different course; if in the last century misrule had not crippled France, or if in this century Russia had reached the Indus before England; if, in short, India had fallen into the possession of any European state except Great Britain, the assimilation of the form of its administration to that of the dominant country would have been a simpler business. To a Russian, or even a Frenchman, the system now actually prevailing in India would certainly appear to err on the side of incautious liberalism; he would pronounce the executive arm to be far too weak. He would find himself more at home in examining the outward form of the government under which Indians live: the central departments superintending a hierarchy of officials, the distribution of the country into districts under prefect and subprefects, the organisation of the police, the attitude of the army, would all be things familiar to him, and would tally with the notions and experience of continental administrators.

It has, however, come to pass that India, than which no

country even in Asia had been more despotically ruled for many centuries, is now attached to a nation which has long been developing popular institutions in a totally different atmosphere, and to which French or German officialism would now be more strange and less palatable than Anglo-Indian magistrates and commissioners. Moreover, while England is at home growing more and more democratic, in India she continues raising higher and higher the fabric of a huge semi-barbaric empire, with its provinces in different stages of civilisation corresponding roughly but distinctly to the earlier or later periods at which the English rule supervened. In our oldest possessions, the people have lost any authentic recollection of their condition under native rule ; it has died out, or survives merely in their indulgent imagination. In others, the men with whom one may now discuss liberal reforms and constitutional principles are the sons and grandsons of a generation that saw their country overrun and plundered by Marattas and Pindarees, and had some genuine taste of a corrupt and incapable government at Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad ; while in our later acquisitions the memory of living man still runs back to a time when all power was in the hands of a disorderly army. The difference in habits of mind between the outgoing and incoming generations of Indians is in such provinces a well-known characteristic of their society ; they have some difficulty in understanding each other on political questions, so that we need not be surprised if between England and India the risk of misapprehension on these topics is considerable.

We may admit that the position of an English viceroy in regard to the political aspirations of the educated class in the older provinces of India is not free from some perplexity. The whole programme set out by such a body, for instance, as that which has called itself the Indian National Congress, reflects, with some natural distortion, the English manner of looking at such questions ; it is founded upon and assumes political axioms that have been taken like casts from English originals. Against its theory, viewed unconditionally, the Englishman has little to say ; but he may strenuously object to the projected application, and to the very serious miscalculation of the real circumstances of India, that is made by those who are in haste to place substantial administrative power in the hands of elected assemblies. Among a class whose leaders necessarily acquire most of their political knowledge at second hand, there is always an inevitable tendency towards what has been called political

metaphysics, towards a belief in the abstract virtue of institutions apart from considerations of time, place, and opportunity. It is hardly to be expected that upon these points the eager reformer should be open to arguments which he is naturally prone to treat as mere pretexts for delaying inconvenient concessions of obvious rights; nor is it wonderful that, inconsiderable native journalists should reply by invective and insult, and should attack all English officials with rancour and characteristic inaccuracy. The British Government is so big a target that the clumsiest marksman can scarcely fail to hit it somewhere; and Lord Dufferin himself has been the object of personal abuse for certain suspicious symptoms of lukewarmness in the cause of oppressed Bengal. But no prodigy would be more likely to astonish and puzzle the important classes who hold property in India, and who stand by old-fashioned ideas of religion and statecraft, than the spectacle of a radical English viceroy; while those who rail at him for standing firm against clamour greatly misunderstand the temper of the English nation. Lord Dufferin's unfailing constancy and calmness, his moderation and equanimity, his readiness to consider any reasonable measure for increasing the native element in the administration, and his resolution in refusing to be pressed or persuaded beyond the line fixed by his own judgement, have undoubtedly won him the confidence of that weighty and intelligent body of Indians who desire progress, but foresee the consequences of agitation in a country full of explosive material. The innate conservatism of the Indian people can always be enlisted on the side of order; while the landowning and commercial classes have little taste for political hazards, and, indeed, entertain a distrust much deeper than is felt by most Englishmen for the governing capacity of the present generation of their more ambitious fellow-countrymen. The manifestations of the National Congress have accordingly been met by a counter-movement quite sufficient to prove, what the Conservative party steadily affirms, that the Congress delegates actually represent no more than a party organisation in the country, and that there is much worth, weight, and intelligence directly opposed to their views. The stir and temperature of political discussion in India are undoubtedly increasing, yet no viceroy has evoked stronger or more important public demonstrations of loyalty to the British Government, of reliance on its representatives in India, or of encouragement in resisting impatient and irresponsible pressure.

We believe, in short, that Lord Dufferin by his internal policy, as well as by his masterly treatment of foreign affairs, has well merited the assurances of trust, respect, and approval that he received on his departure from his fellow-subjects and fellow-countrymen in India. The English government of India, whose intentions and acts are necessarily exposed to incessant misconstruction, can never expect to be very popular; the propensity to associate power with oppression is immemorially well-founded upon the traditions of an Asiatic people; and when foreign officials choose to set up a lofty standard of administrative duties and morals, their shortcomings, real or imaginary, only stand out in stronger relief against it. Thus the native critic of the present day demands the best and believes the worst of his government; the very breadth of inevitable difference between theory and practice becomes the measure, full and overflowing, of the blame thrown by inexperienced journalists and public orators upon the English in India. We know that this habit of setting up political ideals has in all times and countries bred popular delusions, and belongs to the period of incubation of political changes, when a government that attempts to reform itself too hastily is attacked before it can take up a fresh position, like an army caught by the enemy on the line of march. Nor is it of much avail to appeal to the great improvements that we have actually accomplished in India; for the uncompromising advocates of 'India for the Indians,' while they admit the fact, are disinclined to acknowledge that it imposes on them any political obligations, and are often exceedingly sensitive about allusions to the state of their country under anterior native rule. On the other hand, there is no want of alacrity in charging upon the present government all the risks and evils inseparable from a rapid and somewhat premature rate of social progress. If the spread of comforts and European luxuries has been unfortunately accompanied by greater indulgence in drink, the English rulers are censured for setting an example of intemperance; although the Moghul emperors drank royally, and although never were more systematic exertions made in India to regulate the trade in liquor. If an educated youth falls away into vice, this is directly ascribed to the non-moral and irreligious character of our public instruction; although no better proof of the general rise of morality could be found than this novel habit of denouncing exceptional backsliders. But extreme contrasts in manners and social prejudices may create a kind of

physical aversion; and it has been more than once the fortune of the delicately minded Indian, so scrupulously susceptible upon matters of formal purity and sobriety, to fall into the uncongenial company of a free-living, rough-mannered, jovial race, Macedonians or Moghuls, Afghans or Englishmen. And it must be confessed that the diffusion of cheap liquor, as of cheap education, elevates and turns the weaker heads among a generation that is just being emancipated from the very salutary influence of traditional restraints and sanctions.

'India,' writes M. Darmesteter in the brief, but valuable, summary of his impressions that forms the preface of his book, 'does not like the Englishman—he is feared, and he is 'respected:' feared because he is known to be strong, and respected because he is believed upon his word. He goes on to say:—

'Je ne crois pas qu'il soit possible de trouver dans un gouvernement étranger plus de conscience, d'honnêteté professionnelle, de désir sincère de faire son devoir et de faire le bien, que n'en montre en général le fonctionnaire anglais dans l'Inde. . . . Mais à ces maîtres honnêtes manque le don suprême, le seul qui fasse pardonner les supériorités écrasantes: la *sympathie*.'

It may be admitted that this criticism is just and incontrovertible; and we can only observe sorrowfully that modern administration nowhere appeals very successfully to the feelings, and that even Frenchmen have sometimes failed to elicit a sympathetic attachment from the peoples whom the fortune of war has from time to time subordinated to their influence. But M. Darmesteter's subsequent remarks by no means lay upon the English all the blame (if blame there be) for the existence of antipathies between English and Indians, antipathies which he expects to grow rather than to decrease. He is impressed by the visible effects upon the natives of superficial instruction; not, he says, that education in India is more superficial than it is in Europe, but because in Europe it is supplemented and supported by moral vigour and the instinct of action; and his judgement upon the new class of Anglicised Indians is formidably severe:—

'Infatués des connaissances superficielles qu'ils ont prises à l'Université; gonflés des formules européennes, déjà si vides en Europe quand l'esprit n'est pas là pour les remplir; nourris de ces fameuses biographies de Clive et de Hastings, où leur maître de style, Macaulay, leur apprend que l'empire anglais a été fondé par le mensonge et la violence, ils forment une classe immense de déclassés, qui ressemble étrangement aux nôtres, aussi bruyants, aussi étroits, aussi nuls,

quelques-uns même désintéressés, avec cette différence que les formules dont ils se gonflent sont empruntées à une civilisation et à des traditions exotiques, et qu'il y a pour eux un double abîme entre la lettre et l'esprit.'

M. Darmesteter would probably allow, or else he is not aware, that there is a large and most estimable class of highly educated Indians, whose loyalty equals their learning and culture, to whom this passage in no sort of way applies. In regard to the half-instructed crowd of young men who have been bred up in English literature, which supplies them with a set of imported phrases and arguments ready made for their mouths, we must have faith in the general good sense of the higher class for their gradual conversion. With the spread of political restlessness comes a sense, among the stronger heads, of political responsibility, and the difference between England and India is more clearly realised. The history of England records the slow evolution of governmental forms and forces under conditions most favourable to undisturbed growth, in an island sheltered from foreign wars and invasion, among a population just large enough and sufficiently homogeneous to foster a strong nationality knit together by an identity of feeling and interests on all vital questions. Whereas in every one of these circumstances India has been at a fatal disadvantage: the country has lain open to foreign invaders, the population is enormous and split up internally to a degree unparalleled elsewhere in Asia. These are the reasons, and not any want of intellectual capacity or individual genius, why the annals of so ancient and peculiar a civilisation show a failure to cement and solidly organise an empire proportionate to the wealth and intelligence of the people, such, for instance, as China has erected and preserved. The English sovereignty now at last, as we hope and believe, gives India her opportunity; the two countries have become bound together by a community of interests and associations that has already exercised a powerful influence over the destinies of either nation, and cannot now be impaired without profound, perhaps irreparable, injury to both.

The passage last quoted from M. Darmesteter's book represents, nevertheless, the impression unluckily produced by Indian journalism upon foreign European observers, who have few means of accurately ascertaining the extent to which the native press of India actually represents and leads the effective public opinion of the country. The English government, which created journalism in India, has also succeeded

in investing it with a much greater influence than it would naturally have so soon acquired, by introducing the system of translating and carefully examining an abstract of the contents of the vernacular press. It has been termed the voice of India, and it has been treated as the lion's mouth, as the receptacle, that is, of all the denunciations, complaints, and discontented utterances that are made by a vast multitude to or against their foreign rulers. If the extravagance of the minor journalists, thus encouraged, is ridiculous; if the privilege of free anonymous writing is constantly abused; if such an engine, in such hands, often does great private injury and public harm, this can be no matter for surprise. Journalism is one of the various new professions which the English have introduced into India, just at the time when the educated classes were in need of some such openings; it requires at present very little capital, and not much previous intellectual training, because most of the papers address readers whose experience and range of information are equally limited, and because the subjects handled in the minor papers are almost exclusively personal and political; they are either very petty or very grandiose. No one need wonder that in these circumstances the profession should have very speedily become overcrowded, or that a calling by which a little power and notoriety could be so cheaply gained should have attracted a very miscellaneous set of practitioners. The really remarkable fact is that some leading native newspapers should be so well written, so generally moderate, and so practical in their views and demands. Now it must be clear that to all the irresponsible discussion of the native press some counterpoise, according to English principles, ought to be found in responsible discussion; for nowhere has the world yet seen, except in British India, the curious and undoubtedly hazardous anomaly of a press almost entirely unrestrained either by public opinion or by the law courts, spreading everywhere side by side with a taciturn and somewhat isolated foreign administration, which has never taken the trouble to have newspapers of its own. That the Government and its officers should be perpetually criticised and constantly misrepresented is in this state of things only natural; that it should be unable to answer or explain effectively is inevitable—the editorials are smart and sensational, loose-tongued and unmannerly; the official papers occasionally published in reply are dull, accurate, and dignified; in such a position the tactics of spirited attack are

sure to prevail, and criticism is supposed to be unanswerable because it is never answered. The situation, which has been created by ourselves, offers no issue that is free from risk; and if the English nation likes such political chemistry, it must abide by the consequences. But some strong counterbalancing and correcting influence is manifestly required.

It cannot be said that Lord Dufferin and his advisers have either misunderstood or underestimated the true character of the period through which India has been passing during his viceroyalty. While the extremities of the empire have been extended into contact or contiguity with powerful neighbours, at the centres there has been a rapid increase of wealth and political movement. The affairs of government have become multiplied and complicated; they are discussed much more widely and vivaciously; the necessity for distributing business is more urgent; the need for explaining a policy and for adjusting measures to the feelings as well as to the wants of the people is more imperative. The consequences of training up an excitable Asiatic population to the habits of an Oriental democracy have yet to be discovered, and form matter for meditation among those who believe that to turn a people loose among liberal institutions is no more than sending it to a useful public school. But even an English public school has some kind of schoolmaster; and in the present instance the responsibilities of that office fall upon the English nation. We should lose no time in admitting the leading natives of India to a larger share of the troubles and perplexities, as well as the advantages, of English administration, and especially in disburdening the central government of all that class of business which is not less important politically because it is of local concern. Lord Ripon's scheme for the improvement of local self-government in towns and districts was a good step in this direction, and it is known that Lord Dufferin has been constantly in favour of strengthening and extending the provincial legislative councils. The establishment of a legislative council for the North-West Provinces and Oudh was accomplished in 1887 through the steady support given to the project by the Viceroy, who is believed to have since proposed some important further steps in the same direction.

The enlargement of the provincial councils would indeed be not only a measure in accordance with the spirit of England's policy, it would also multiply the supports and lighten the burdens of the supreme government. India is a country where the temptation to over-centralise in administration



has always been strong, and where the consequences have been proportionately detrimental. Moreover, the soil is evidently favourable to the rapid growth of great empires; the Moghul empire had no sooner fallen than another began to be formed. M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire makes some remarks, perhaps rather picturesque than profound, upon the irresistible tendency to concentration which, acting, he says, with a force that is not understood, or that is at any rate independent of man's conscious will, is bringing about great conglomerations of territory. His principal illustration of 'la loi mystérieuse qui pousse incessamment à la concentration politique' is Russia; and another example is certainly India, though we imagine that this law is not quite so mysterious as M. Saint-Hilaire represents it to be. The immense developement of communications in these latter days; the ease and speed with which orders fly from the centre to the circumference of an extensive dominion; the enormous scale of numbers and mechanical fighting force upon which modern armies are maintained; the wealth, skill, and resource always at the service of a first-class state—all these advantages are on the side of warlike and ambitious nations and their leaders, and are decisive odds against weaker communities. To these inequalities of strength add inferiority of civilisation, and the process of aggregation becomes exceedingly rapid; nothing but some very stiff physical barrier—such as are deserts, seas, and high mountains—can check the magnetic attraction of the larger political bodies. At this moment the expansion in Asia of Russian and English predominance indicates that, after remaining pent up for some years behind these natural breakwaters, it has now forced a way through them, and is invading the lower levels beyond. The problem of administering these territorial agglomerations, so difficult to assimilate, is thus increasing in complexity; the constant additions made to the conflux of races, the wide disparity between earlier and later acquisitions, render uniform systems impossible and even absurd, and are fatal objections to any plan for institutions that would give general power over such an empire to the representatives, however well educated, of particular provinces. In such a state of things the right course of action is, we believe, sufficiently clear. We have to preserve political unity and to encourage administrative decentralisation, by gradually delegating a larger share of local jurisdiction to locally constituted authorities, and by inviting the natives of India to participate more freely in high im-

perial office and in provincial councils. Government from a distance is always difficult and generally unsafe, especially for a country where changes of the political barometer are frequent and unexpected. We decidedly think that India is not yet prepared for representative assemblies on an elective basis, to which the mere numbers of the population constitute an enormous impediment. But the policy of associating the leading natives of every large province, by selection, with the local administration, and of giving each province some of the attributes of local independence, is necessary to counteract risks inseparable from territorial extension, and is also the best foundation of all liberal institutions. No viceroy ever came to India who had seen so much as Lord Dufferin has seen of the borderlands of civilisation, of those countries whose races are slowly melting down into nationalities, of absolutism at its zenith as at St. Petersburg, and in the process of dissolution as at Constantinople. No statesman, therefore, knows better than he does that if the English will persist in continuing to pile up, after the high Roman fashion, the edifice of a great polyglot empire, they cannot go on adding to the superstructure without distributing the pressure of its weight, and that a great building may again suffer from confusion of tongues.

On the other hand, to the large and influential party of moderate Indian Liberals, which has gathered heart and strength under Lord Dufferin's rule, it must be plain that all administrative changes must be introduced with the strict limitations that may be required to secure that essential basis of all progress in India, the firm and indisputable maintenance of the English sovereignty, which is to all forward movement what the iron rails are to a locomotive: if they are disturbed, the whole train is stopped or upset. That upon these lines only can the civilisation of India advance, is indeed admitted by the leading men of all parties, although some of them may be rather impatient to take charge of the engine. Nor is there perceptible, at the present epoch, any revolutionary element in the ideas current among serious thinkers in India, where modern thought seems to be taking a strong utilitarian and practical colour in morals, in politics, and even in religion. We have hardly space even for an allusion, in this article, to the changes that are coming over the spiritual and philosophical ideas of the people, or to the curious question whether their present tendency would support and illustrate Coleridge's

well-known axiom, that knowledge of the prevailing speculative opinions affords the only safe ground for political prophecy. The attempts that are here and there made to substitute a vague theism for the void created by the subsidence of Brahmanism, or to fall back on the old philosophies for a working scheme of faith and morals, are likely to fail in India, as they failed in the Roman world fifteen centuries ago; and M. Saint-Hilaire's anticipation, '*que l'Inde finira par être chrétienne tout entière,*' is far too sanguine, for educated Indian society shows no inclination towards the formal theologies of Europe. No one can as yet venture upon any prognostic of the course which the subtle and searching mind of India will shape out for itself amid diverse cross currents of Eastern and Western influence. But we may be sure that the diffusion of knowledge and the changes of environment are acting steadily on mental habits, and that future historians will have another remarkable opportunity of registering the force with which a powerful and skilfully directed administration can drive forward the material and moral civilisation of many millions of people.

In the foregoing pages we have endeavoured to place the important acts and the particular character of Lord Dufferin's successful administration in the foreground of a general sketch of the present aspect of Indian affairs. The special interest, prospectively, of the situation lies in this—that a somewhat critical conjuncture of India's external relations may very possibly supervene just at an epoch of remarkable internal prosperity, when a long peace, with the spread of ease and wealth, has engendered new political aspirations among those classes of the population that have most profited by our rule. Upon foreign observers the contrast between the calm security that reigns within our borders and the clouds that they perceive gathering beyond is evidently producing an impression of which native politicians might well take note. If it be true that an enemy is not far distant, it behoves the educated classes of India, as much or more than the English Government, to decipher the writing on the wall that some interpret as a warning of impending trouble. The course of events may be bringing closer to our Asiatic frontiers a rival in the military and political arena where we have hitherto been easily supreme. India will thus be drawn more and more within the sphere of European discord and international jealousies, and she must then be inevitably affected by the extraordinary and formid-

able growth of militarism in Europe. But time is also rapidly unfolding our own resources, and may show that India, united and collected under skilful and self-reliant leadership, has little to fear from foreign attack, especially when the only Power whose movements need alarm us is liable to internal complications not altogether unlike, and much more serious than, our own. It is for the native representatives of enlightened public opinion in India to consider these things, and to determine whether their country is yet ripe for the political controversies which try even the constitution of the compact Western nationalities. And while the English, in their dealings with India, should hold fast by Burke's saying that magnanimity in politics is the truest wisdom, our Indian fellow-subjects must, on their side, remember his no less impressive words upon the duty of sacrificing some civil liberties for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great empire.

The telegraphic summary of Lord Dufferin's parting speech at Calcutta reached England as these pages were passing through the press. The Viceroy drew a vivid contrast between the actual social and political condition of the Indian people, and the programme that has been put forward by the small party that professes to speak, and to agitate, in the people's name. With great clearness and courtesy he showed that this programme is at present impracticable, futile, and even mischievous. It was full time that this should be said plainly; and Lord Dufferin has well signalised the close of his viceroyalty by a declaration that is eloquent, statesmanlike, and eminently opportune. It is highly satisfactory that he transmits the government of India to his successor, the Marquis of Lansdowne, at a time of profound peace, when the difficulties which beset his own administration of the great dependency have been surmounted, and all the omens of the future are favourable. We have the strongest reason to believe that Lord Lansdowne will perform the same duties with equal firmness, prudence, and judgement, and will add another honoured name to the illustrious roll of viceroys of India.

ART. II.—*The History of the Vyne in Hampshire.* By CHALONER WILLIAM CHUTE, of the Vyne. London: 1888.

AMONG the national treasures and characteristic features of which England may, without presumption, make her boast, the hereditary residences and beautiful country homes of her titled and untitled landowners may justly be enumerated. Not including, in our present point of view, the feudal castles and fortified strongholds of a more warlike period—Berkley, Warwick, Alnwick, Belvoir, and the like—we now refer particularly to those domestic structures of more recent date, popularly described as country-houses, of which—though it seems invidious to specify a few, where many have almost equal claims to commemoration—familiar types are to be seen in such mansions as Hatfield, Haddon, Penshurst, Burghley, Longleat, Hardwick, Charlecote, Littlecot, and Wotton. Most of these are not merely distinguished by beauty and stateliness of aspect, but owe their renown even more to the historical personages and scenes associated with their names, and as representing the traditions of ancient families and memorable incidents of bygone times. The gracefully illustrated volume named at the head of this article records the history of a noble old mansion in one of the southern shires; not, indeed, one of such magnificent proportions or universal celebrity as some of the above mentioned, yet possessing a beauty of structure and a store of historical memories and relics which well entitle it to a place among the ‘stately homes of England.’

About three miles from the town of Basingstoke, not far from the point where the chalk hills of Hampshire begin to subside towards the wooded declivities of the district, stands a venerable edifice known for many generations by the name of ‘The Vyne.’ It is supposed to occupy the site of the Roman Vindomis, once a station of the Imperial legions, the name of which was first contracted into Vynnes, but eventually assumed its present form. The name of Vindomis occurs in the ‘Itinerary of Antonine,’ a compilation attributed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius; and the situation is described as being upon the Roman military road, between Venta Belgarum, presumably identified with Winchester, and Calleva, the chief city of the Atrebatas, once the occupants of Berkshire, and which is supposed to have been the site of Reading. Another interpretation of the name associates it with the plantation of vines at this spot in Roman times,

according to a tradition, mentioned by Camden, of their having been planted here in the time of the Emperor Probus, about A.D. 276. Many Roman remains have been found in the vicinity, but the experiment of viticulture, ill suited to the climate and soil of North Hants, would naturally prove unsuccessful. Subsequently to the Roman occupation, no historical record of Vindomis has been brought to light until the period of the Norman Conquest.

The present proprietor of the estate and mansion of the Vyne, Mr. Chaloner William Chute, a scholar and man of letters, has well employed his leisure in compiling an authentic and interesting memoir of his house; an addition to a class of works which possesses a special attraction to many persons; the histories of counties and county families. This ancient fabric of the Vyne has been for many centuries the residence of men who from time to time have played prominent parts on the stage of English history, as soldiers, statesmen, courtiers, or scholars; or who, if less conspicuous in public life, fulfilled useful functions as resident country gentlemen, dispensing hospitality, administering justice, taking the lead in local affairs, and in many ways promoting the well-being of their humbler neighbours and dependants. The old country seat in the Hampshire hills has been the scene of many notable gatherings within its walls, and of some important public transactions. Kings and queens, ambassadors, and other august persons have sojourned under its roof; royal and highborn ladies have trodden measures upon its floors; quaint sports and antique pageantries have been enacted in its halls; groups of gallant sportsmen have mustered on its lawns, and roused the echoes of its woods and glades. Here the great Elizabeth held councils and dictated State papers; here Anne Boleyn enjoyed a few sunny hours of her soon-clouded life; here the grave Burghley committed to writing his sagacious thoughts; here Gray and Walpole enjoyed their scholarly and refined converse; here Sir William Waller found quarters for his Roundhead troopers. Such ancestral mansions as the Vyne form a valuable part of our national memorials, significant of the race of men who reared and embellished them, and typical of the solidity and unpretentious strength of the English character.

We proceed briefly to notice the history and vicissitudes of the successive families through which, by descent, marriage, or devise, the ownership of the Vyne estate was transmitted through the course of eight centuries. Starting from the Conquest, we find that one of the companions of Duke

William, named Hugh de Pont, received as the guerdon of his services no less than seventy lordships, of which fifty-five were in Hampshire, one of them being Sherborne, the parish which now includes the Vyne. His grandson, John de Pont, together with his feudal tenant, William FitzAdam, founded there, in the reign of Henry II., a chantry chapel, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Early in the sixteenth century the original chapel was replaced by another, which was built by the first Lord Sandys, of the Vyne. This chapel, though disendowed, in common with other chantries, in the reign of Edward VI., was preserved undesecrated, and still retains much of its original beauty. 'At the Vyne,' wrote Horace Walpole in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, 'is the most 'heavenly chapel in the world : it only wants a few pictures to 'give it a true Catholic air.' Such an air it may well have had, for under its roof masses for 'the faithful departed' were celebrated four hundred years ago with splendid ceremonial.

Adam de Pont, son of the founder of the chantry chapel, having married Mabel, an heiress of the St. John family, his son William assumed the name of St. John, instead of De Pont, early in the thirteenth century ; and his descendants continued to be lords of the manor of the Vync, using the mansion as a favourite hunting-seat. From the St. Johns the estate passed, in the fourteenth century, to the distinguished family of Cowdray, who at the date of Domesday Book were seated at their great manorial residence in Sussex, which was destroyed by fire in 1793. From them it passed by marriage to Sir William Fyffhide, whose principal seat was at Fifield, near Andover, and subsequently it vested, again by marriage, in the more eminent family of Sandys, in whose possession it continued for nearly three hundred years ; that is, from the reign of Richard II. to the Commonwealth. It was Sir William, afterwards the first Lord Sandys, the most conspicuous member of that ancient stock, who erected, about the year 1509, near to, though not upon, the original site, the present mansion. This able and gallant nobleman and his descendants were associated with many of the principal persons and events of the Tudor period, and his 'poor house,' as he speaks of it in some of his extant letters, is rich in historic memories.

The house built by Lord Sandys is of red brick with the well-known Tudor diaper of darker colour, the coigns, dressing, and battlements being of stone. Some parts of the building are of remarkable solidity, the central wall which

divides the northern from the southern chambers being ten feet in thickness. As originally built, it was considerably larger than at present, having a basse-cour forming a north quadrangle, which was pulled down in 1654. The description of the ancient house of Cowdray given by Professor Freeman may justly be applied, says the author of the volume before us, to the Vyne, which was built about the same time. 'It belonged,' writes Mr. Freeman, 'to that happy moment of our national art when purely domestic architecture was at its height, and the notion of "the great house," as distinguished from the castle, had been brought to perfection. The architecture was as yet purely English; it did not yet Italianise. Both the actual style and the arrangements of the buildings are exactly at the point which is best suited for domestic work. . . . The whole house, and every part of it, is meant to serve its own purpose, and the reward of building rationally and straightforwardly is the creation of a magnificent and harmonious whole.'

The builder of the Vyne, Lord Sandys, was one of the leading personages of his time. He was the friend of Henry VII. and VIII., and became Lord Chamberlain to the latter, who visited him at his Hampshire mansion in 1510. In the expedition sent by that monarch to Fontarabia, Sandys served as 'keeper of the ordnance,' and in consideration of his services in Spain, Guienne, Flanders, and Picardy, he was made Treasurer of Calais in 1517, with an allowance of 56*l.* per annum 'out of the issues of that town.' In 1518 he became a Knight of the Garter, and two years later was one of the commissioners selected to make arrangements for the famous interview of Henry and Francis I. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In Shakespeare's drama of Henry VIII. Sir William (whom the poet calls 'Lord Sandys' by anticipation) figures as one of the prominent lords and courtiers in attendance on their sovereign, and he is represented as holding a conversation with the Earl of Worcester, who preceded him in the office of Lord Chamberlain, and who asks him, in grave disapprobation of the follies of the revels,

'Is it possible the spells of France should juggle  
Men into such strange mysteries?'

Sandys replies in a similar tone of austere censure of the 'new and unmanly customs' introduced by the French gallants, 'that fill the Court with quarrels, talk, and tailors.' He too dislikes 'the trim vanities' that dazzle the fancy of



the English ladies, and turn away their minds from their own countrymen, such as he describes himself to be, 'an honest country lord, beaten a long time out of play.' Nevertheless, the poet describes how the same lord, thus severely minded towards foreign extravagances, was quite ready and willing to join in the king's diversions upon English soil, for he exhibits Lord Sandys as playing a lively part at Wolsey's great supper in York Place, Whitehall, where he was introduced to Anne Boleyn, and, seating himself by her side, begins:—

'If I chance to talk a little wild, forgive me;  
I had it from my father.'  
'Was he mad, sir? ' (asks the lady.)

Sandys: 'O! very mad—exceeding mad—in love too—  
But he would bite none: just as I do now,  
He would kiss you twenty with a breath.' (Kisses her.)

He clearly understood how to make himself agreeable to the lady, who says to him,

'You are a merry gamester, my Lord Sandys.'  
Henry VIII. act i. sc. 4.

But, however willing to take part in such revels as his sovereign delighted in, the solid qualities of Sandys' character were more congenially exercised in the functions of the soldier and the statesman. He did the king good service in the field, when at his post at Calais, defending the marches against the French, and he was associated with Sir Thomas More in conducting the affairs which formed the subject of Wolsey's embassy to Calais. He was created Baron Sandys of the Vyne while serving in France under the famous Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; and on the death of the Earl of Worcester, in 1526, he succeeded to the office of Lord Chamberlain, resigning thereupon the post of Lord Treasurer of Calais. In 1531 the king again visited the Vyne, and the household accounts of that year show the costly preparations then made for the royal entertainment. Lord Sandys took his part as Lord Chamberlain in the public reception of Queen Anne Boleyn, after her secret marriage, when she made her splendid entry by water into London. In 1533, however, the divorce of Queen Katharine and the schism which thence arose between England and the See of Rome, caused serious disturbance in the mind of Sandys, who was strongly attached to the old faith; and the loyalty of the Lord Chamberlain to his sovereign was sorely shaken by these events. In 1534 he withdrew himself from

the Court on the plea of sickness, and was even ready, we are told, to welcome an invasion of England by the Emperor Charles V., 'as preferable to the tyranny of his own king in matters ecclesiastical.' In October 1535, nevertheless, the king, accompanied by Queen Anne Boleyn, came to the Vyne on a visit to Lord Sandys, and stayed there several days; from which it would appear that neither the Chamberlain's vacillation in his allegiance, if it ever became known at Court, nor his withdrawal thence under pretext of sickness, had alienated Henry's mind from his favoured servant. Lord Sandys' last service to the king was when the great rebellion in the north endangered the realm in 1536. He quitted his retirement on that occasion to take his place in council by the side of his sovereign, who, in a letter written in answer to the demands of the rebels, mentions 'the Lord Sandys, my Chamberlain,' as one of the trusty advisers in whom they might well place confidence. The Chamberlain's last official service was at a Privy Council in August 1540, a few weeks before his death. We are told,

'Lord Sandys departed to God's mercy, much lamented by all those who were associated with him, at Calais, December 4, 1540, after a long life spent in the service of his country. A valiant soldier abroad, and an honest country lord at home, he was averse to change, and a devoted supporter of the ancient faith; and if he hesitated to approve the design imputed to him of sacrificing his allegiance to his religion, we must remember that he did not carry into effect what he is said to have contemplated, but lived and died the loyal servant of a tyrannical and exacting master.'

His remains were interred in the chapel of the Holy Ghost at Basingstoke, in a richly carved tomb, of which some portions still remain, displaying his arms and badge. To this chapel Lord Sandys had made important additions in his lifetime, and had obtained a royal charter for a fraternity and chaplain in connexion with the building. The graceful tower and the picturesque ruins of the chapel of the Holy Ghost form an attractive object, familiar to travellers by the London and South-Western Railway as they approach Basingstoke.

The title and residence of the first Lord Sandys were inherited in succession by three of his descendants. His son, Thomas, achieved no distinction, but his grandson, William, the third lord, owned the property for sixty-seven years, and was honoured by the visits of illustrious persons at the Vyne. Queen Elizabeth was his guest in 1569, and in 1601 the hospitality of the mansion was largely exercised in the

entertainment of the Duke de Biron, Ambassador of Henry IV. of France, who had come to England on a mission to Elizabeth, to take counsel with her about the state of Europe. The queen herself was lodged at Basing House, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester, while the ambassador and his retinue, consisting of nearly four hundred persons, were sumptuously entertained at the Vyne, but, with due consideration for its owner's pocket, at the queen's charges.

Stowe says, in reference to this question, that

'the Vine, a fair and large house of the Lord Sandes, was furnished with hangings and plate from the Tower and Hampton Court, and with seven score beds and furniture, which the willing and obedient people of Hampshire upon two days' warning had brought thither to lend to the Queen; and the Duke abode there four or five days, all at the Queen's charges, who for that time spent more at the Vine than her own court spent at Basing; and her majesty affirmed that she had done that in Hampshire that none of her ancestors ever did, neither that any prince of Christendom could do—that was, she had in her progresse in her subjects' houses entertained a royal ambassador, and had royally entertained him.'

Henry, the third Lord Sandys, was an active loyalist, and played a gallant part on the king's side in the Civil War. Being sorely wounded in a fight at Bramdean, near Alresford, he died in April 1644. In the November preceding, during the siege of Basing House, a body of Parliamentary troops, under Sir William Waller, were quartered at the Vyne in order to resist a relieving force under Sir Ralph Hopton. William, the fourth lord, son of the above Henry, succeeded him, but was compelled by reverse of fortune to sell his ancestral mansion and estate, and on his death, without issue, in 1688, his two brothers having also died childless, the barony of Sandys fell into abeyance.

Thus, after a continued possession of three centuries, a long tenure by one family of the same estate, the mansion and manor of the Vyne, passed out of the hands of the house of Sandys, which had filled its place in the county with so much honour, and became vested by purchase in the family of Chute. Chaloner Chute, to whom the property was conveyed in 1653, was an eminent lawyer, and the estate which he now acquired was the fruit of his successful practice at the Bar. He was a man of high repute in his profession, and filled several important public employments; was treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1659; was twice Knight of the Shire for Middlesex; and was unanimously chosen

Speaker of the House of Commons in 1659. Whitelock says of him that 'he was an excellent orator, a man of good parts and generosity, of whom some doubted he would not join with the Protector's party, but he did so heartily.' The French Ambassador, writing to Cardinal Mazarin in 1659, says that 'the Parliament proceeded to elect its Speaker, who is one of the most celebrated lawyers in the nation, and there appeared to be no diversity of opinion regarding his election.' Sir Arthur Hazlerig, addressing him two days after that event, declared that he looked upon him as 'the greatest man in England.'

The impression which prevails at the present time that the duties of a modern Speaker are more arduous and severe than at any former period, may be modified by reading the account given in the volume before us of the labours of Mr. Speaker Chute. In fact, that eminent and well-seasoned lawyer died of overwork. 'He had to preside over late sittings and long debates on two exciting questions; first, whether the Protectorate should continue; and secondly, whether there should be a House of Lords, and, if so, who should be summoned to it. The discussion of the latter question occupied twenty-three sittings.' The language used in these debates, too, was often extremely intemperate, the conduct of the members sometimes disorderly, and the intervention of the Speaker, a man of moderate views and respected on all sides, was frequently required. We are told that the incessant fatigue of his office was too great a strain upon his health, and after an ineffectual struggle to continue his duties, he obtained leave of absence, and went to Sutton Court, an estate belonging to him at Chiswick. Here, as a special mark of honour, the Lord Fairfax and other members visited him by order of the House of Commons. His retirement was speedily followed by his death, April 14, 1659. He died, to use the words inscribed upon his monument at the Vyne, 'in the service of his arduous post, to the regret of all parties.'

The testimonies borne to the merits of this eminent person are very weighty. Lord Clarendon highly commends him, and laments his death, and a contemporary historian speaks of him in these terms:—

'In the heat of the business—that is, in the disputes which ended in the retirement of Richard Cromwell—died Master Chaloner Chute, the Speaker, a man fit in every respect for the chair, and of a judgement and resolution cross to the sway of the times, which he was designed in this place to oppose.'

One of the interesting objects at the Vyne is the monument of Speaker Chute, which stands in a tomb-chamber, contiguous to the chapel, built by John Chute—who will be presently mentioned—to receive the remains of his ancestor. The recumbent figure of the Speaker possesses much grace and dignity, and the monument is one of the best works of Thomas Banks, the Academician.

A remarkable circumstance mentioned in this volume may probably be regarded as an indication of the high respect in which Mr. Speaker Chute was personally held, and of the celebrity of his residence at the time. There is contained in it a facsimile of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, which bears on its obverse a map of England and Ireland, ‘so distinctly expressed,’ says George Vertue, from whose drawing of the seal the plate is copied, ‘as to make it a work truly admirable and beyond compare.’ More curious still is the fact that though there are six places only marked in Hampshire upon this map, one of these six is the Vyne, the other five being the towns of Winchester, Hampton (Southampton), Portsmouth, Basingstoke, and Andover. The insertion among them of the Vyne certainly bears the appearance of a compliment—and a remarkable one—paid by the ruling powers of the Commonwealth to the Speaker.

The successive heads of the Chute family who occupied the Vyne during the hundred years following the death of the Speaker appear to have maintained the honour of their name among the higher class of landed gentry. They represented from time to time their county in Parliament, served the office of High Sheriff, intermarried with good families, kept racehorses, and were held in much honour and distinction. One of their line became a fellow of New College, Oxford, but we meet with no remarkable personality among them till we come to John Chute, who succeeded his brother Anthony at the Vyne in 1754. He was a man of cultivated intellect and refined tastes, a student and a traveller; and he embellished his family mansion by handsome additions to the structure, and by various works of art which he added to its contents.

‘He was educated at Eton College, then under the rule of Dr. Godolphin as provost, who was brother of the minister, and set up the statue of Henry VI. in the schoolyard. Afterwards, at the Vyne, using the Speaker’s summer house, then decorated within and furnished with statuary, for his Temple of the Muses, he applied himself to literature and archæological studies, thus acquiring accomplishments which, together with his social qualities, endeared him to two conspicuous contemporaries.

'From the death of his father in 1722, until that of his elder brother Anthony in 1754, he lived principally abroad, spending much of his time in Florence at Casa Ambrosio, the house of Sir Horace Mann, the British Resident. Here, in 1740, he made the acquaintance of the two intimate friends, Walpole and Gray, who had just completed their studies at Eton and Cambridge, and were travelling together upon the Continent.'

An unfortunate difference arose between the two which led to their parting company at Reggio; upon which the poet consoled himself with the society of John Chute, with whom he carried on a familiar correspondence. Several letters from the author of the 'Elegy' to Chute, whom he addresses playfully in one of them as 'suavissime Chuti,' appear for the first time in this volume. These are not to our minds particularly interesting; they are written in a light and gossiping style, dwelling chiefly on the 'talk of the town,' the last new plays, anecdotes of persons long since forgotten, comments on recent books—*inter alia*, 'Warburton on the Miracles: a very impudent fellow, his deductions would make you laugh'—and other ephemeral topics. The following, written in a style of greater sincerity, evinces the poet's cordial estimation of his Hampshire friend:—

'My dear Sir,—You have not then forgot me, and I shall see you soon again; it suffices, and there needed no other excuse. I loved you too well not to forgive you without a reason, but I could not but be sorry for myself.

'You are lazy (you say), and listless, and gouty, and vex'd, and perplex'd. I am all that (the gout excepted) and many things more that I hope you never will be; so that what you tell me on that head *est trop flateur pour moi*; our imperfections may at least excuse and perhaps recommend us to one another: methinks I can readily pardon sickness, and age, and vexation, for all the depredations they make within and without, when I think they make us better friends and better men, which I am persuaded is often the case. I am very sure I have seen the best-tempered, generous, tender young creatures in the world that would have been very glad to be sorry for people they liked, when under any pain, and could not, merely for want of knowing rightly what it was themselves. I find Mr. Walpole then made some mention of me to you. Yes, we are together again. It is about a year, I believe, since he wrote to me to offer it, and there has been (particularly of late) in appearance the same kindness and confidence almost as of old. What were his motives I cannot yet guess; what were mine, you will imagine, and perhaps blame me. However, as yet I neither repent nor rejoice overmuch; but I am pleased. He is full, I assure you, of your panegyric, never anybody had half so much wit as Mr. Chute (which is saying everything with him, you know), and Mr. Whithed is the finest young man that ever was imported, I

hope to embrace this fine man (if I can) and thank him heartily for being my advocate, tho' in vain; he is a good creature, and I am not sure but I shall be tempted to eat a wing of him with sellery sauce. . . . Heaven keep you all!

'I am, my best Mr. Chute, very faithfully yours,

'T. G.

'Cambridge, Oct. 12 (1746), Sunday.'

The letters to Chute from Horace Walpole, here published for the first time, if somewhat affected and artificial, as was the nature of the man, evince at the same time a genuine regard and sympathy for his friend, which the similarity of their tastes, and their common appreciation of the beautiful in literature and art, tended to confirm. In one of these letters Walpole amusingly contrasts the simple and abstemious habits of Chute with the coarse feeding and rude bucolic manners of his own Norfolk neighbours:—

'Indeed, my dear sir, you did not use to be stupid, and until you give me substantial proof that you are so, I shall not believe it; as for your temperate diet and milk bringing about such a metamorphosis, I hold it impossible. I have such lamentable proofs every day before my eyes of the stupefying effects of beef, ale, and wine, that I have contracted a most religious veneration for your spiritual *nourriture*. Only imagine that I here every day see men who are mountains of reast beef, and only seem just roughly hewn out into the outlines of human form, like the giant rock at Pratolino. I shudder when I see them brandish their knives in act to carve, and look on them as savages that devour one another. I should not stare at all more if yonder alderman at the lower end of the table were to stick his fork into his jolly neighbour's cheek and cut a brave slice of brown and fat. . . .'

In a letter to Sir Horace Mann, written in October 1747, Walpole says:—

'If I were to say all I think of Chute's immense honesty, his sense, his wit, his knowledge, and his humanity, you would think I was writing a dedication.'

Walpole was a frequent visitor at the Vyne, and took much interest in the ornamentation of the mansion. The pair of stone eagles which adorn the front entrance were his gift. The beautiful staircase which rises gracefully from the hall was built by his advice. We find in his letters many suggestions for the embellishment of the house and garden, the decoration of the chapel, and the purchase of sculpture and paintings to beautify the interior. In fact, it would almost appear as if Walpole regarded himself as a sort of joint owner of the mansion of his friend.

John Chute, who was never married, died on May 26, 1776,

at the Vyne, Gray having preceded him five years before. How keenly Walpole felt the loss of his Hampshire friend is shown in the following letter, which he wrote to Mann on the day that followed it, and which is expressed in a style more natural and indicative of sincerity than most of his studied compositions :—

‘It is a heavy blow, but such strokes reconcile one to parting with this pretty vision, life; what is it when one has no longer those to whom one speaks as confidentially as to one’s own soul? Old friends are the great blessing of one’s latter years; half a word conveys one’s meaning. They have memory of the same events, and have the same mode of thinking. Mr. Chute and I agreed invariably in our principles; he was my counsel in my affairs, was my oracle in taste, the standard to whom I submitted my trifles, and the genius that presided over poor Strawberry. His sense decided me in everything; his wit and quickness illuminated everything. I saw him oftener than any man; to him in any difficulty I had recourse; and him I loved to have here, as our friendship was so entire, and we knew one another so entirely, that he alone was never the least constraint to me. We passed many hours together without saying a syllable to each other, for we were both above ceremony. I left him without excusing myself, read or wrote before him as if he were not present. Alas! alas! and how self presides even in our grief! I am lamenting myself, not him! No; I am lamenting my other self. Half is gone, the other remains solitary. Age and sense will make me bear my afflictions with submission and composure; but for ever—that little *for ever* that remains—I shall miss him.’

After describing his friend’s last hours, he continues :—

‘The vigour of his mind was as strong as ever; his power of reasoning clear as demonstration; his rapid wit astonishing as at forty, about which time you and I knew him first. Even the impetuosity of his temper was not abated, and all his humane virtues had but increased with his age. He was grown sick of the world; saw very few persons; submitted with unparalleled patience to all his sufferings; and in five and thirty years I never once saw or heard him complain of them, nor, passionate as he was, knew him fretful. . . . Don’t wonder I pour out my heart to you; you know how faithfully true is all I say of him. My loss is most irreparable. To me he was the most faithful and secure of friends and a most delightful companion.’

With the death of Walpole’s friend, the male line of the Chute family became extinct. By his will the estate passed to his cousin, Thomas Lobb, who, assuming the name of Chute in addition to his own, married the daughter of Thomas Wiggett, mayor of Norwich. The son of this couple, William John Chute, succeeded to the Vyne in 1790, and sat in Parliament for Hants; but owed his chief distinction to the fact of his having established and kept at his own



expense, till his death in 1824, that well-known pack the Vine hounds, which still exists and bears the old name, though modernised in spelling. At the Vyne may now be seen a picture of New Forest Jasper, a fine hound, one of the sires of the pack. William Chute used to say that 'as great families have the portrait of their distinguished ancestor, the judge, or the general, or the statesman, in their rooms, he did not see why the dogs should not have their family picture also.' At the back of the picture are the lines written by himself. The M.F.H. had not forgotten his Latinity, though a little weak in his prosody :

'Hic benè apud memores veteris stat gloria gentis,  
Hinc plus quàm solito robore vulpes eget.'

The hounds usually hunted five times in a fortnight, and were never advertised; even those who hunted with them could not always learn the next day's meet till late in the afternoon. It depended upon the work done and the number of hounds cut by flints whether they would hunt twice or thrice in the week. Half-crowns were collected for the men whenever the fox was killed after a fair run. The men wore round hats and long scarlet coats which would lap over and defend their knees against wet or cold. The huntsman carried a small twisted bugle slung over his shoulder. The first Duke of Wellington, after he came to Strathfieldsaye in 1817, became an active member of the hunt. The following letter from him to William Chute has been preserved:—

'Strathfield Saye, March 23, 1820.

'My dear Sir,—I went out this morning to meet your hounds, having ordered my horses to Clarken Green, as I had settled with your huntsman. I went on as far as Dean, but could not find my groom, and I then returned to Clarken Green, thinking it probable that he had gone to the covert side. From Clarken Green I went to Ebbworth, and not finding or hearing anything of you or my horses I have returned home. I regret this exceedingly, particularly as I feel you will have waited for me. I shall be much obliged if you will let me know on what days and at what places you will go out next week.

'Ever yours most faithfully,

'WELLINGTON.'

A picture of a meet of the Vine hounds, in which the Duke appears as a prominent figure, was painted in 1843. William Chute was not a mere fox-hunting squire, but a man of marked individuality and independence of character, and some eccentric habits which he indulged in rather added to than detracted from the consideration in which he was held

in his neighbourhood. An animated description of the well-known squire and sportsman is given by his friend the late Rev. E. Austen Leigh, vicar of Bray.

‘I wish,’ he writes, ‘I could make others see him as I can fancy that I see him myself, trotting up to the meet at Freefolk Wood or St. John’s, sitting rather loose on his horse, and his clothes rather loose upon him, the scarlet coat flapping open, a little whitened at the collar by the contact of his hair-powder and the friction of his pigtail, the frill of his shirt above, and his gold watch-chain and seal below, both rather prominent; the short knee-breeches scarcely meeting the boot-tops. See! he rides up, probably with some original amusing remark, at any rate with a cheerful greeting, to his friends, a nod or a kindly word to the farmer, and some laughing notice of the schoolboy on his pony. Or I could give quite a different picture of him in his parish church, standing upright, tilting his heavy folio Prayer Book on the edge of his high pew, so that he had to look up rather than down on it. There he stands, like Sir Roger de Coverley, giving out the responses in an audible voice, with an occasional glance to see what tenants are at church and what schoolboys are misbehaving, and I am sorry to add sometimes, when the rustic psalmody began its discord in the gallery, with a humour which even church could not restrain, making some significant gesture to provoke a smile from me and other young persons in the pew.’

William John Chute twice contested the county of Hants, and sat for it in two Parliaments. Dying without issue in 1824, he bequeathed the Vyne estate to a brother who never married, and with him the male line of the Chutes having become extinct, the estate passed by devise to William Lyde Wiggett, a cousin of the mother of the last two proprietors, who assumed the arms and name of Chute. This gentleman enlarged the old mansion and enriched it with some valuable works of art. He also greatly improved the cultivation of his estate, and bestowed a much-needed attention upon the roads in the neighbourhood of the Vyne, which, previously to his accession, had been little better than drift-ways, impassable beyond the mansion except by carts and wagons; so that it was a common saying that the Vyne was the last place upon the earth, and that Beaurepaire (the adjoining property of the Brocas family) was beyond it. Horace Walpole humorously said that ‘the Vyne must be approached ‘upon stilts,’ and that ‘no post but a dove could come from ‘it.’ Mr. Chaloner William Chute, eldest son of the last-named owner, is the present proprietor of the Vyne, and author of the volume of which a brief outline has now been given.

ART. III.—*The Holy Bible according to the Authorised Version, with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary by Clergy of the Anglican Church. Apocrypha.* Edited by HENRY WACE. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1888.

MUCH ingenious disquisition has been expended on the word 'Apocrypha,' as well as on its appropriateness as a title for the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament. As our readers are aware, the word means 'hidden' or 'secret,' but as to the quality that is hidden, or the reason that prompted or justified the secrecy, we are left in an impenetrable obscurity of which the term is no unfitting designation. Failing an obvious solution of what is in name and reality a riddle, critics of all ages have exercised their ingenuity on the point by more or less auspicious guesses. What is hidden in the Apocrypha, said some of the early Fathers, is an esoteric lore like that which the Gnostic sects claimed to possess, and to which the incommunicable secrets of the Greek mysteries furnished an obvious analogy. They are called hidden, said St. Augustine,\* because 'their origin was not clear to the Fathers,' and because 'they are manifested by no light of testimony.' Probably this opinion, which Augustine shared with the chief of the Latin Fathers, helped to suggest the transference of the word from the sense of *hidden* to that of *spurious* or *adulterated*. St. Jerome, as the leading Biblical critic among the Western Fathers, is explicit enough on this point. Giving a lady instruction in Bible reading, he says:† 'Caveat omnia Apocrypha: et si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit, sciat non eorum esse quorum titulis prænotantur multaque his admixta vitiosa, et grandis esse prudentiæ aurum in luto quærere.' Augustine is in full accord with Jerome as to the adulterate quality of the Apocryphal books, though he does not enter his caveat as to the great discretion needed for groping successfully for gold in mire. 'In his autem Apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa, nulla est canonica auctoritas.'‡ On which

\* De Civitate Dei, xv. 23; c. Faust. xi. 2.

† Epistles, 107. Dr. Salmon, in his introduction, says that he does not understand the words 'signorum reverentiam;' but the meaning is clear. Jerome is evidently speaking of the reverence due to the titles of the books—i.e. the canonical authors to whom they were traditionally ascribed.

‡ De Civ. Dei, lib. xv. cap. xxiii.

passage we may note in passing that it makes canonical merit dependent on the self-evidenced truth or falsehood in any given writing, and so far determinable by critical or spiritual insight rather than by extrinsic authority of any kind—a position, let us add, which has always been implicitly held by the most sane thinkers among the Fathers and Schoolmen, as well as by modern divines both Catholic and Protestant. Athanasius manifests almost a puritanic impatience of the Apocryphal writings and their nominally clandestine attributes, remarking, with satirical terseness, that they are more worthy of obscurity than recognition\* (*ἀποκρυφῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγνώσεως ἄξια*). A somewhat more complimentary interpretation of the title was suggested by our earlier Bible translators, viz. that they were wont to be read ‘not openly, but, as it were, in secret.’ Other guesses might be mentioned; but, inasmuch as their chiefest attribute seems to be their participation in the obscurity they are invoked to illumine, we pass them by. It might perhaps be thought superfluous to add another to these conjectures, but we cannot help suggesting one which we have never seen mentioned, and which has the recommendation of simplicity and directness. In our opinion Apocryphal means *non-revelational*, in accordance with a distinction indicated in more than one passage of the New Testament, and openly expressed by St. Paul in Colossians i. 26. It seems evident that the principle which largely dominated in establishing canonical merit, and thereby authority, was unveiling or disclosure—in technical language, revelation. The profession of esoteric doctrine, however common to the Gnostics and other alien dogmatists outside the pale of the Christian Church, was really opposed to the spirit and purport of its teaching. Nothing, therefore, could be more natural—we had almost said inevitable—than the discrimination between writings which gave information, manifested the Divine will, and others which either contained no information of the specific kind needed, or, if they claimed to contain it, presented it in a form so veiled as to be inscrutable. Our readers will see that this explication has the double advantage of explaining how Apocryphal came to have its first definite application to the esoteric or secret lore of the Gnostics, and why it obtained the secondary meaning, which it still retains, of spuriousness. Once granted that a given book was non-revelational, that it contained few or no

qualities entitling it to rank as a component part of the sacred process of unveiling, and the imputation of spuriousness or falsehood was certain to follow.

Passing from its title to its position between the Old and New Testaments, this has long afforded scope for more or less appropriate imagery and parallelism. With his Hebrew learning and strong Protestant sympathies, Dr. Lightfoot deprecated what he considered a mischievous intervention. 'Thus sweetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha doth thrust in between. . . . Like the two cherubims in the temple oracle, the end of the law and the beginning of the Gospel would touch one another did not this patchery of human invention divorce them asunder.' A more apposite illustration in respect of the place it has hitherto occupied in English Biblical learning would be Sheridan's well-known simile—'a blank leaf between the Old and New Testaments.' It would be easier to assign reasons for this blankness than to justify it. In part it must be ascribed to the protest which both the German and English reformers made to the usages of the Romish Church, which the Council of Trent ratified by a formal decree, placing the Apocrypha on the same plane of doctrinal authority as the other canonical scriptures. In part it was based on the principle, which in theory governed the Reformation both in Germany and England, of a direct appeal to the early Church. The sixth article of the Church of England, which assigns to the Apocrypha an inferior position as authoritative scripture, is avowedly a transcript of Jerome's verdict on the point, and the prefatory note in the Lutheran Bible is only a paraphrase of the same judgment. But though the secondary position of the Apocrypha, and the restriction of its functions to those purposes of general edification which it shares with all wholesome literature, has long been an article of faith among English Churchmen, it may be questioned whether the ignorance of its contents which has resulted from that standpoint is either creditable or justifiable. Dr. Salmon, in his learned and interesting introduction to the volumes we are noticing, mentions several allusions, the source of which is mostly forgotten by reason of our general ignorance of the Apocryphal writings:—

'In the present general neglect of the Apocrypha, young readers require a commentator to explain to them why Shylock should

exclaim "A Daniel come to judgement!" or why Milton should describe Raphael as the "affable archangel," or as

"the sociable spirit that deigned  
To travel with Tobias, and secured  
His marriage with the seven-times-wedded maid."

'Of those who quote the saying "*Magna est veritas et prævalebunt*," probably a majority could not tell whence it was derived. Christian names still in use—Susan, Toby, Judith—bear witness to the influence once exercised by the books which bear these names, &c.'

A fuller research into our Elizabethan writers would probably add very largely to these examples. The common proverb about the impossibility of touching pitch without defilement seems to have its source in the Apocrypha, while a still more interesting allusion than any of those adduced, the proverb '*Antiquitas sæculi, juvenus mundi*,' which is commonly ascribed to Bacon, but which is found in the works of Vives and Giordano Bruno, has been traced to its earliest source in 2nd Esdras (xiv. 10),\* while the same book supplies us with what closely resembles the root-thought of the doctrine of evolution (v. 46-49).

But the inability to trace allusions, proverbs, &c., to their source is after all but an incidental and comparatively unimportant result of our ignorance of the Apocrypha. We shall presently have to notice a much more serious deficit in our Biblical culture arising from the same ignorance. Meanwhile we hasten to express our satisfaction that the long-deserved reproach of our neglect of these writings has at last been removed by the publication of the volume at the head of this article, constituting the final or Apocryphal instalment of the 'Speaker's Commentary.' The intervening leaf in our English Bibles between the Old and New Testaments is no longer blank, and, without anticipating what we shall have to say in the way of criticism, we may add that the blankness has, on the whole, been filled up in a highly creditable manner. The 'razed tablet' has been so judiciously inscribed as to reflect no small amount of light on each of the two Testaments towards which it presented up to now a vacant and non-luminous surface.

Recognising in these volumes an edition of the Apocrypha which is destined to be authoritative in English Biblical

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\* 'The world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old.' This is rendered in some of the early editions of the Latin Bible (e.g. Paris, 1525) in a form which would readily suggest the common proverb—'*Sæculum perdidit juventutem suam, et tempora appropinquant senescere.*'

literature for some time to come, we think the occasion appropriate for reminding our readers of those aspects of permanent value that collection of writings may claim to possess. The independent estimate thus attained will enable us to assess with more critical discrimination the requirements demanded of Apocrypha commentaries in general, as well as afford a standpoint for the impartial judgement of this Commentary in particular.

That the Apocrypha—apart from its origin and surroundings—does not possess an overpowering value of its own, whether literary or religious, its greatest admirers would probably concede. Deutero-canonical in title, it is confessedly secondary and subordinate. No doubt if the canonical books had no existence, the Apocryphal books would take higher rank; just as, to take a parallel case, if the dramas of Shakespeare did not exist, the dramatists of the Restoration might claim greater consideration. But, with whatever intrinsic demerits, the Apocrypha constitutes part of a national literature; it comprises all the records that remain to us of Jewish mental activity in the domain of speculation, poetry, and history during the four centuries that intervene between the prophet Malachi and the Christian era.

Regarded as a whole, and bearing in mind what Hebrew literature was in its noble prime, we are made painfully aware that the Apocrypha marks an age of spiritual and intellectual decadence. The rich originality, the spiritual intuition, the profound religious emotion of the old psalmists and prophets, are, if not exactly extinct, perceptibly secularised and *ipso facto* weakened. The prophetic oracular impulse, the Divine inspiration, of seer and singer is no longer original; it is mostly borrowed and derivative. The sublime and disinterested morality of the best of the ancient prophets has become narrowed, and, under the specious glamour of patriotism, tainted with selfishness. The generally high spiritual tone of the Hebrew records—the worthiest products of the theocratic ideas and institutions of the race—is no longer freely flowing and continuous, but intermittent and fragmentary. Coming to the perusal of the Apocrypha from the sublime utterances of the canonical scriptures, we seem conscious of sharing in a Lazarus banquet—‘crumbs fallen from a rich man’s table.’ We seem to partake of wine which is mostly dregs and diluted sediment. Doubtless the crumbs are occasionally of such a kind as to betray their origin; they demonstrate the richness and rarity of the comestibles whence they are derived; they prove that the table was indisputably

‘a rich man’s;’ and the wine, though reduced to dregs, similarly accredits itself as the residuum of a royal and potent vintage. Still the enjoyment derivable from such a feast pertains especially to the past which it suggests rather than to the present actually before us. No man having drunk the old wine of the canonical books straightway desireth new, for he saith the old is better. But while we regard the Apocrypha as the outcome of a decadent era, we have no wish to push the conclusion so far as to imperil the supreme interests of critical veracity. As a matter of fact, like the kingdoms in nature, the different stages in the physical history of the globe, or the successive epochs in the history of any other given literature, the canonical and deutero-canonical books, both in their spiritual and literary qualities, overlap. There are excellences in the Apocryphal writings which might take rank with some of those of its canonical predecessors; proverbs worthy of Solomon; speculations keen and uncompromising as those of Job and the Preacher; prayers equal to the best of the psalmists; prophetic aspirations and anticipations which might have emanated from Isaiah or Ezekiel. We dare not draw a rigid line between portions of the book of Daniel and the story of Bel and the Dragon, and the Apocryphal addition to the book of Esther is so far a ‘colourable imitation’ of the canonical book of the name that it would be very difficult to differentiate them. No theory of inspiration or canonicity, or, for that matter, no method of secular criticism, would suffice, in our opinion, to demarcate into opposite logical divisions portions of the canonical and Apocryphal books. We must, therefore, express our regret at finding a tendency among our present commentators to exaggerate the diversities between the two orders of writings, and to convert into a real and impassable chasm what is after all only an irregularly drawn surface boundary like the lines on a map. Canon Farrar, e.g., commits himself to the astounding proposition that ‘the book of Wisdom is, as a whole, far inferior to the humblest of the canonical writings’ (ii. p. 407), a dictum of which it is hard to say whether it is more characterised by mere forgetfulness or rank injustice.

The first characteristic of the Apocrypha, regarded as an integral portion of Jewish literature, consists in the fact that it is *the literature of the Dispersion*. No doubt some of the later books of the Old Testament bear traces of foreign influence, notably Koheleth, Esther, and Daniel. Still it cannot be said that the continuity of Jewish literature



as such was profoundly modified by contact with Assyria, Persia, or Greece. Even in the books just mentioned the traces of foreign influence in respect of opinion, usages, &c., though distinctly marked, are neither so great nor so numerous as many critics would have us believe. There is, indeed, a curious but instructive analogy between the Hebrew race and its language as to its readiness in assimilating foreign elements. The opinion of Fürst, recorded by Renan,\* 'que 'la langue des Juifs conserva toujours une certaine individualité,' is almost a truism, whether applied to the people or their language. Any skilled student is able to mark in the later books of the Hebrew canon, as well as in those of the Apocrypha which had a Hebrew origin, the difficulty with which the sacred language accommodated itself to the ideas, idioms, and terminology of alien tongues and peoples. Like the Jew himself in foreign lands, his thought and language were strangers and sojourners. They never regarded themselves as wholly at home. Their longing gaze was for ever turned back in the direction of Jerusalem and Mount Zion, the sacred and eternal centre of their law and worship.

We are thus able to understand the reflective reminiscenceful character common to all the writings of the Apocrypha. Their authors, doubtless feeling their lack of creative energy, think themselves obliged to imitate the masters in Israel. This is the meaning of their unscrupulous adoption of the great names of the Old Testament, e.g. Solomon, Baruch, Daniel, Ezra, &c., to father their writings. Nor is this all; the substance of the Apocryphal books is largely an echo of the older scriptures. Their histories, unless where they relate to contemporary events, are often concoctions from the canonical histories. Their proverbs and sentences are moulded, both in form and matter, on their Old Testament prototypes. Their prophecies, prayers, hymns, aspirations, the whole gamut, as we may term it, of their religious emotions, are modelled on analogous portions of the Hebrew scriptures. Even their Messianic hopes, the most vital and energising principle both of their national and religious life, derived no small part of its power from the retrospect of the reigns of David and Solomon, the golden age of the Hebrew nation.

What is true of the later books of the Old Testament, and their partial subjection to foreign and oriental influence, becomes still more true of Jewish literature after the con-

quests of Alexander and the diffusion of the Greek language. One especial, perhaps the chief, significance of the Apocryphal books is that they disclose the nature and extent of the modifying influences of Hellenic thought and culture on Jewish literature. The commentators in these volumes are wellnigh unanimous in distinguishing between the indirect influence of Greek thought and the actual incorporation of its teachings into the Apocryphal writings. The former they concede, the latter they mostly deny. This position seems to us justifiable. It is the conclusion we should be led to form beforehand from a knowledge of the facts of the case. With their intense belief in the unique religious and moral superiority of their sacred books, it was not likely that they would adopt what could only plead the sanction of heathen authority; and yet, subjected as they were in every part of their life and conduct to heathen surroundings, they were not able to escape unconscious sway, nor to refrain from occasionally giving it literary expression. Scarce anything in the reading of the Apocrypha is more interesting to the thoughtful scholar than watching the *rapprochement* of Jewish and Hellenic thought towards each other. The Jewish writers are just as much on their guard against adopting formally Gentile teachings as the devout Jew was to watch against the touch of a corpse or any other ceremonial defilement.

But this must not hinder our recognition that the Apocrypha represents Jewish culture as undergoing, within certain limits, a process of expansion. It could not well be otherwise. When the Palestinian Jew was transported to the banks of the Euphrates, the valley of the Nile, or the cities of Syria or Asia Minor, he came in contact, not only with a new world of language and usage, of thought and feeling, but a world opposed in these and all other respects to that in which he had been brought up. Outside his own community, perhaps even within it, he was compelled to use an instrument of speech whose terms, ideas, and range of expression had little in common with Hebrew. He was confronted by political systems and theories of government which so far differed from the theocratic institutions of his native land that they had no relation to religion or worship. He found men professing allegiance to laws which had nothing in common with the ceremonial prescriptions which constituted the larger portion of Mosaic legislation. He was surrounded by divinities and modes of worship all of which were calculated to excite his bitterest disdain and aversion.

He was brought into forcible contact with usages of life, with pursuits and avocations, with modes of traffic and barter, of which his Palestinian life afforded no example. He found a literature, a mental culture and philosophy, wholly dissimilar from his native intellectual interests. No matter with what contempt or hatred he regarded these heathen surroundings, he could hardly help reasoning on them; indeed the Apocrypha proves that he did reason on them. If he was a man of any intellectual power, he was obliged to speculate on the relation of this larger human universe to his own petty world of Palestinian Judaism. Assuming that the God of his fathers was the presiding Deity of the universe, he must needs consider the aspects which his supremacy bore to alien deities and their worshippers. Sometimes the reasoning would take a discontented Titanic form, like the pleadings of the Æschylean Prometheus against the deities of Olympus, or the bold reproaches which Job launches against the operations of Providence. The books of 2nd Esdras and of Wisdom, as we shall see further on, supply us with reasonings of this type, and we learn both from the 1st Maccabees and from the pages of Josephus that the strain of anti-Jewish persuasion, together with considerations of commercial and social expediency, was often so great as to drive many into open revolt against the orthodoxy of Mosaism.

But, with whatever extreme results in certain directions and special cases, the process as a whole was self-disciplinary and expansive. The mental horizon of the Jews of the Diaspora was being enlarged in every direction in politics, in religion, in intellectual interests, in trade and commerce, in literature and language. No matter how unconscious they were of the process, or how much they strove against it, it followed its natural course, pursued every avenue of least resistance, and found in time its literary vent and expression.

On the other hand, we must in fairness not forget the many antagonistic influences which Judaism opposed to an expansion which involved a relaxation of orthodoxy both in speculation and practice. There were elements in Jewish culture and usage which Gentile surroundings, so far from weakening, helped to intensify. Just as the Rabbis pretend that their innumerable comments and minute refinements were designed as a 'fence to the law,' so the devout Jew was closely environed by legal prescriptions and ritual usages which, if they did not completely ward off, helped to nullify, the influence of his heathen surroundings. The knowledge

of the law constituted not only his religious, but the greater proportion of his intellectual, life. Josephus tells us that the Jew 'knew the law better than his own name,' and of the typical Jew this is doubtless no exaggeration. But the very root-thought of most of the Mosaic ordinances was the ceremonial uncleanness of the Gentiles. The law of clean and unclean meats forbade not only sharing in heathen meals, but even partaking of heathen-prepared food. The numerous and minute lustrative prescriptions, whatever their sanitary design, always included Gentile pollution as part of their purport. The rigid observance of days, monthly and annual feasts, specified times of daily prayer, all helped to entrench the Jew more completely within the sacred cordon of his ancestral faith. This legal fence was the stronger and more inflexible because it did not, as for the most part did the religious traditions and observances of the Gentiles, consist of vague unwritten regulations which differed largely according to locality and custom. The Jew's law was not only written, it was inscribed with the utmost particularity, and was the same to every Jew wherever his lot might be cast; while, to make its claims still more binding, it was taught in the many synagogues whose rise and developement, as we shall note further on, constitute one of the most remarkable facts in Jewish life and thought during the period covered by the Apocrypha. To these narrowing agencies must be added the literalism which was partly the natural outcome of the written law, and partly the result of the gradual concentration of all its additional comments and teachings in the great school or council at Jerusalem. We have analogous phenomena in the developement of Christianity into Romanism and the centralisation of all Christian truth and duty in the infallible dicta of the Papacy. The gradual merging of the rôle and influence of the old Hebrew prophet with his free inspired authority and ethical sympathies into the ecclesiastical function of the priest and scribe was also a change of a distinctly narrowing kind. Among influences of this type also must be enumerated the political unwisdom which looked merely to the theocratic and thaumaturgic bent of the national history and applied it without reserve to other times and far different circumstances.

At the same time we must beware of thinking that these varied forces had always precisely the same results, direct and indirect, which it seems to us they ought to have had. Every philosophic historian or far-seeing political observer—men,

e.g., of the type of De Tocqueville—are perfectly aware that the results of widespread movements, whether intellectual or political, are often curiously diverse both in character and extent. No doubt the Rabbinism which was the great feature of Jewish developement during the Apocrypha period had the narrowing and repressive effects commonly ascribed to it, but it had also in range and scope results of a very different kind. If it intensified the literal sanctity of the Mosaic law, it enlarged its bounds and gave it an increasing flexibility and power of adaptation to new circumstances and contingencies. We have phenomena of a precisely analogous kind in the scholasticism of the middle ages. *Exceptis excipiendis* the schoolmen bore the same relation to Christianity as the Rabbis did to Mosaism, and until recent times were subjected wholesale to similar reproaches of unduly limiting the teaching and sphere of thought of Christian theology. In reality, and on the whole, their action had an altogether different result. Their austere dialectics, subtle refinements, and far-reaching comments and illustrations gave a distinct and forcible impulse to free thought. Such men as Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockam, like the Rabbis of the school of Hillel, enlarged the domain of their original sacred tradition; but this implied *ipso facto* an extension of its inclusiveness, and a broadening and liberalising reflex action on the whole of its spirit and culture.

Examples more direct and obvious in their operation of the varied developement of Jewish culture furnished by the Apocrypha will be more fitly considered in future stages of this article. They cover the ground not only of speculation but of practice. Indeed the light thrown on the secular activities and interests of the Jews of the Dispersion is a feature of the Apocrypha which in our judgement has never been sufficiently appreciated. What we wish here to point out briefly are a few of the leading characteristics of the Apocrypha considered from our present standpoint as a portion of Jewish literature.

First, it possesses a wider range of subjects than the books of the Hebrew canon, for while it presents us with examples of every type of Scripture contained in the older canon, excepting Solomon's Song, it develops literary tendencies beyond its scope. The book of Tobit, e.g., is an example of the Jewish domestic novel, when its primitive homely features, such as we find depicted in the book of Ruth, were blended with a grotesque demonology partly

borrowed from oriental sources. The book of Judith may be classified as a sensational romance intensely Jewish in its immoral plot and savage *dénouement*. The story of Susanna is partly a moral fiction, partly an illustration of the judicial subtlety so often found in oriental tales, and of which the judgement of Solomon affords the only Old Testament instance. The legend of Bel and the Dragon is an extension, with oriental embellishments, of the species of history recounted in the book of Daniel. The vigorous diatribe against heathen idolatry known as the Epistle of Jeremy is similarly an expansion of a theme occurring more than once in the Hebrew prophets, though never treated with more incisive force and literary skill. All these developments manifest a kindred tendency. They all extend existing materials of Jewish literary activity into new directions and regions chiefly of weird orientalist imagination.

Secondly, the Apocryphal books transcend the range of the canonical by their greater variety of allusive and illustrative environment. They represent the Jews of the Diaspora in contact with Assyria and Persia in the East, as well as with Greece and Rome in the West. The effect this had in enlarging the range of their interests is a point that will meet us further on. Its purely literary results are apparent on every page of the Apocrypha books, sometimes assuming even an incongruous and bewildering aspect—the uncouth alliance of Judaism with orientalism, whether in the attempted blending of theocratic with idolatrous notions, or the clothing of Hebrew ideas in ill-assorted Hellenic terms, engendering equally a feeling of unsuitability, which we suspect most of our readers have felt on reading the Apocrypha.

Thirdly, a third characteristic which differentiates the Apocrypha from the older canon is the preponderance of what might be called *Tendenz-Schriften*. Its 'lighter literature,' such as the books of Tobit, Judith, &c., have either a moral to inculcate or cause to advocate; and even its historical portions, especially parts of the books of the Maccabees, are confessedly written from the same standpoint. We thus find that the simpler conception of a narrative or consecutive history such as we have in the Old Testament is, if not passing away, becoming very greatly modified. History, whether of persons or events, is no longer regarded as a chronicle of actual facts, or as having any immediate relation to objective veracity. The narrative is only the outward guise or investiture of the central idea, purpose, or

tendency, to which it stands in the relation of the protective shell to the valued kernel.

Having thus glanced at the chief attributes of the Apocryphal books considered as a literature, it is time to consider their classification. They may be divided into—1, gnomic; 2, legendary, epigraphic, and historical; 3, apocalyptic, in harmony with the usual tripartite division of the Hebrew canonical scriptures.

In point of importance the gnomic or sententious books, including as they do Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, must claim the first place in any enumeration of the Apocrypha scriptures. Besides forming the larger moiety of the whole collection, they constitute that didactic portion of it which suggested its use in the Church 'for example of life and instruction of manners.' They derive a further importance from their close connexion with the similar books of the Hebrew canon, the Proverbs, Koheleth, and Job—which constitute in reality a kind of Old Testament Talmud—partly a commentary, partly an extension of the Law, the filiation between them being more direct and complete than between any other portions of the canonical and apocryphal writings. The predilection of Jewish literature for collections of proverbs, parables, similes, analogies, gnomic precepts, &c., is a characteristic traceable throughout its whole history.\* It is, however, readily explicable. Its primary cause is the idiosyncrasy which pertains to the Semitic in common with other oriental races of employing gnomic forms, terse picturesque sentences, appropriate analogy, and striking imagery for all purposes of human intercommunication, whether in speech or in writing. Added to this is the special genius, as well as grammatical structure, of the Hebrew language for enabling pithy sentences to be concentrated into a few pregnant words. The rhythmic character not only of its poetical, but even of its prose, diction, when strongly stirred by emotion or any other cause, must also be held to operate in the same direction, while the theocratic nature of Hebrew institutions and ideas, and the resulting serious didactic purport of so much of its literature, form an additional and very powerful agency in the matter. The gnomic books of the Apocrypha are of especial interest, as they embody the practical

\* Comp. Zunz, 'Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden,' *passim*, on this point, or Dr. Steinschneider's article on Jewish Literature, in Ersch and Grüber, series ii. vol. xxvii. p. 374.

wisdom (1) of Palestinian, (2) of Alexandrian Judaism. That Ecclesiasticus is limited in its range by Palestinian and mostly national influences is now an accepted conclusion of all competent critics. At the same time the Palestinianism is neither narrow nor exclusive. The author has travelled beyond the bounds of the Holy Land, and has thereby consciously enlarged his mental horizon (xxxiv. 11) as well as his practical experience of humanity (xxxix. 4). He probably used his travels also as a means of enlarging his collection of gnomæ, since he compares himself to one that gleaneth after the grape-gatherers (xxxiii. 16, 17). Hence we must accept his collection of sentences, not only as epitomising the religious and moral condition of his countrymen in Palestine, but as comprehending that of the Jews of the Dispersion, regarded from a Palestinian point of view. The general result is in itself highly instructive, but we need not dwell on it here, inasmuch as we shall presently have to call our readers' attention to Dr. Edersheim's careful and accurate summary. What we wish to point out is the evidence the book affords of literary expansion, the broadening of those human interests which are the proper subjects of literary treatment. Ecclesiasticus is especially fitted for this purpose, inasmuch as it is avowedly a translation of the Hebrew of the older Siracide into the Greek of Ben Sira. Such a transposition, soon to be applied to the whole of the Old Testament scriptures, and with prodigious results, was in itself an effort of literary expansion. We observe, then, in Ecclesiasticus a broader treatment of distinctively Jewish doctrines, whether religious or merely secular. Though a devout Jew, imbued with the national reverence for the law, the author manifests an appreciation of intellectual independence which helps to explain occasional sympathies with Gentile usage and opinion (iv. 22, 23). The idea of God as contained generally in the Hebrew scriptures, if not greatly modified, is examined from more points of view. The great theme of the book—Wisdom—receives in its collateral meanings a broader treatment. Besides signifying as in the canonical books the fear of God and keeping His commandments, it receives a further amplification by being identified with the Divine law generally, including to a certain extent the law of nature, and sometimes is even regarded as synonymous with human knowledge, research, or speculation (xxiv. 25, 28, 29). The world is the work of God, the visible manifestation of His power and wisdom, justice and goodness. Though wisdom is held to imply knowledge of His works,



yet search into them is deprecated, inasmuch as they are unsearchable (xvii. 6, 7).

We have here a further proof of the expansion which attends all intellectual growth. The author is aware of the antinomies in which investigation into great truths is apt to terminate. Recognising the almighty power of God, and acknowledging that, in the Divine manipulation, men are but as the clay in the hands of the potter, he nevertheless insists distinctly on human free will (xv. 12-18). Similarly evil is held to be inevitable (xvii. 30, 31), and yet is ascribed to a dualistic origin (xi. 14-16). Contradictions of a like kind, which, as Fritzsche remarks,\* 'lie unreconciled in 'peaceful juxtaposition in his mind,' pervade his secular maxims. While, e.g., inculcating kindness and love to all, especially to the poor, he nevertheless advocates distrust in every direction wherein an unfortunate experience of humanity might seem to justify it. The great, the rich, the powerful, new and untried friends, those possessed of divergent interests, must not receive our confidence, and even near relatives, wives, and children are placed in the same category of suspicion (xxx. 19, 22). A further extension of Jewish interests, attended by the distinct advance in intellectual growth, is marked by a change from agricultural and manual callings to the commercial and trading pursuits by which the Jews have been mainly distinguished from the Dispersion to the present day (xxxviii. 24-31, comp. xlii. 3, 4, 7). The temptations besetting such a course are at the same time pointed out with sufficient distinctness (xxvi. 29, xxvii. 2).

A new kind of literary developement, somewhat out of harmony with the genius and spirit of Judaism, is represented by the occasional instances of irony and a grim saturnine humour which meet us in the words of Ben Sirā. A parallel to the well-known proverb of Satan rebuking sin is found in the ironical remark (xxi. 27), 'When the ungodly 'curseth Satan he curseth his own soul.' The eagerness of the news- or scandal-monger to unbosom himself is portrayed with equal irony and grotesque humour (xix. 10, 11, 12). The comparison of land culture with patron culture could only have emanated from a nice perception of congruous incongruities (xx. 28); and the same remark is applicable to the description of him that buildeth his house with other

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\* Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zur den Apocryphen, part v, p. xxxiy.

men's money (xxi. 8). Similar instances of humorous description meet us throughout the book (comp. e.g. xxii. 7, xxv. 20, xxxviii. 15). The phenomenon, as a literary characteristic, is the more remarkable on account of its comparative rarity in after-developements of Jewish literature, as e.g. in the Talmud. Doubtless that encyclopædia of all things knowable, and a great many unknowable, furnishes scattered instances of quaint remark, and a humorous perception of the relations of things; but its general tone and spirit is distinguished by nothing more than an amazing insensibility to humour. A developement of that saving grace of all good literature, of which we find traces in the wisdom of Ben Sira, would have greatly diminished the countless puerilities and absurdities, the perpetual infractions of good taste and common sense, which have rendered the Talmud, however unworthily in many respects, the reproach of Hebrew literature.

When we pass to the book of Wisdom we are still in the region of gnostic culture, but with a difference. Instead of being wholly practical, it is now largely speculative. Instead of being confined to the ideas of Palestinian Judaism, it is considerably flavoured with Alexandrian Hellenism. From a literary standpoint this may claim to be an advance. The range of thought and intellectual interests of the book have a wider and more comprehensive sweep than those of Ecclesiasticus, added to which its exhortation to study and speculation, regarded as ends in themselves, contrasts favourably with the onesided and selfish prudence which is too frequently Ben Sira's ideal of human wisdom. We find here, too, indications of intellectual movement and developement of Jewish thought in directions which, if not new and untried, are outside the general limits of the national sympathies. The elaborate treatment of wisdom—the theme and chief feature of the book—involves an advance in the appreciation of metaphysical questions exceeding all that we find in prior Jewish literature. We note also, in relation to the same subject of wisdom, a striking developement in theories of creation and the providential rule of the universe. Not only is wisdom the divine assessor in the creation, but she seems regarded as the divine energy which permeates the whole Kosmos, and imparts to it motion and vitality. Besides these more profound investigations which necessarily surround his treatment of wisdom, we find incidental borrowings from Greek philosophy, not quite in harmony with his Hebrew standpoint, such as e.g. the creation of the world

out of formless matter, the Platonic doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and the relation of soul and body, the Stoic theory of the soul of the world, &c. But the author is in truth an eclectic philosopher, like his possible contemporary Philo, and makes no attempt at, or profession of, systematic thought. He is inspired both as to method and style by the wisdom-literature of the Hebrews, and sustained ratiocination is wholly foreign to his purpose.\* That his work marks a considerable advance both in Hebrew thought and its literary expression few critics would deny. It is the firstfruits of that union of Greek thought with Hebrew religion and ethical practice which was destined to acquire such importance in the subsequent literary development of the Jews. Just as Ben Sira expanded the gnomology of preceding writers by opening up the larger vistas of human relations, and disclosing the new ramifications of human duties, which the increasingly varied environment of the race suggested, so the pseudo-Solomon showed how gnomic wisdom, with its sententious forms, was compatible with a considerable measure of foreign speculation; and, further, how such speculation might be indulged in without any essential modification of, or departure from, the Hebrew standard of orthodoxy.

Let us add that the gnomic literature of the Old Testament and Apocrypha received a further development—

1. In its Christian offshoot, by the high place assigned to proverbs, parables, and analogies in the teaching of the New Testament.
2. By the distinctively Jewish literature of the Talmud. The Rabbis not only taught by short sentences and pregnant apophthegms, but laid exclusive stress on the legal observances and rules of practical life, befitting such a sententious method. It is not sufficiently remembered that the gnomic manner of teaching became transmitted by means of the Talmud into modern literature. The well-known ‘*Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*,’ published by Caxton, is an illustration which will readily occur to students of our older literature.

The second division of the Apocrypha scriptures, in which we group all the remaining works with the exception of 2nd Esdras, comes next for consideration. Some of our

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\* The best essay on the book of Wisdom which has recently appeared in English literature is the fifth chapter of the first volume of Professor Drummond’s work on ‘*Philo and the Jewish Alexandrian ‘Philosophy*,’ pp. 177–229.

readers may feel surprise that we have grouped the historical books 1st Esdras and the two books of the Maccabees with the smaller and legendary books. We have, however, done so advisedly, for the general reason that no accurate line of demarcation can be drawn between them. For anything that can be demonstrated to the contrary, the books of Tobit and Judith and the story of Susanna may have had an historical basis, and no more can fairly be claimed for the greater portion of the Maccabean writings. The first book of Esdras is made up of portions of the canonical books Ezra, Nehemiah, and 2 Chronicles, with a flavouring of Eastern legend. It is in this union of Hebrew with oriental element in the domain of history that the scriptures of the Apocrypha differ from those of the Hebrew canon. The difference is doubtless not so much one of kind as of degree, since a flavouring of orientalism may readily be detected in all the later books of the Old Testament. But the growth in this direction is not only demonstrable, it is rendered *a priori* natural and reasonable by the very existence and large area of the Diaspora. At the same time the first book of the Maccabees must claim to be exceptional in this respect. Palestinian in its range, it is wholly Hebrew in its colouring. The variety and enhancement of interest imparted in other cases by Eastern associations is in this supplied by a glowing and fervid patriotism. Considered apart from literature, and as a mere record of a war of national freedom waged against tremendous odds and terminating in brilliant triumph, the first book of the Maccabees is a record of one of the most striking episodes in the whole compass of Jewish history. Its historical significance will, however, meet us further on. Dealing now with its literary aspect, we may point out that it indicates a larger view of political questions and contingencies, and that its narrative form is simpler and more direct. That such an episode, charged as it was with patriotic and religious enthusiasm, did not produce a greater and more varied literary harvest, must always be a matter of surprise. In all probability, however, the harvest was in reality greater than we suppose. The main direction it seems to have taken was Apocalyptic and Messianic—this, at least, is the character of the pseud-epigraphic writings which belong to this period, as, e.g., the book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, &c. In all probability what has come down to us constitutes but a portion of this class of literature which circulated at that time. The existence of the Maccabean Psalms must, we suppose, con-

tinue to be held doubtful, though all the circumstances of the time seem to us to favour such an hypothesis. But the Maccabean struggle, and the settlement which followed, doubtless produced other and more indirect results favourable to the growth of intellectual activity. The rise and rapid growth of the Rabbinical schools, the renewed interest thereby awakened in the national literature and religion, are effects which we find continuous up to the Christian era. As Canon Westcott has well remarked,\* 'it was from Judas and those whom he inspired that the old faith received its last development and final impress before the coming of our Lord.'

Of the second book of Maccabees, and the legendary literature we have grouped with it, we have already spoken incidentally. They manifest alike the vivid play of imagination on historical or quasi-historical material, whether Jewish or oriental. They are dominated by the same spirit of unqualified and relentless patriotism, both of them being influences distinctly traceable in after Jewish literature through its whole duration.

The third or apocalyptic division of the Apocrypha found in the second book of Esdras need not detain us long. Both from a spiritual and from a literary point of view the apocalyptic writer is the lineal successor of the old Hebrew prophet. He is the natural outcome of the seer's inspiration, his passionate enthusiasm, his boundless aspiration transcending the limits of terrestrial conditions and restraints, and finding realisation in an ideal world at some future time. The passing of Hebrew prophecy into its apocalyptic stage is a phenomenon which already meets us in the prophet Daniel and other of the later books of the Old Testament; and it seems to synchronise very largely with the falling off of the lofty didactic and ethical elements which distinguish Hebrew prophecy in its prime. This want of the nobler attributes of prophecy is one of the first impressions which the reader of the Apocrypha is likely to experience. 'The oracles are dumb' would not improbably be his verdict, and the judgement is only an echo of the wail of the author of 1 Maccabees (ix. 27) over the time that 'a prophet had not been seen in Israel.' That the prophetic office had been partly transferred to the priest we have already remarked as a symptom of spiritual decadence in the Apocryphal period; how far the exercise of another moiety of the prophetic functions by the Apocalypticist during this period

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\* Article 'Maccabees' in Smith's Bible Dictionary.

of political and religious excitation was or was not advantageous is a question we cannot answer. We may, however, suspect from the emphatic warning of Ben Sira (xxxiv. 5) against 'divinations, soothsayings, and dreams,' that mystical visions and revelations of every kind, whether relating to public or private matters, formed no small part of the religious environment of the Jews during the two centuries preceding the Christian era, and that their estimate of them as Divine oracles was a belief liable to great abuse.

That the second book of Esdras represents a literary development of Hebrew Apocalypticism no careful student of its pages would dare deny. It is a distinct advance, e.g., on the canonical book of Daniel, inasmuch as the mystic vision is no longer the vehicle of mere vague forecast, but of ratiocination and intellectual research. The author is in point of fact an interesting combination of two out of 'the three 'righteous men' of later Hebrew prophecy—Daniel and Job—uniting the visionary tendencies of the former with the keen philosophical criticism of the latter. As, however, we shall have a little more to say on this question when we come to discuss the book, we hasten now to the second element of permanent value contained in the Apocrypha, viz. its value as a *præparatio evangelica*. By this, however, we do not mean that we have in the Apocryphal books an anticipation on any great scale of the teachings of the New Testament; what we mean is that they show in process of actual formation and development the ideas, customs, beliefs, and institutions among which Christianity was destined to take root. When Dr. Lightfoot complained that 'the wretched 'Apocrypha doth thrust in between' the Old and New Testaments, he wrote at a time when not only everything relating to the Bible was conceived of under a sudden uncaused and miraculous aspect, but when anything like a philosophy of history was quite unknown. Happily both for sacred and for so-called profane history, that time has long gone by. No thoughtful or educated man would now deny that the gradual processes which obtain in the changes and evolutions of other nations are to be excluded from Jewish history. And the Apocrypha, so far from divorcing what should be joined together, fills a chasm of which, if that literature did not exist, we should be painfully conscious. We claim for the Apocrypha not that it furnishes us with the plant, or tree, or flower of Christianity, but that it supplies us with its seed-bed in the actual process of preliminary preparation. Few thoughtful readers of the Bible, especially those ignorant of Jewish history and literature outside its

pages, can have passed from the consideration of the Old to that of the New Testament without being conscious of something like a lacuna—without feeling that the intellectual and social no less than the political environment of the Jews has undergone momentous changes during those four centuries. Such a student finds mention of persons and sects and schools of which he can find no trace in the Old Testament. He comes upon beliefs and opinions for which the earlier canon does not even furnish a clue. He discovers institutions long settled and dominating the religious life of the people of which the Old Testament supplies not even the name. He finds popular ideas, religious terms and phrases in current use wholly unlike those of ancient psalmists and prophets. In short, he finds himself in what is virtually a new world, both of thought and life. The sensation may be paralleled to a certain extent by imagining a similar stride from one illustrious epoch in the history of a nation or literature to another some centuries distant, when all the conditions of existence have become profoundly modified. Even if the intervening period be comparatively uninteresting, a competent knowledge of it is imperative for him who would understand the epochs it sunders. In the ordinary course of terrestrial things, deserts will persist in dividing many a fruitful Egypt from a Promised Land, and must be traversed, even if immediate and magical modes of locomotion be in his power, by everyone who would gain a true geographical intelligibility of both countries. The light which the Apocrypha reflects both on the Hebrew and Christian scriptures is enormous, and might be made the theme of a considerable treatise. One good effect which we confidently look for from these volumes is awakening the dormant faculties of Englishmen to this important truth. Here, however, we can only deal with the Christian part of the question.

First, the Apocrypha reveals the growth of religious tendencies, sects, and schools which attain a maturer developement in the New Testament. The chief of these are: 1, Messianism; 2, the Logos doctrine; 3, Rabbinism. We have only space for a brief glance at each.

1. The origin and general growth of the Messiah idea have of late years been elaborated in well-known works devoted to the subject, to which we refer our readers.\* Our own special

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\* See especially Mr. Stanton's '*Jewish and Christian Messiah*,' Edinburgh, 1886.

concern is with the Messianism of the Apocrypha. This presents peculiar features worthy of a passing glance. We find that the personal character of the Messiah, so strongly insisted on by the Old Testament prophets, has undergone a change. The national hope has expanded from a king to a kingdom. Some of the writers in these volumes appear not only to regret this change, but to consider it anomalous and retrogressive. We must profess our entire inability to concur with them. Surely fluctuations and vicissitudes in such an expectation—the idealised product of religious excitation and patriotic fervour—are phenomena we have every reason to expect. However inevitable to a Christian the conception of a personal Messiah, that of a supreme dominion which should embrace all heathendom, whose capital was Jerusalem, whose law and religion was Mosaism, and whose true ruler was God, so far from being an ideal foreign to the theocratic opinions and institutions of the Jews, was wholly in harmony with them. Nay more, Messianism in this sense was but the legitimate expansion, suggested and stimulated by such facts as the Captivity and the Dispersion, of the theocratic rule which, amid all the national vicissitudes, continued to be the root-thought of Jewish conceptions of government. We doubt much whether there ever was a period in Jewish history in which this vague theocratic aspiration had assumed in popular belief a completely consolidated personal form; on the other hand, it appears to us that the indications given us in the New Testament point to a lax and undefined conception of the personality of the Messiah even when the belief tended in that direction among sections of the Jewish people. Those who choose to compare the scattered allusions to the Messianic kingdom\* contained in the Apocrypha with the popular belief of the New Testament will not find much difference in the personal aspect of the question, though there is a considerable expansion in the later writings as to what may be termed the eschatological accompaniments of the new kingdom.

2. A much more distinct developement may be traced in the Logos idea, which forms so prominent a feature of the fourth gospel. The origin of the abstraction is no more difficult in the case of the Hebrew than in that of any other language. It is a natural outcome of what may be termed theocratic metaphysics. Like all such products, its primitive form, such as we find it in the canonical books Proverbs



and Job, is vague; but during the Apocrypha period, and by means of contact with the Platonism of Alexandria, the notion exhibits very distinct marks of developement, until, with the aid of Philo, as presenting a still further stage in the same direction, we come to the complete personification of St. John. It would be difficult to point out any subject-matter in which the Apocrypha is more helpful to the reader of the New Testament than this ample witness which it bears to the evolutionary stages of the Logos. The subject has, however, been treated recently by Professor Drummond\* in so exhaustive a manner that we need do no more than refer our readers to it.

3. But the most popular and wide-spreading influence of the New Testament period—embracing not only the profounder ideas of the few, but the ordinary religious prepossessions, usages, and opinions of the many—on the origin and developement of which the Apocrypha throws light, is undoubtedly Rabbinism. The rise and growth of this massive, myriad-formed popular religionism is one of the most interesting questions of Jewish religious history, and one of profound import in the early history of Christianity. Its early progress is marked in the Apocrypha by incidental allusions, and by its close assimilation of method to the gnostic books, but its later differentiation into sects, schools, and beliefs, such as we find existing in the New Testament, is only obscurely intimated. Rabbinism is the matrix out of which the sects of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, the institutions of synagogues and proseuchæ, emerged; the crude doctrinal tendency of which the early teachings of the Talmudists with their various schools and sects, the popular beliefs of the Jews, both in politics, social life, and religion, are so many varied ramifications. That it had its broader as well as narrower implications as regards Judaism we have already seen, and a philosophical insight into the early history of Christianity would tend to show that these opposite tendencies were reproduced in that history. Hausrath, in his very interesting ‘*Zeitgeschichte*,’ has pointed out traces of Rabbinic method in the teachings of Christ, and we may concede this as an incidental adoption of customary argumentation without losing sight of the fact that the general impression produced on the popular mind by His method was ‘that He taught as one having authority

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\* See the work above mentioned on ‘Philo and the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy.’

‘and not as the Scribes.’ St. Paul, however, presents us with a fairly complete and most interesting illustration of Rabbinical method in its broader aspects, most of the events in his life, as well as evolutions in his teaching, being explicable by a comprehensive knowledge of the multiform aspects of Rabbinism.

Besides these larger outgrowths of Messianism, Rabbinism, &c., which pertain to the Apocrypha epoch, or rather forming subordinate portions of them, are other developments of Jewish faith found in the New Testament. Angelology and demonology are shown to have grown considerably during the Apocrypha period. Eschatological conceptions, the notions of the resurrection, final judgement, heaven, and hell, have acquired more definite outlines. The doctrines of the Holy Spirit, pre-existence and immortality of souls share a similar development. Some elements in the teaching of Christ—e.g. the identification of almsgiving as righteousness; the negative form of the golden rule, forgiveness to be bought by forgiving—find incidental mention in the Apocrypha. St. Paul’s doctrines of election and reprobation, retribution and atonement, his account of the Christian panoply, his conception of original sin, are found current in the Apocrypha period. Similarly such popular religious terms as grace, faith, hope, salvation, regeneration, Son of Man, kingdom of heaven, &c., together with such phrases and similes as an extended knowledge of Greek would be likely to import into Jewish literature, are discovered in the Apocryphal books. The late Emmanuel Deutsch, in his well-known article on the Talmud, based the importance he ascribed to that collection on the fact that it supplies the origin of such recognised Christian terms and ideas. It seems to us that the claim may most fitly be made for the Apocrypha as standing, at least for Christians, in the direct line of literary and religious succession. To extend these instances of obligation which readers of Christian scriptures owe to the Apocrypha would be an easy task. Happily, however, since the publication of these volumes it has become needless. The notes are perpetually occupied in pointing out these similarities, and the introductions give especial attention to the same subject. That they should occur more frequently in the gnomic books than elsewhere is only what might have been expected. Dr. Edersheim, e.g., gives a long list of parallelisms between Ecclesiasticus and the Epistle of St. James, thereby attesting the strongly practical tendencies common to the two authors

(ii. p. 22). Similarly Canon Farrar has a useful paragraph showing the numerous correspondences between the pseudo-Solomon and the New Testament writers generally (vol. ii. p. 408).

We must, however, leave this part of our subject, on which we might have enlarged more fully had we not been withheld by want of space and a fear of exhausting our readers' patience. We trust we have sufficiently proved our main theses: (1) The independent value of the Apocryphal writings regarded as a portion of Jewish literature; (2) Their especial interest and importance to Christians as showing the field of Christianity in process of preparatory culture. Turning now to the volumes before us, we are at once conscious of one defect in their general plan. There is no attempt to point out the relation of the Apocrypha either to the Old Testament or to the New. The book continues that disregard of the Apocryphal writings, considered as an integral portion of Jewish literature, which we consider a capital defect both of Continental and English Protestantism. Obviously this should have been supplied either by the editor or, still better, by Dr. Salmon in his introduction. This, no doubt, is a very learned and pleasingly written performance, but it seems to us to lay stress too exclusively on the antiquarian aspects of the Apocrypha, and not to have realised the more immediate and present-day interests the collection possesses both for Jews and Christians. He lays stress on the fact that the Apocryphal books are not quoted directly by New Testament writers. This may, in the fullest signification of the term 'quotation,' be true; but it is not true, as we have shown, in respect of ideas, words, and phrases incorporated in the New Testament writings without mention of their source. The remark is couched in a spirit of peevish exclusiveness as to canonicity which mars other portions of his introduction. The only direct attempt contained in these volumes at showing the evolution of Jewish doctrines through the Apocrypha period down to the Christian era is found in Professor Fuller's second excursus, affixed to his introduction to Tobit, which deals with angelology and demonology (vol. i. p. 171). This is, however, but a small part of the general subject.

Another point of general criticism on which we cannot think our commentators, or rather the guiding spirits responsible for the plan of the 'Speaker's Commentary,' are to be congratulated relates to the text. It is admitted by all competent critics that the authorised text of the Apocrypha

is execrable. It is not only wretched as a translation where the text is trustworthy, but is vitiated by numerous false readings of the original texts, &c. Now we can understand the arrangement that in a commentary on the canonical books written by the bishops and clergy of the English Church the Authorised Version should have been adhered to, but the Apocrypha, we submit, stands on a different footing. It has no doctrinal authority, and forms but an infinitesimal part of the lectionary. Its commentators should, therefore, as it appears to us, have been allowed ample freedom in emendations whenever the translation is clearly wrong or its meaning imperfectly expressed. The propriety of this course is emphasised by the completion of the Revised Version of the canonical scriptures. Without entering here on the merits of that performance, we may express our opinion that the writers here chosen to comment on the Apocryphal books were quite equal to a revision of the translation which might at least have approximated to the Revised Version standard. No doubt false readings of texts and mistranslations are continually corrected in the notes, but this is not enough; the continuous reading of the Apocrypha is marred in this, as in all prior editions, by grotesque mistranslations and perversions of every kind. We see that the publisher has already put forth a condensed version of the canonical portions of the 'Speaker's Commentary;' we may assume that he will follow this up by a similar version of these volumes. In that case we venture to suggest that he will do well to allow an entire recast of the text, with the improved renderings found in the notes of these volumes duly incorporated, all the poetical and gnomic portions set out, as in the Revised Version, in poetical form, and with a large curtailment of introductions, notes, &c. If he desires an example of the sort of book required, the seventh volume of Bunsen's 'Bibelwerk' seems to us to furnish valuable hints. There we find epitomised histories of the period, an improved translation of the text, accompanied by brief but pointed footnotes, and containing as an appendix fragments of the book of Enoch. On some such plan we might have a real desideratum in our Biblical literature, viz. a volume which, incorporating the Apocrypha together with illustrative portions of the book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, and the book of Jubilees, should form a connecting volume between the Old and New Testaments. Such a work would go a great way towards rendering commentaries on the New Testament superfluous.

Our next general criticism is commendatory. It is impossible, we believe, to deny that these volumes of the 'Speaker's Commentary' are, as a whole, superior to the rest. We do not mean that the authors are more learned, or that they manifest ampler research or greater exegetical insight. What we mean is that they seem animated by a new sense of freedom. They have no dogmatic or doctrinal interests to subserve. They may have their say on Ben Sira or the pseudo-Solomon as freely as if they were commenting on Herodotus or Plato. They are fettered by no laws but those of philology, and are responsible to no tribunal but that of conscience and critical veracity. We need not here insist on the bias, often doubtless unconscious, which has rendered English Biblical exegesis the passive instrument of foregone theories of inspiration or dogmatic exigency. For that matter the general history of Biblical interpretation is surcharged with illustrations of this unhappy and immoral subserviency. Without touching controversial issues which are admittedly beyond our scope, we cannot help saying that all these questions as to the nature and extent of inspiration would be greatly simplified, at least for the lay intellect, if the recognised principles of literary discrimination were allowed to take part, albeit only as a subsidiary issue, in their solution. To take a case in point: Dr. Salmon, in his introduction, discussing the acceptance of the Apocrypha as inspired, and maintaining that this would necessitate 'a low theory of inspiration,' has the following remarks (vol. i. p. xxxiv):—

'The two classes of books (the Old Testament and Apocrypha) can be put on the same level either by magnifying the authority ascribed to the former or depressing that ascribed to the latter. Thus, for example, the rationalistic critic of the present day who does not ascribe inspiration, as the Church understands the word' (we never knew that the English Church had ever put forward a definition of Inspiration), 'to any books has no inclination to set the books of the Apocrypha in any inferior position. Jewish literature of one age has as many claims on his regards as Jewish literature of another.'

Surely a proposition more at variance with fact it would be impossible to formulate. Does Dr. Salmon really suppose that any critic possessed of the veriest elements of reason and insight would dream of placing, e.g., the selfish maxims or the petty platitudes of Ben Sira, or the grotesque absurdities of Tobit, on the same plane of literary excellence as Isaiah, Ezekiel, or the Psalms? Theories of inspiration have hardly more to do with the question than theories of

astronomy. Would any sane man hold that an inspiration theory was needed to mark, e.g., the difference between Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and Martin F. Tupper's 'Proverbial Philosophy'? This is precisely the invocation of a superfluous *deus ex machina*, which renders the principles and methods of theologians so unsatisfactory to the ordinary lay intellect. The relation of the Apocrypha to the canonical scriptures is on the whole quite intelligible of itself, without complicating the issue with foregone theories and conclusions of any kind.

Another aspect of the general sense of freedom with which, spite of the unfortunate diagnosis we have just criticised, and a few incidental remarks elsewhere, we are ready to credit the writers of these volumes, is their readiness to avail themselves of Continental labours in the same field. Each of them acknowledges the help he has derived from the Apocryphal portion of the 'Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.' On the whole, this well-known work still remains the best commentary on the Apocrypha, although, on the questions of textual sources, geographical discoveries, and comparative philology, it is no doubt partly superseded by the present work, which is more up to date. The constant references to it and to other German authorities are made in a spirit of grateful recognition, which contrasts pleasingly with the suspicious and grudging temper with which such references were too often made in the canonical portion of the 'Speaker's Commentary.' We have only noticed a single example of this unworthy spirit in the compass of these volumes. Professor Rawlinson in one place speaks of Ewald in connexion with 'the sceptical school,' an association which would have greatly surprised as well as shocked the great critic, who considered that his whole life's labours had been an unceasing and uncompromising polemic with such extreme sections of Biblical research.

We should, however, be rendering inadequate justice to the individual commentators were we to limit our remarks to their general characteristics regarded as a whole. Without anticipating our verdict in each special case, we may here say without distinction that all the writers have attained an unusually high level of hermeneutic excellence. All prove themselves possessed of undeniable qualifications on the score of scholarship and research, as well as in that of insight and fairness. And the general result is one of which English exegetics has every reason to feel proud. As regards the separate books to which we must devote the remainder of our

article, they are of course marked by the individual tastes and idiosyncrasies of their respective authors; but they do not betray greater diversities of treatment than might have been expected from a haphazard collection of scholars interested each in his special subject. Entire uniformity, even were it desirable, would in such a case be practically unattainable.

The two books of Esdras assigned to the sur-master of St. Paul's school are treated with learning and care. The first book, consisting as it does of reproductions of the canonical writings of the Persian period, is almost equally destitute of independent value and interest. The object of the writer has been a riddle to his commentators, both ancient and modern. Mr. Lupton's view appears to us at least as probable as any that has been set forth. He concludes 'that the writer wished alike to stimulate his countrymen to a more zealous observance of the law and to win for them the favour of some foreign ruler—it might be one of the Ptolemies.' The curious episode related in chapter iv. seems out of harmony with the general character of the book. It is an Eastern apologue or gnostic competition such as was often resorted to in order to relieve the ennui of oriental courts. But, though the story and its incidents bear a strongly Eastern character (Ewald thought it might have been derived from some book of Persian court stories), yet the solution of the given problem bears a close relation to Hebrew modes of thought, inasmuch as truth is identified with the Creator of the universe, and is affirmed to be superior to all things. On these two points the author seems to us to come near to the absolute and immutable relations of truth and righteousness as they are represented in the canonical prophets and psalms.

The second book of Esdras, though a hybrid production of unknown but probably post-Christian date, is a work of much greater interest. Its most remarkable feature is the witness it bears to the growth and direction of Jewish speculation after the captivity. Mr. Lupton not very happily compares 'the deep problems of human life which are propounded in it to those which Bishop Butler deals with in the first part of his "Analogy."' A keener perception of congruity would have compared them to the similar speculations contained in the Psalms and the books of Job and the Preacher. Jewish thought, until a comparatively late period, did not concern itself with the large problems which English deists of the eighteenth century propounded and, *more suorum*, claimed to solve. The providence of the Jews was essentially limited.

Its sphere of operation was circumscribed by the chosen people, and 'the moral government of the world,' as they understood it, referred not to processes and issues in operation among all men in every place, but merely among those who were of Abraham's seed. A very apt illustration of the manner in which Jewish thought expanded in concentric circles, so to speak—one leg of its exploring compasses being always firmly fixed at its theocratic basis, Jerusalem—is given us in the fifth chapter of this book. Here we find the alleged Divine decree which established the Jews as the chosen people taken as one example among a number of similar inductions extending into all the domains of nature. Thus among all trees there is but one vine; among all lands, but one fruitful field, &c. &c. Nothing can well be more arbitrary and jejune than the instances selected to establish the induction, but this does not touch the remarkable fact that an induction founded on a large observation of alleged distinctions in nature should have been thought needful to justify the predestined selection of the chosen people. To the writers of the Old Testament, as well as to St. Paul in the New, no such inductive reasoning was necessary. The Old Testament seer would have spurned the very attempt to interpret by any generalisations or analogies in other directions the inscrutable decrees of God. His simpler method would have been to proclaim defiantly the Divine *ipse dixit*, with probably the addition of St. Paul's warning: 'Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?' We find a similar generalisation applied to the question of final retribution in 2nd Esdras ix. 15-17. We need hardly add that the book does not contain any advance in the solution of problems that are only soluble when regarded as ultimate truths. Esdras's Divine mentor who undertakes to put his doubts to flight does not stand upon a higher pinnacle of omniscience than those who arrogate similar functions in the Old Testament. Indeed the appeal to man's ignorance of natural laws and phenomena with which he is in closest contact is precisely the same in 2nd Esdras as in the book of Job.

On the whole we may say that the 2nd Esdras, setting aside defects which pertain to its form and date, is to the student of Hebrew thought a remarkable book. It presents the Jewish intellect, stirred by contact with other nations, and stimulated by their freer tendencies, engaged in the task of philosophical speculation. Centuries intervene between the 2nd Esdras and the culmination of Jewish philosophy in



Al Ghazzali and Maimonides; but the germs of speculation which made these great thinkers so illustrious are already traceable in the rudimentary research of their nameless predecessor. If their mental scope is wider, and their intellectual resources more varied, the spirit, the freedom, the direction of research are alike in both.

The treatment of the book of Tobit, of which Professor Fuller has charge, is marked by fulness of research and by a fair amount of exegetical insight. It is, however, marred by a disproportionate exuberance of comment. The author has not yet grasped the primary function of a commentator—to explain and illumine without overloading his text—nor has he that perception of fitness which recognises the incongruity of over-elaboration in the case of a simple text such as Tobit. To take one example out of many, he might have saved his reader the labour of wading through the preposterous allegorisms of Bede, which meet us perpetually and with an aggravating and increasing sense of irrelevancy and bad taste. Not that Professor Fuller's own comments are not often as jejune and petty as the most childish of Bede's mystic fancies. This, e.g., is his sage reflection on the meeting of Tobias with Raphael (i. p. 205): 'Devout men have seen in this meeting an illustration of the guiding hand of providence. No sooner had Tobias gone out on his difficult search than he met one who combined in himself the necessary qualifications of trustworthiness, familiarity with the road to be travelled, and brotherly affinity.' It would be hard to parallel the solemn ineptitude of this remark. A little further on, moreover, he devotes no less than a column to a serious consideration of the application of the fish's gall as a remedy for leucoma, and compares the treatment with questionable taste to Christ's employment of moistened clay to cure blindness.

We cannot say that much is added to our former knowledge of Tobit by Professor Fuller's exhaustive treatment. The most valuable feature of his elaborate introduction seems to us to be his excursus on 'angelology and demonology,' which contains an accumulation of interesting matter, though his attempt to infer the date of Tobit from the particular stage of development these beliefs had now attained seems to us unfounded. The same remark applies to his attempted discrimination between the demonology of Tobit and that found in the book of Enoch.

The additions to the book of Esther, also committed to Professor Fuller, similarly receive what his great and quaint

namesake would undoubtedly have labelled 'Fuller-treatment.' He gives us as one of the motives which prompted the writing of the book the following: 'to vindicate the character of a daughter of Israel in becoming the consort of a heathen prince.' The nature of the 'vindication' may be seen by comparing xiv. 15 with xv. 13, 14. Surely some notice of Esther's arrant duplicity, though it is paralleled by the case of Judith and other Jewish heroines, would have been more becoming in a commentator of a work intended for 'instruction in manners.'

The book of Judith, entrusted to Mr. Ball, is treated by him with the same lavish erudition, but withal with a kindred defective sense of proportion such as we have noticed in the case of Professor Fuller. Both his introduction and his notes are cumbered with an overwhelming mass of Rabbinical and philological learning. He, of course, allows the unhistorical character of the book, and is not backward in detailing and emphasising the proofs of that conclusion. His theory of the age and composition of the book has much to say for it. It is both ingenious in itself and is supported with an adequate amount of circumstantial evidence. He tells us (i. p. 251):—

'In my opinion the book of Judith is a free composition in the manner of the Haggada, principally based upon recollections of the feats of the heroic Judas, and more especially upon the facts related in 1 Macr. iii. 27—iv. 61, vi. 1—7, vii. 26—50, &c. A careful comparison of these passages with the corresponding portions of Judith would probably go far to convince any unprejudiced reader of the substantial truth of this view.'

We believe that most readers who carefully follow the path prescribed for them will agree in the opinion thus modestly set forth. Mr. Ball would probably have considered the further literary implications of his theory as travelling beyond his brief, but this recasting of scattered facts in genuine history into a new and fictitious legend, with names, dates, and incidents all transformed to suit the story, is a developement of literary method and tendencies of which every philosophic student of Jewish thought is bound to take note. The full measure of the supposed heroine's immorality and treachery, with their significance as representing contemporary opinion both in ethics and religion, is similarly passed over by Mr. Ball with the careless remark: 'She belongs to her own age, not ours.' On the whole, we do Mr. Ball's Judith no injustice when we say that its Rabbinism and philological learning are more conspicuous than its philo-

sophical insight and breadth of view. As regards the plea just given that Judith's code of ethics belongs to her own time, we may, while admitting its legitimate force, be permitted to add that the 'instruction in manners,' which the story is supposed to convey, belongs not to her time, but to our own.

Mr. Ball's treatment of the four smaller Apocrypha—'The Song of the Three Children,' 'The History of Susanna,' 'Bel and the Dragon,' and 'The Prayer of Manasses'—is marked by erudition and elaboration, but the books themselves are too unimportant to detain us.

The same remark must be applied generally to Archdeacon Gifford's commentary on Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy. We must, however, notice that he treats the similarity between Baruch i. 15—ii. 17 and Daniel ix. 7, 19 with characteristic moderation. He, however, lays too much stress on Dr. Pusey's judgement. The learned Doctor was so completely prejudiced as to the early date of Daniel that his judgement on the issue is really worthless.

Reserving the gnomie books to be considered together at the end of this paper, we turn now to Professor Rawlinson's treatment of the Maccabean books. This appears to us worthy of his reputation as an accomplished historian. Indeed, we cannot help thinking that his present commentary contrasts favourably with the work of the same kind which he did for the historical books of the Hebrew canon. It is marked by greater ingenuousness and absence of traditional bias, though how far this might be the result of the ampler sense of freedom inspired by deuterocanonical writings we cannot say. But the historical faculty, trained in so many fields, is here exemplified at its best. We may point to his introductions, and especially to paragraph vii. of that on 2nd Maccabees, as exemplifying our meaning. It would be impossible to better, from a critical and impartial point of view, the comparison he institutes between the two books.

Putting out of sight, in the supreme interests of critical veracity, the proverb which imputes odiousness to comparisons, we are constrained to say that Dr. Edersheim's commentary on Ecclesiasticus seems to us the most meritorious in this collection. With an ample equipment of the special erudition demanded by his subject, he unites tact and method in presenting his conclusions. He does not overwhelm his theme with erudite superfluities, nor does he go outside its due limits in order to find a still larger scope

for learned ostentation. His style is clear, unaffected, and fairly concise. Besides other qualities befitting him for his post of Bible commentator, he has a fair share both of intellectual acumen and spiritual insight—the latter being a much rarer speciality than is commonly thought, but one without which no writer should ever dream of exercising the functions of Bible commentator. Like others of his collaborators—notably Canon Farrar—Dr. Edersheim emphasises unduly the distinction between canonical and deuterocanonical scriptures. That the difference exists, and is sufficiently patent to every attentive reader, we have already conceded; but the difference surely is one of degree, not of kind. No doubt the ethics and human standpoint of Ben Sira are conspicuously mundane and selfish; but are there no selfish maxims in the Proverbs, or purely worldly conceptions of life and duty? On the other hand, Ben Sira is surely not destitute of religious feeling or warm human sympathies, though they may be somewhat obscured by their close association with other incongruous attributes. And this leads us to remark that our authors, treating of books and subjects whose very titles and positions bring them into strong contrast with others of a similar kind, have forgotten those rules of proportion, the nice gradations of lights and shadows, which, incumbent on all critics and commentators, are imperatively demanded of those who occupy their position. From the point of view of essential continuity, successive epochs and stages in human evolutions of every kind, literary, social, or political, are not differentiated in that miraculously sudden and sensational manner which their historians, for obvious reasons of effective presentation and striking contrast, are apt to suppose. The salient phenomena of two several successive epochs may differ largely from each other in form, colouring, or possibly in both; but then we do not find that, either in a landscape or in a given definitive stage of human or literary growth, a true presentation or picture is made up wholly of salient phenomena? As an interesting example of Dr. Edersheim's manner, standpoint, and the kind of research he has expended on his subject, we extract the following remarks from his paragraph on the ethics of Ecclesiasticus (vol. ii. p. 16):—

‘Without entering into a detailed analysis, we may briefly indicate the favourable and the unfavourable aspect of Ecclesiasticus in this (ethical) respect. In the former, we include the constant and prominent references to God and the ever recurring admonitions to fear and

obedience of Him. Closely connected with this is the essential distinction made throughout the book between the righteous and the sinner. As in the view of our author, wisdom in its objective aspect is fully presented in the revealed law of God, so in its subjective aspect it coincides with the fear of the Lord. Hence also the pious is throughout represented as the wise, and the sinner as the fool, and *vice versa* also.' (Compare the interesting note on p. 17 as to the different words employed to express wisdom and folly.) 'On the other hand, if Ben Sira so frequently and emphatically insists that God will certainly requite the righteous and the sinner, we have to bear in mind that the requital which he expects is of and in this world. Similarly if he enjoins observance of the rites and worship of Israel, it is too often rather because they are ancestral than because of their absolute and intrinsic importance, because they are Israel's rather than because they are God's. Of any deeper understanding of the spiritual or typical import of sacrifices or the other institutions of the Old Testament we cannot discern a trace. On the contrary, almsgiving and prayer—and that as an *opus operatum*—seem to constitute in the view of our author the substance of religion, although (as already explained) he insists on strict and even joyous observance of the ordinances of the Sanctuary. Very characteristic and generally instructive in all these respects is the first stanza of chap. xxxv. Most curious and interesting are the extensive, evidently Christian, alterations introduced in this chapter in the Syriac version.'

Coming lastly to the book of Wisdom, which has been committed to Canon Farrar, we wish we could speak favourably of this prolific author's latest attempt at hermeneutics. Undoubtedly it reveals his well-known and amiable characteristics; it manifests research, generous comprehension, and many-sided culture, but it exemplifies also haste, superficiality, rhetorical effusiveness, and inaccuracy. We are in doubt whether it was an occult perception of the fitness of things, or a grotesque and cruel irony, which selected him to comment on an unknown author whose mental characteristics and exegetical method he is forced to describe in terms so entirely applicable to himself. According to his own description, the author of the book of Wisdom must have been an actual pre-existence of himself, who flourished at Alexandria some time near the Christian era. There is no mistaking the familiar lineaments (ii. 406):—

'The author of the book of Wisdom is fanciful rather than imaginative. He entirely lacks that fusing *esemplastic* power of imagination which enables great writers like Milton and Dante to compress an image into a word or line. . . . His *forte* is poetical description far more than sustained reasoning. With great rhetorical power he frequently becomes fantastic and sometimes almost grotesque in his combinations and descriptions. He passes lightly over difficulties;

manipulates history by a purely subjective process, and leaves many antinomies not only unsolved, but even unnoticed. In studying the book it is impossible to resist a doubt that the tumultuous verbiage sometimes shrouds indefiniteness of conception. The writer is stronger as a stylist than as a logician. He is an eclectic without clear conception or definite system. . . . The lack of simplicity betrayed by the exaggerations of the style—its occasional pomposity and artificial elaborateness—is found also in the method of treatment, &c. &c.'

We do not remember ever to have met a more interesting literary *tu quoque*, or illustration of *mutato nomine de te fabula*, &c. The Canon's many admirers will henceforth possess in this graphic pen-and-ink sketch an example of self-portraiture which, if unconscious, is undeniably faithful. The two characteristics noticed on which alone we have room to dwell are his perpetual inaccuracies and his not always appropriate poetical quotations. As to the first, they cover the whole ground of his research, though we are persuaded they are as often the result of haste as of forgetfulness or ignorance. Thus he attributes the opinion of the eternity of matter to Aristotle, when a profounder knowledge of early Greek speculation would have made him aware that it was a commonplace of all the materialising schools of philosophy. He speaks of the 'De Mundo' as a genuine work of Aristotle's, when it has long been recognised as spurious, being most likely a translation of a work with the same title by Appuleius. He mentions the treatise attributed to Timæus Locrus as if it were a genuine production of the Pythagorean teacher of that name, whereas it is, in all probability, nothing more than an abridgement of Plato's dialogue 'Timæus.' He speaks of the 'De Vita Contemplativa' of Philo as a genuine work, whereas all Philo critics have now agreed on its spuriousness. Nor is this all. Dr. Farrar's poetical idiosyncrasies form a conspicuous feature of his intellect, general style, and, in this instance, of his hermeneutical method. We might therefore have looked here, if anywhere, for accuracy; but we find that his poetical allusions are just as loose and haphazard as his philosophical and philological references. Lovelace's well-known line—

'Stone walls do not a prison make'—

is not improved by the new version of 'strong walls,' though it is true this might have been a typographical error. The same excuse, however, cannot be proffered for the misquotation of Wordsworth's well-known 'Oh sir, the good die first,' &c., into the following :—

‘The good die *early*,  
*And* they whose hearts are dry as summer dust,  
 Burn to the socket.’

Still less for its reference to Shakespeare.

But Dr. Farrar’s poetical quotations not only offend by their reckless, slipshod, and often inappropriate character; they pall on us by their exuberance. We have not had patience to enumerate all the quotations from every source with which he has studded his footnotes, but we should suppose that their total number cannot fall far short of a hundred. Now, however rhetorical the author of the book of Wisdom may be, or however rare the contingency of such an author finding an annotator as rhetorical and flowery as himself, we submit that this indefinite extension of their common idiosyncrasy so as to convert their pages into a poetical anthology is, even taking the lowest view of it, a process too akin to painting the lily to merit approval. From the higher standpoint of scientific hermeneutics the method deserves strong reprobation. Surely the primary function of the commentator is to explain, and so far as necessary illumine, his text. There might be cases where the explanation or illumination is made clearer by an appropriate illustration; or, again, other cases where priority of thought is concerned which might conceivably need the help of sufficing illustration; but there can be no case wherein it is a commentator’s duty to make his text a peg on which to hang, whenever possible, a wreath of often ill-assorted poetical flowers. As Canon Farrar is the only one of our Apocrypha commentators who has treated his text in this fashion, and as it is the first time we have seen this feature of exegetics carried to such an excess, we could not help musing on the new theory by which attempts might conceivably be made to justify it. Fortunately we chanced to alight on Dr. Farrar’s own justification of it. He contributed some time since a paper on ‘Characteristics of ‘Modern English Exegesis’ to the ‘Expositor’ (series iii. vol. vii. p. 19), in which he not only sets forth, but endeavours to defend, this peculiarity. The passage is too long for quotation, but a few words will serve to indicate its drift:—

‘I will mention but one more characteristic of modern English exegesis—viz. its width of range and the interest of its literary and other illustrations. Some of our best commentators thus become so brightly human and attractive that they allure thousands of unaccustomed students to study for themselves the word of God,’ &c.

We cannot at all subscribe to this view of exegesis,

English or otherwise, if Dr. Farrar's book of Wisdom is intended as a practical illustration of it. A commentary duly enlivened by pointed illustrations and apt pithy remarks is one thing, a florilegium of quotations of all kinds without the least attempt at arrangement is quite another. It is a blind confusion of two distinct literary objects, and can only conduce to the injury both of one and the other. We, at all events, sincerely hope that English hermeneutics will never be reduced to the culling of poetical excerpts or arranging them like beads on a string around a given text.

We must now take leave of our subject, and our last words must be, as the first were—words of approval. The volumes before us mark a distinct advance in English Biblical criticism. We cannot but regret the operation of whatever causes that have made a commentary on the Apocrypha a work of greater excellence and permanent value than commentaries on the canonical books in the same series. Whatever they are, and in what mode soever they may be best met, the fact remains the same. We have every confidence that, together with its theme of the Apocryphal books, this work will have some effect indirectly in raising the general study of Hebrew literature to a higher position, regarding it, in other words, from the philosophical standpoint of continuity. We feel assured that this conception of the study will give increased interest to all our Biblical records, while it will also serve to explain, illustrate, and immeasurably enhance our knowledge of the Christian religion, whether as a history or as a doctrinal system.

ART. IV.—*Our Kin beyond the Sea.* By J. C. FIRTH, with a Preface by J. A. FROUDE. London. 12mo. 1888.

WHEN M. de Tocqueville visited the United States and wrote his celebrated book on Democracy in America, only fifty years had elapsed since the Declaration of Independence, and rather more than forty since the establishment of the Union. He approached the American continent from the east, and the key to his work lay in the institutions of New England. The civilised portion of the Federal territory did not much exceed that of the original thirteen British colonies. Tocqueville himself says: 'The Valley of the Mississippi is upon the whole the most magnificent dwelling-place prepared by God for man's abode; and yet it may be said that at present it is a mighty desert.' To



the west of the great Father of Waters lay an enormous and unexplored region, inhabited only by the sparse descendants of Indian tribes—a waste across which the fugitive Mormons fled to the unknown confines of the Great Salt Lake beyond the reach of man. Within the Eastern States the absolute ascendancy of men of the pure Anglo-Saxon race was undivided and uncontested. It was about fifty years ago that the great western emigration of the people began. In 1830 there were but 23 miles of railway in the States; in 1884 125,379 miles of railway were in operation, having cost (we are told) 1,614,000,000*l.* sterling. The population has quadrupled. Massachusetts and the city of Boston then shone with no uncertain light as the seats of culture and literature. New York was its chief rival in trade. The Southern States differed from the North in climate, in natural productions, in some social peculiarities, and especially by the existence of slavery; but the chief subject of contention between them was limited to the question of the tariff. At that time the government of the United States was held up to the admiration and envy of Europe as the most economical in the world. Taxation was light. The revenue was small. There was no public debt. There were no overgrown fortunes; there were no able-bodied poor. The action of the democracy in its municipal and political functions was fair and regular, and seemed to realise the wise intentions of the founders of the republic. Horace Greeley said, in speaking of his early New England home, ‘I have never known a community so ‘generally moral, industrious, and friendly; never one where ‘so much good was known, and so little evil said of neighbour by neighbour.’ Such was the America which M. de Tocqueville saw and described, with a sincere admiration for the strong religious convictions and the high moral tone that pervaded the community—qualities without which he conceived that good democratic government would be impossible.

Another half-century has elapsed; another traveller, whose narrative we have placed at the head of these pages, visits the United States, in a direction and under circumstances precisely opposite to those which attracted the observation of his illustrious predecessor. It would be preposterous to compare the slight sketches of this gentleman from New Zealand with the reflections of the French statesman and philosopher. We have no such intention. But this little volume suffices to mark the astonishing intensity of the contrast, marked by events and by conditions of society, both

personal and political, so extraordinary that we who have witnessed these metamorphoses can scarcely believe in their existence.

Let us land with Mr. Firth from a magnificent steamer, which crosses the Pacific Ocean from another new world in Australia, and places him in the midst of the fierce energy, the wealth, the splendour, and the vice of San Francisco. Mr. Firth brings with him none of the prejudices of France or Europe. He boasts that he is an Englishman to the core, but a colonial Englishman. His real country is New Zealand, where he has played an honourable part in mercantile and public affairs; but his Australian patriotism does not lessen his regard for the British Empire. He views everything with the eye of a New Zealander, and his criticisms are the more valuable as his standard of comparison is purely Australian.

No two points of the globe are more dissimilar in their origin, their social characters, and their climates than Boston and San Francisco. On the east the stern discipline of the Pilgrim Fathers educated a united people by two centuries of rigid laws; on the west we see a city, rising like an exhalation, under the stimulus of gold, thronged by adventurers from every part of the earth, at first so lawless that life and property could only be protected by vigilance committees, and even then stained by innumerable crimes, with an influx of population of the Turanian race, the overflow of China, and a society inflamed to madness by the sudden acquisition of incalculable wealth.

‘Never, perhaps, in the history of mining has so enormous an amount of mineral wealth been obtained in so short a time, from so small an area, as from the renowned Comstock silver lode at Virginia City. Silver bullion to the value of over 60,000,000*l.* sterling was obtained in about three years, from less than half a mile in length of the Comstock lode or reef. Of this sum, over 20,000,000*l.* sterling was obtained from the famous C and C mine controlled by four men, originally diggers, saloon-keepers, &c., who, if report speaks correctly, not satisfied with the enormous wealth they obtained from the mine, stimulated stock-jobbing in mining shares in San Francisco to a frightful extent. So great was the excitement in the Stock Exchange there, that, under the terrible influence of the silver frenzy, men and women of almost every class madly speculated in mining shares, utterly regardless whether the wealth they so madly sought came from the mines or from the pockets of their friends and neighbours. While these victims of the silver insanity were buying and selling shares, the four arch speculators are credited or debited with having moved them about like pawns in a game, regulating the output of

bullion from the mine, as they themselves wished to buy for a rise or sell for a fall.'

Already in some of these argentiferous regions the mines are exhausted and the dream is over. But the social effects remain. By mining and railway speculations enormous fortunes were acquired by not a few individuals, which altered radically the *status* of democratic equality, and created a money power, controlling in many respects the institutions of the country, with a grasp far more strenuous, selfish, and severe than that of the aristocratical and monarchical institutions of Europe. The principal interest of these discoveries of the precious metals consists not in the fortunes they have conferred on individuals, but in their moral effect on the American problems Mr. Firth invites us to consider, and, we must add, on the monetary conditions of the world.

From San Francisco we travel for hundreds of miles along the Humboldt river, still through the brilliant atmosphere to the west of the Rocky Mountains, passing lakes and railway stations with names scarcely recorded by geography, and through valleys known fifty years ago only to the Indians, the bears, and the eagles. We cross the Rocky Mountains at a height of 8,200 feet, and descend upon the grasslands covered with thick herbage, which are now converted into ranches or cattle-stations owned by the wealthy 'cattle kings.' Thence we approach the great Valley of the Mississippi, now no longer a desert, but teeming with agricultural wealth and great cities. An inhabitant of Omaha city told us not long ago, with complacency, that there are eight banks in that community, a circumstance which he considered to be an indisputable proof of high civilisation. We shall not dwell on Mr. Firth's notes on farming in this region, but it is worth while to note the excessive variations of temperature, from 100° in the shade in summer to 20° or 30° below zero in winter. Mr. Firth remarks that such an enormous variation can hardly be conducive to health or long life in man. There are many signs that the American climate is singularly trying to white men of the North, and tends to a physical deterioration of the race.

America, for this traveller from the far east, or rather west of that continent, is to be found in the great valley stretching in one grand plain between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghany chain, watered by the great streams of the Missouri and the Mississippi and their confluent, blest with a soil of rare fertility, and with a substratum, in many

places, of coal. In that vast and fertile basin he discerns the future of the American people, for it is capable of supporting countless millions of human beings. But of the Eastern States, which are most accessible to travellers from Europe, he says not a word. Not a word of the exhausted lands of New England, of the philosophers of Boston, and the splendour of New York. He even asserts that the Americans have lost the character of a maritime people, which they retained as long as they clung to the Atlantic coast. In his eyes the great movement to the west is the leading feature in American life, which will ultimately govern the destinies of the nation. The cities he visited appear to have been Chicago, Denver, and Utah. He sees the Union from the rear, and passes in silence over all that previous travellers have noted. The point of sight of America viewed from the Pacific coast to the centre by Australian eyes, is new and original, and it is this which gives a peculiar value to Mr. Firth's observations.

We shall pass lightly over his not unfriendly, though somewhat humorous remarks, on what he saw of American usages and manners, differing probably from what he would have met with in the Fifth Avenue. It may be true that knives do not cut, that waiters do not wait, that nobody says 'Thank you,' that the cars are dusty and the railways tedious; no doubt to Mr. Firth these things are better done in New Zealand. But he qualifies these censorious remarks by a handsome tribute to the hospitality, courtesy, and good sense he everywhere met with in the States.

The colonies of the European nations, Dutch, French, and English, were naturally all founded on the Atlantic coast. Their settlements were determined by the harbours they found there. Quebec on the St. Lawrence, Boston, New York, Charleston, New Orleans, and Washington itself, all belong to that narrow strip of land, hardly exceeding one hundred miles in breadth, which lies between the Alleghanies and the sea. They were maritime colonies, depending for their existence on the proximity of Europe, and the vast interior of the continent remained unknown to them. 'This 'tongue of arid land,' said M. de Tocqueville, 'was the 'cradle of those English colonies which were destined to 'become the United States of America. The centre of power 'still remains there; whilst in the backwoods the true 'elements of the great people, to whom the future control 'of the continent belongs, are gathering almost in secrecy 'together.' It is there, and not in New England, that

Mr. Firth goes to seek them, and the amazing progress of half a century shows these elements to be starting into life. Mr. Firth is an Australian colonist and a man of the future. But we may be allowed to cast a retrospective glance on the rapid evolution of a nation which has passed under our own eyes. We have seen a population of thirteen millions in 1830 swell to nearly sixty millions in 1888. We have seen the steamer and the railway open a continent, which but a few years ago was deemed impenetrable, to hosts of immigrants and to the export of enormous produce. We have seen nine millions of strangers from the different races of Europe acclimatised and nationalised in America. Nor has the social and political aspect of the nation remained unaltered. A country which was poor, economical, and untaxed has become inordinately wealthy, burdened with prodigious debts, and an amount of taxation which renders it one of the dearest in the world. A civil war of unparalleled magnitude breaks out between its members and costs a million of lives; yet within twenty years the traces of that great contest are obliterated. Twice within a short period the chief officer of the State has been struck down by the hand of an assassin, and once the President of the United States has been impeached and acquitted. But the Union has continued to pursue its majestic course, and has escaped the curse of revolution. No men have appeared in the first rank comparable in genius and wisdom to its founders, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Madison, and it has given comparatively few signs of the highest intellectual powers. The growth of the nation has been above all things material and mechanical, surpassing in those respects all previous human experience. But we are tempted to ask whether it is possible that the higher spiritual elements of national life, the offices of religion, the principles of public morality, the wisdom of rulers, the conscience of the people, have been or can be sustained in due proportion to its rapid material progress. *Mens agitat molem.* The greatness and welfare of a nation depend not on the size of its territory or the numbers of its population, but on the Mind which permeates and rules it.

These considerations suffice to show that the causes of the actual condition of the American people and the sources of their future progress, whether for good or evil, must be sought elsewhere than in the townships of New England, where M. de Tocqueville found them. A more recent explorer, like Mr. Firth, seeks the solution of what he terms

'American problems' in the material condition of the continent, and in a more prolonged experience of the peculiar democratic institutions of the nation. And here we first encounter the general question, whether the purely elective system, based on universal suffrage, does or does not tend to the establishment of good government, which is the end of all political organisation. The experience of the United States, and more recently that of France, returns at least a dubious answer. The uncontrolled majority of votes at elections frequently recurring does not always represent the true opinion or the true interest of the nation. Large classes stand aloof and are not represented at all. The result at the moment is arbitrary and absolute; but it is attended by an extreme mutability and reaction, fatal to a consistent system of policy. Above all, the electoral machinery is liable to be worked by means destructive of true liberty and of public integrity. On this point our author says:—

'To Englishmen and English colonists American politics are a puzzle. Theoretically the American Constitution possesses every element of freedom. It claims (theoretically) to provide for the government of the people by the people. It has no reigning family, no aristocracy, no privileged classes.

'But yet, owing to various causes, this noble promise and flower of freedom is steadily developing a condition of things grievously disappointing to every well-wisher to American institutions. Two great parties—Republican and Democrat—apparently rule the destinies of the nation. The "figure-head" politicians at Washington are selected by Republican or Democratic conventions. The "convention" is nominated by the "caucus," the "caucus" in its turn being nominated and controlled, in some cases, by secret irresponsible "rings," in others by "political bosses."

'The "caucus" registers the decision of the "ring," or "boss." The "convention," after no end of talk and voting, obeys the commands of the "caucus," and puts out "the ticket," or list of candidates, for the election of which the people vote, or such of them as care to play a part in the farce.'

And again in an important passage:—

'The abuses and monopolies which have already taken root in the United States, owing to the culpable indolence and apathy of large sections of its citizens, justify a similar inquiry. Indeed, intelligent Americans, who have the true welfare of their country at heart, are wellnigh unanimous in declaring their belief that, could the Founders of the American Constitution have foreseen the disastrous effects arising from the culpable indifference of so many of the possessors of the franchise, and from conferring the suffrage upon the hordes of foreigners flocking to their shores, whose previous training renders

them incapable of rightly using the privileges of freemen, they would have greatly limited the suffrage and rendered naturalisation much more difficult. The growing disbelief in the efficacy of universal suffrage in the United States is apparent, from the following extract from a recent number of an influential American newspaper :—

“The American statesman who will gain the highest niche in this republican temple of ours, and who will best deserve it, will be the one who shall devise a scheme for the peaceful disfranchisement of three millions of our present voting population. Whether this can be done, and the time ever come when the legislation of this republic can be confined to the intelligent and moral classes, is more than doubtful. That, until that time comes, discord and violence will continue to prevail, no intelligent mind can doubt.”

So much for the central force of popular power, on which the whole action of government rests, for it must be observed that the action of the State is determined not by the intrinsic wisdom or folly of a measure, by the right or the wrong, but by the effect it may have on the parties in the electorate which are contending for power. This circumstance renders it almost impossible for foreign governments to negotiate with success with the government of the United States, for when a question has been well and equitably adjusted by the responsible agents of the executive, the result is liable to be defeated by a party vote, and the faith of treaties is shaken by popular clamour or electoral contests. Of this we have had some recent experience, and not for the first time. It is not worth while to dwell upon an incident which might be called trivial, if it did not illustrate in a striking manner the reckless vehemence with which American statesmen may sacrifice the usages and comity of nations to gain a few votes at an election. An indiscreet private letter of the British Minister at Washington to an unknown correspondent, who appears to have deliberately practised on the good faith and courtesy of Lord Sackville, was used by the American Government of to-day to offer a foolish and wanton affront to the representative of the Queen, without any previous enquiry or explanation. Such an *escapade* is, to say the least of it, unprecedented in diplomatic history; and although we feel an absolute impartiality and indifference as to the success of this or that party in the United States, since both of them are apt to speculate on their antagonism to this country, we cannot regret that the trick failed, and that Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard were swept incontinently from the scene.

It deserves remark that states governed like the United States and France, at the present time, on extreme democratic

principles, become isolated: no alliance can be contracted by them with any other state, because they are without permanence, stability, and traditions. The avowed foreign policy of the United States is isolation, and the fewer points of contact they have with foreign countries the better. The French are surprised by the discovery that a democratic republic, however successful at home, may be friendless and powerless abroad. We ourselves have not altogether escaped the effects of isolation. The exorbitant policy of the late Government shook faith in our stability, and left us without a friend in Europe. To the credit of Lord Rosebery be it said that he did what he could to restore confidence in the Foreign Office, and Lord Salisbury has had the skill and the good fortune to revive the best traditions of our foreign policy.

‘Liberty of speech, liberty of the citizen, liberty of the Press, the election of all the magistrates and the election of nearly all the judges, have, by the culpable indolence and grievous neglect of the better portion of American citizens, gone far to result in the creation of more gigantic monopolies, in the production of more colossal fortunes, in a greater cost of living, in the existence of greater political profligacy, in a greater spirit of unrest than the world has hitherto seen in any country claiming to be free. Nay, in the development of luxury and in the extent and variety of difficult problems, incipient or actual, the United States does not lag far behind some of the European nations which may be said to be the natural homes of the rights (?) of kings and the wrongs of men.’

Some of these problems are discussed briefly by Mr. Firth, and we shall follow him in noting the most important of them.

The abolition of slavery has removed from the list the question which appeared, fifty years ago, to be the most arduous and obscure. It has been solved in an heroic manner, and by enormous sacrifices; but the American people have nobly shaken off the stigma of the bondage of the black race. The bondage has ceased, but the black race remains. There is the fact that the States contain within their boundaries millions of men of two colours, absolutely dissimilar in their physical and mental qualities, which can never mix or become one. The Anglo-American race in America is not prolific; it increased by births in the ten years from 1870 to 1880 by 8·33 per cent. The black population on the contrary increased within the same period by 35·4 per cent., from 4,880,000 to 6,580,000. \* Such a ratio of increase would in no long period make the blacks equal to the whites in



number, barring the addition to the white population from the various countries of Europe. We are indebted to Mr. Firth for this very remarkable fact. .

Compared with this fact the immigration of a few thousand Chinamen becomes an insignificant affair. Mr. Firth discusses it in the vehement spirit of an Australian colonist, not much, we think, to his credit. Nobody supposes that the Chinese will emigrate and settle in America or Australia with the intent to form a nation or part of a nation. They come to labour, to make money, and to go home again. The numbers that would come will be limited by the profits to be made. The true reason of the resistance to Chinese immigration is that they supply cheap labour. 'John Chinaman,' says Mr. Firth, 'is industrious, expert, obedient, inoffensive, 'but he never can become a true colonist.' He does not aspire to be a true colonist. He works for lower wages, and he works well. A supply of labour of this kind is precisely what would most effectively promote the progress of colonies. To exclude it is to apply the protectionist doctrine in its most absurd form—the avowed object to make and keep labour and all its products dearer than they would otherwise be. But, New Zealander as he is, Mr. Firth is an incurable protectionist, and he is unable to understand that the first object of political economy and legislation ought to be not to make things dear, but to make them cheap. He seems to forget that an opening of the Chinese ports was an enormous benefit to this country, and to the colonies; and if the Chinese government consented to admit foreigners and to abandon their exclusive system, it is strange that the opposition to Chinese immigration should proceed from nations which have proclaimed the whole human race to be equal and free. In the British crown settlements, as at Singapore, and in North Borneo, the labour of the Chinese is welcomed, and no inconvenience arises from it. Elsewhere it is repudiated by democratic intolerance and the thirst for high wages. But the Chinese have the best of the argument. It is absolutely nonsense to suppose, with Mr. Firth, that 'large portions of the United States and the Australasian colonies will be overrun with vast hordes of Mongolian invaders, who may so change these new countries as to replace their homelike vigorous Anglo-Saxon type by a hideous development of a Mongolian type, making these fair lands nothing better than Chinese colonies.' This is a remarkable instance of the extravagance to which the local passion of colonial politics may lead a sensible and liberal

man. Mr. Firth is a great advocate for imperial federation and a grand British empire, governed, we presume, by equal laws. But if you touch one petty local interest, he takes fire, and would sacrifice the China trade and the Chinese alliance to a nervous dread of a Mongolian invasion.

It is much more probable that the social and political institutions of the United States and of Australia will be modified by the large Irish immigration which has been going on for so many years, than by a handful of Mongols. As to the labour question, the Irish to some extent supply, like the Chinese, a cheaper rate of labour, which is extremely useful to the community. But they bring with them religious and political passions and a spirit of organisation, quite independent of American objects and interests, that make them a power in the States. Even Boston, we hear, the Mecca of Puritan America, is becoming an Irish city, and many other municipal bodies of the United States have fallen under the dominion of an Irish gang. Mr. Firth's remarks on this subject are very pertinent.

'The Irish character presents the curious anomaly that, though in every country the Irishman is said to be ready to declare himself "agin the Government," he yet readily yields unquestioning obedience to his priest and his Church. What Palestine is to the Jews, Ireland is to Irish Americans, with this important difference, that Irish Americans cherish their "grievance" whilst the Jews do not. It is, I venture to think, these two elements—devotion to a grievance and devotion to their Church—which so often makes an Irish American a Catholic and an Irishman first and an American afterwards.

'Besides these two elements, Irishmen have other dominant qualities, which intensify the Irish difficulty, namely, absolute obedience to a political leader, to an accepted master, and a natural faculty for organisation. It is, I think, these four qualities—love of a grievance, devotion to the priesthood, a habit of obedience to a chosen leader, and a faculty for organisation, with another influence to be presently noted—which have created, and are continuing, the "Irish difficulty" in the United States.

'The nature and danger of the Irish difficulty will be seen from the fact, that of the nine million immigrants into the United States, between 1820 and 1879, more than three millions were Irish. A very large proportion of the drinking saloons are "run" by Irishmen; in many districts, a large proportion of the lower magistracy is Irish; in many cities, the political "bosses" and the "primary" political organisations are largely Irish; whilst the police in most of the cities I visited are very largely Irishmen. Regarding the latter, I am pleased to say that, from all I could learn, the Irish policeman in the United States—as indeed everywhere else—with some exceptions, is a faithful public servant, and does his duty with a courtesy, firmness, and devotion which does him honour.

'The indisposition to assimilate, in any intimate manner, with the rest of his fellow-citizens will be apparent from the circumstance—slight in itself, but none the less significant—that, though in the United States you never hear of the "German American," the "Irish American" is constantly spoken of, and is a prominent figure, who must be reckoned with by American politicians.

'Irishmen, by their capacity for organization, by their unswerving obedience to an acknowledged leader, possess great power, whether in the British House of Commons or in the United States. In America, not less than in the United Kingdom, by their "block vote" they frequently hold the balance of power. Both Republican and Democratic parties have been compelled to reckon with the Irish vote in more than one political campaign. Doubtless this too common weakness recently led Senator Ingalls to make a remarkably foolish speech in Congress on the Canadian fisheries dispute. This circumstance has compelled the United States to wink at the atrocious conspiracies of Irishmen, conducted by wretches like O'Donovan Rossa, and to allow the dynamite clubs to hatch nefarious plots against a friendly Power, and to use the United States as a base of operations, to carry into force wicked schemes, which could only end in the destruction of numbers of innocent men, women, and children. These dynamite operations at length "like chickens, came home to roost," with the result of recently killing a number of policemen and wounding many more in the streets of Chicago. This result, and a return to a sense of the duty the United States citizens owe to themselves and to the inhabitants of other countries, will probably put an end to practices which have aroused the strongest indignation of every right-thinking man in all countries.

'America, as well as England, as already observed, has its Irish difficulty. It owes it chiefly, I think, to the *absence of good-will towards England*, which, for various reasons, and for a long period, has been but too plainly marked in the United States to be denied. For this unhappy feeling Englishmen are, as I have already stated, largely responsible.'

We are not told in what we have offended, or what transgression on our part has caused this 'unhappy feeling,' and we regret to learn that in Mr. Firth's opinion it exists. Certainly no such animosity or jealousy is felt on this side the Atlantic towards the people of the United States. American writers and orators are never tired of telling us that they glory in our common language, common history, and common freedom. The social ties between the two people are strengthened every year by numerous intermarriages and commercial intercourse. English travellers in the States are most hospitably received. If, therefore, there be any drops of bitterness in our relations with the Americans, we can only attribute this to the mischievous action of political parties, which unhappily mix up a powerful foreign element in

their domestic controversies. No man, certainly, in Great Britain would dream of making use of antagonism to the United States as a claim to the popular suffrage.

One other point which most forcibly struck Mr. Firth is the laxity of the administration of the law. The laws and codes of the United States leave little to be desired, but the administration of the law is for the most part in the hands of magistrates and judges elected by universal suffrage in the several States. The Federal Courts are not elective, and the judges of those Courts are universally respected. Crimes and outrages, we are told, through political or monetary influences go unpunished, or the punishment is so long deferred that when it is finally inflicted, the public has forgotten both the criminal and his crime. Nothing is more surprising to an English observer than that many months should have elapsed between the sentence and execution of notorious criminals like the assassin of President Garfield and the Chicago dynamiters. Punishment loses half its effect when it ceases to be prompt and peremptory. It is a very serious evil of the popular character of existing governments that the democracy is frequently inclined to sympathise with the criminal rather than with the law. Appeals are made to false humanity, and men recoil from the infliction of the punishment because it is painful to themselves. The question is, Is it *just*? When a just punishment is awarded for an undoubted crime or offence, there ought not to be a moment's hesitation in inflicting it. To relax the sinews of the arm of justice is to imperil society itself. To sympathise with the offenders, and defeat the law, is to partake of the offence, and to shake authority. That is very much a disease of the United States, and to some extent of this country, and its consequences are described in the following terms by an American writer:—

“With a business community, too earnestly engaged in money-making to give serious attention to the details of governmental administration, there is every probability that our present state of affairs will drift on to the condition where reform can only be effected by a contest of force between contending parties. That our country is being dragged into this position is apparent. Riots, strikes, misrule, and defiance of legal authority are occurring all over our land, and especially in all our larger cities. The arm of the law is relaxed everywhere; authority no longer demands respect, and from every side we see approaching danger, till the most conservative and intelligent are beginning to question whether our form of republican government can endure the strain that is certain to be put upon it.”

The American people are the possessors of the fairest

portions of an immense continent, much of which is still uncultivated. The climate and the soil admit of an unlimited variety of produce, from the wheat and cattle of the North to the maize and tobacco of the South. There are said to be four millions of husbandmen working on their own homesteads, and there is room for four millions more. The supply of food is inexhaustible. Ample employment is to be found for any branch of industry and labour. Wages are high. Mines are there of gold and silver, of coal and iron. A vast network of rivers and railways opens easy communication with every part of the continent. Every man has a vote, and is supposed to have a share in the government and legislation of the country, though men are less apt to be obedient and contented under laws made by themselves than under laws established by long tradition and authority, because they know how easily such laws may be altered. Under these favourable circumstances, if there be anywhere on this earth a paradise of industry and prosperous labour, the territory of the United States is that happy country. Mr. Firth presents us with the reverse of this glowing picture :—

‘ During my visit to the States few questions attracted my attention more than the relations between “ Labour and Capital ”—the “ Labour troubles,” as Americans term them. Almost everywhere I noticed the wide prevalence of discontent amongst the labouring classes. Large numbers of workmen in various trades were “ on strike,” sometimes to resist a reduction of wages, sometimes to secure an advance, but more generally to obtain a reduction in the hours of daily toil from ten hours to eight. Great labour organisations were general, the chief of which was one calling itself the “ Knights of Labour.” Wages in the States were as high as in the Australasian colonies, and very much higher than in England, the cost of living in the States being very much higher than in England or the colonies.’

But above all he found ‘ too little sympathy between ‘ masters and workmen. The great principle of *community of interest* did not appear to be much recognised.’ Nor, we might add, the great principle of *reciprocity of duty*, which is the true bond of union between all classes of society. Classes exist in all forms of human society except the most savage or the most enslaved. Rich and poor, strong and weak, workers by the vigorous arm and the skilled hand, workers by the intellect, employers and employed, are everywhere—inequality is the law of human nature ; interdependence is the law of social life. But these are precisely the principles which democracy denies. To call no man master,

to acknowledge no obligation and no duty to a superior, is of the essence of the democratic faith. When the sense of mutual duty fails, the sense of a mere community of interest does not suffice to bind men together, for every man regards his own peculiar interest, or the interest of the class to which he belongs, as predominant over every other.

The chief ground of complaint of the American workmen is, it seems, the number of hours of labour. They complain, and perhaps justly, of ten hours a day; but whilst they are contending for eight hours of labour they want to retain ten hours' pay. It is evident that this is simply to ask for an addition to the rate of wages of 20 per cent., and to wipe out that portion of the day's work which pays the interest on capital. On such terms the employment must be abandoned altogether. The remedy is a simple one—payment by the hours of actual work, which is, we believe, the practice in the building trades of London. If the American workman desires two hours of liberty, he can afford to take them, but not at the expense of his employer; and in a country where freedom of contract is a part of the constitution it would be an anomaly to interfere by legislation with the freedom of contract between the workman and the capitalist.

There is, however, another cause of the discontent of the American working classes of which they appear to be unconscious, for its operation is indirect. They are the citizens of a country still owing an enormous debt (though this is rapidly decreasing), subject to excessive taxation, and above all to a system of protective duties which raises the price of every article of consumption not the produce of the soil. Why is the cost of living in the United States much higher than in England and the colonies? Why does democratic America 'afford a ready soil for the seeds of anarchy to be sown broadcast'? Our answer is, partly from the absence of mutual confidence and respect between classes, and partly because the cost of living is largely enhanced to the consumer by artificial means and vicious legislation. We may venture to predict that under a system of free trade with the world, and a moderate scale of import duties, the industry and prosperity of the United States would still more rapidly advance, the cost of living would find its level, and wages would not decrease at all, but would afford greater ease to the workman. In that case America would become a much more formidable rival than she now is to this country, where at the present time labour is less burdened and more free. For these reasons we dissent from Mr. Firth's opinion that

what he calls the 'impending struggle between capital and labour will be fought out more intelligently and adjusted more speedily and satisfactorily in the United States than in England or the continent of Europe.'

Mr. Firth is himself an ardent colonist and a strong protectionist, but he looks forward with prophetic enthusiasm to the possibility of a confederation of the English-speaking race all over the world, based on what he terms 'community of interest.' We wish we could believe with him that the common interests of the empire and its dependencies would in the end prevail over the separate interests of its component parts. But, as far as our experience goes, the present current of opinion flows in the opposite direction, and every fraction of the empire thinks much more of its own paltry interests than of the common welfare. Not without an effort an insane attempt to disintegrate the United Kingdom has been defeated, and there are those who tell us that Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are, or ought to be, independent provinces under the Crown. Lord Rosebery says that the federation of the empire is a cause for which a man may be proud to live, or even to die. We hope he may live to perfect the work. But we are ourselves of opinion that those vast colonial territories and scattered isles will, for the most part, work out their own diverse conditions of government and society; and we are content that England, the mother of them all, should have given birth to this great progeny, and that she should retain their gratitude and loyal allegiance by interfering as little as possible in their internal affairs.

A book like this of Mr. Firth's is of value, because it brings before us the fresh and original opinions of a cultivated citizen of these colonies on political questions affecting many other countries, and we therefore recommend it to our readers. But the inferences he draws from what he saw in America are singularly unlike those which Mr. Bryce has arrived at in his great work, recently published, on the American Commonwealth, and we shall endeavour in our next number to enter more fully on the subject.

ART. V.—1. *Les Grandes et Inestimables Chronicqs; du grant et enorme geant Gargantua; contenant sa genealogie, la grâdeur et force de son corps; Aussi les marveilleux faictz darmes qu'il fist pour le Roy Artus comë verrez cy apres.* Imprime nouellemët. MDXXXII.

2. *Pantagruel || Les horribles et epouëtables faictz et prouesses du tresrenôme Pantagruel Roy des Dipsodes filz du grand geât Gargantua, Cōposez nouellemët par Maistre Alcofrybas Nasier.* On les vend a Lyon en la maison de Claude Nourry, dict le Prince, pres nostre dame de Confort. (No date.)

3. *Gargantua. ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ. La vie inestimable du grand Gargantua, pere de Pantagruel, jadis cōposée par l'abstracteur de quîte essèce, liure plein de pantagruelisme.* MDXXXV. On les vend a Lyon, chës Fräcoys Justë deuût nostre Dame de Confort.

4. *Tiers liure des faictz et dictz heroïques du noble Pantagruel, cōposez par M. Franc. Rabelais, docteur en medicine et calloïer\* des Isles Hières.* A Paris par Chrestien Weichsel, a lescu de Basle. 1546.

5. *Le Quart liure des faicts et dictz Heroïques du bon Pantagruel. Composé par M. François Rabelais, docteur en medicine.* A Paris de l'imprimerie de Michel Fezendat. 1552.

6. *L'Isle sonnante par Maistre François Rabelais.* Imprimé Nouuellement. MDLXII.

7. *Le Cinquiesme et dernier liure des faicts et dictz héroïques du bon Pantagruel, composé par M. François Rabelais, Docteur en Medicine.* Nouuellement mis en lumière. MDLXIII.

8. *Rabelais et son Œuvre.* Par JEAN FLEURY. 2 vols. Paris: 1876.

THE tide of the popularity of François Rabelais has alternately ebbed and flowed. His immediate fame is attested by the sixty editions through which 'Pantagruel' passed in the sixteenth century. Montaigne places Rabelais in the same rank as Boccaccio, second to Ovid and Ariosto; he was

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\* In the Greek Church the 'caloyer' is a professed monk as opposed to the 'dokimos,' or novice. By this quaint phrase Rabelais means to express his love for the Islands of Hyères. Cf. 'Childe Harold,' canto ii. stanza xlix., 'Here dwells the caloyer,' &c.



the 'bon père' of Brantôme; the Cardinal du Perron called 'Pantagruel' 'le livre' *par excellence*. But barely fifty years had elapsed before a reaction commenced, which culminated in the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Though La Fontaine and Molière did not scruple to draw largely from his overflowing treasury, though Madame de Sévigné was ready to *mourir à rire* at his rich humour, his gigantic offences against decorum blinded the world to the daring originality of his fantastic genius. The age of the 'Grand Monarque' was opposed to the sixteenth century, its spirit was out of sympathy with Rabelais' iconoclastic ideas; its taste was outraged by his plain-spoken style; its refined license scandalised by the open coarseness of his manners. It ceased to multiply editions of 'Pantagruel,' and passed from the notes and commentaries of Huet, Passerat, and Ménage to the abridgements and expurgations of the Abbés Pérau and de Marsy. The general tone of feeling is expressed in Voltaire's remark that Rabelais was 'un philosophe ivre qui n'a écrit que dans le temps de son ivresse.' A few years later and the tide had once more turned in favour of Rabelais. His earnestness, wisdom, and philosophy were still depreciated; but his claims to rank among great humourists were generally acknowledged. Again Voltaire expressed the altered taste of the day when, in 1760, he wrote to Madame du Deffand: 'Rabelais, quand il est bon, est le premier des bons bouffons.' For the last century the stream has flowed steadily in the same direction. The reputation of Rabelais, not only as a humourist, but as a deep thinker, a zealous reformer, a profound satirist, was carried forward on the tide of the French Revolution to a height from which, to say the least, it has never receded. His place is secured among the master-minds of the world.

Few writers have been more pillaged or more imitated. Besides La Fontaine and Molière, Racine, Boileau, Beaumarchais, and Piron are indebted to him for the foundations of some of their most famous passages; even Voltaire, in 'Le Pauvre Diable,' did not hesitate to copy almost sentence by sentence Rabelais' attack upon the monks. Crowds of writers, famous and obscure, paid his genius the sincere flattery of imitation. 'Les Aventures du Baron de Fœneste' and 'La Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy,' by Agrippa d'Aubigné; the 'Voyage dans la Lune' of Cyrano de Bergerac; the 'Gil Blas' of Le Sage; the 'Contes Drolatiques' of Honoré de Balzac, are among the most illustrious scions of 'Pantagruel.' Foreign men of letters were equally appre-

ciative of his genius. Without Rabelais Spain would have lost the *obra jocosa* of Quevedo, and England would have been the poorer by the loss of 'Gulliver's Travels' and 'Tristram Shandy.' He has received more consistent honour from England than from his own fellow-countrymen. Two books of 'Pantagruel' were translated in the sixteenth century, and Shakespeare probably alludes to him in 'As you like it.'\* Southey, one of the purest of English writers, refers to him repeatedly; Hallam, the most impartial of critics, blames the French for their unjust depreciation of his intellectual powers; Scott's healthy temperament found much to admire in his genial humour; Coleridge regarded him as the deepest and boldest thinker of his age, and classed him with Shakespeare, Dante, and Cervantes among the great creative minds of the world. But if his audience in this country has been fit, it has also been few. Many who write allusively of Rabelais as the French Aristophanes, the modern Lucian, the Democritus of his age, the impersonation of the *esprit gaulois*—many of those who speak of the *curé* of Meudon in the familiar terms of intimate acquaintance, presume, on the authority of a plausible line in Pope, that he was a mere merry-andrew. It is rare to find anyone who has even attempted to read the immortal romance which makes Rabelais as truly the representative of the French Renaissance as Voltaire was the intellectual embodiment of the critical movement in France in the eighteenth century. Few would be the guests if the host, like the Cardinal du Perron, admitted none to his table but students of 'Pantagruel.' Deserted would be the road to preferment if the passport to an abbey or a cardinal's hat was, as in the case of Louis Barbier, a knowledge of Rabelais.

The age, the man, and the book are profoundly interesting; why, then, is 'Pantagruel' so little read? Much of the humour has lost its savour with the disappearance of the social conditions on which it turned. On the nineteenth century a wealth of local and personal allusion is wasted. We know little of the romances of false chivalry which Rabelais parodies; we are wearied by the gigantic buffoonery; we are sated with a vinous hilarity which harps mechanically on a single string; our literary taste is offended by the wearisome redundancy with which he exhausts his

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\* See act iii. sc. 2: 'You must borrow me Gargantua's mouth first.' The allusion to Rabelais is not certain, because Gargantua was a popular hero before the publication of 'Pantagruel.'

various topics. But the chief reason still remains. To all but students of literature 'Pantagruel' must necessarily remain a sealed book because of its terrific indecency. No writer, ancient or modern, can rival Rabelais for the volume of the torrent which he pours forth of undisguised, unadulterated, and elaborate filth. Three excuses are pleaded for his obscenity—the manners of the age, the distinction between coarse and seductive pictures, and the necessity of the times. The three apologies are true, but they do not wholly excuse Rabelais. His indecency is characteristic of an age of unblushing licentiousness, and belongs to a period when language went stark naked. As Dutch writers spoke of Petronius Arbiter as 'vir sanctissimus,' so the ladies and gentlemen of the Court of Francis I. found Rabelais 'delectable.' Nor is Rabelais an immoral writer. He never panders to impure passions, uses no colours to lure to destruction, takes no sickly delight in tickling the fancy with dreams of unhallowed enjoyment. His freedom of speech is absolutely unbridled; but, though he says whatever comes uppermost, he strips licentiousness of its gay disguises and exhibits vice in all its naked deformity. As a priest nature had for him no mysteries, as an anatomist no sanctities. Yet for all this no one can rise from the perusal of 'Pantagruel' as a whole with any feeling of disgust for the author. Coleridge's remark may seem exaggerated, but it is not far from the mark. 'I could write a treatise in 'praise of the moral elevation of Rabelais' work which 'would make the Church stare and the Conventicle groan, 'and yet would be truth and nothing but truth.'

The third excuse for Rabelais is that, as a satirist, he was obliged to work by hints and in masquerade. Like Aristophanes, he disguises his face in the wine-lees. Like Montesquieu again in the 'Lettres Persanes,' he distracts attention from his attacks upon society by his pictures of the nude. Voltaire, to whom the experience of the 'Lettres Philosophiques' taught the same secret, represents Rabelais explaining to Lucian and Erasmus in the Elysian Fields the method which he followed. 'Voyant que la sagesse et la science ne menaient qu'à l'hôpital ou au gibet . . . je m'avisai être plus fou que tous mes compatriotes ensemble. Je pris mes compatriotes par leur faible; je parlai de boire, je dis des ordures, et avec ce secret tout me fut permis.' Rabelais makes the same excuse for himself. When Panurge cursed the Pope-hawk in the Ringing Island, Edeutus warns him to speak low. Panurge changes his

note with 'Let us drink,' and the sacristan replies, 'Vous parlez bien à cette heure; tant que vous parlez ainsi, vous ne serez jamais hérétique.' 'L'homme qui rit n'est pas dangereux.' Rabelais' buffoonery enabled his protectors to save him from the Sorbonne. He assumed the mask to elude the search of heresy-hunters, and donned the cap and bells to escape the *san benito*. The truth of the apology is confirmed by the fact that his most serious words are immediately followed by his wildest freaks of buffoonery. But though numerous passages might be quoted from his works of grave and solemn beauty, of earnest kindly wisdom, and unaffected elevation of moral feeling, it seems impossible to deny that he chose the particular disguise of roystering animalism because it was most congenial to his jovial temperament; and, after all is said, the intense geniality, the natural heartiness, the fresh joviality of the 'gros rire tourangeau' is the most sincere plea that can be urged in mitigation of the penalties he justly incurs by his gross offences against good taste and decorum. Rabelais has at least met with retributive justice. His obscenities protected him from immediate persecution; they have also robbed him of posthumous rewards. They reprieved him from the stake, but consigned him to a literary *oubliette*.

Nothing can be done with so incorrigible an author. He must be taken as he is, or not at all. In the original French he is unintelligible to all who have not made a special study of the provincialisms and dialects of the ancient Gallic tongue. He cannot be Bowdlerised, for expurgation would be extinction. English readers can study him, if they will, in a translation which is a masterpiece of vigour, rivalling the original in its command of the linguistic resources of obscenity. Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty set to work upon his version with patriotic zeal. He determined to show the world that a true Briton could not be outdone in his native treasures of obscene language by the most erudite of Frenchmen. It is enough to say that he succeeded.\* A family author Rabelais can never be; but

\* Sir T. Urquhart stood in need throughout his life of all the Pantagruelian philosophy. He was born in 1605. He travelled in his youth through sixteen different kingdoms, and returned with a knowledge of foreign tongues, which probably procured him his place in the Court of Charles I. He was knighted in 1641. Ruin fell upon his ancient and honourable house, which, in his 'Promptuary of Time,' he traces in unbroken ascent to the red earth from which Adam was created. Faithful to his master's cause, he joined the rising of Mackenzie of

the extraordinary originality of his genius, the serious and lofty purpose, the rich humour, the deep insight into human nature, the moral elevation which characterise many passages of 'Pantagruel,' together with the immense historical and etymological value of the work, justify, and indeed demand, some attempt to present a true sketch of the life and writings of a man who, as the great vernacular satirist of a stormy and excited period, created a new province in the modern world of letters, moulded the form of the language of his country, and profoundly influenced the destinies of the French Reformation. Yet we frankly own we should have shrunk from the task had not M. Fleury's excellent work placed Rabelais within the reach of everyone, in a form which preserves much of the spirit of the original and yet contains nothing to shock the most delicate refinement.

In the altered conditions of modern society, and in the wide extension of knowledge, no author of the present day can hope to exercise the wide-spread influence of such universal individualities as Rabelais or Shakespeare. Both are universal, but with a broad difference. Shakespeare's works can be spoken of without reference to the man or his age. There is in them hardly a touch of personal idiosyncrasy; they possess within themselves principles of life which have preserved them incorruptible because they are uncircumscribed by circumstances, unconditioned by time or place, unalloyed by prejudices or predilections. It is not so with the great French humourist. It is impossible to separate 'Pantagruel' from the period when it was written, or from the personality of its author. Rabelais himself is a mystery. The ardent student wears the guise of the roystering Bohemian; the encyclopædic master of all the sciences is also the indefatigable jester and extravagant buffoon. His friends paint him as the determined foe of ignorance, the profoundest of thinkers, the universal man of letters who, like Pico della Mirandola, could maintain a thesis *de omni re scibili*; his enemies describe him as a profligate libertine, a rubicund leering Silenus, a drunken hiccuping monk, who

Pluscardyn, and was proscribed as a rebel by the Estates of Parliament. At the battle of Worcester he was taken prisoner, and eventually escaped to the Low Countries. Tradition declares that he died in a fit of laughter on hearing the news of the restoration of Charles II. He only completed three books of 'Pantagruel.' The last two books of Rabelais were translated by Peter Motteux, a Huguenot refugee, who died under discreditable circumstances in St. Clement Danes in 1717.

mumbled his mass but mouthed his drinking song, and shortened his vespers that he might lengthen his carouse. His strange and original genius increased the mystery by indulgence in the wildest freaks. He delights to drop from the heights of wisdom to the depths of folly, to breathe the rare atmosphere of wind-swept summits of thought or to wallow up to the neck in the mire of his obscenities. 'Pantagruel' is no less an enigma than its author. Viewed from one side, it is an allegory enriched with broad humour, piquant satire, sparkling witticisms, dramatic representations of character, containing an inexhaustible store of information on the habits, manners, and customs of the day, exhibiting the most exalted ideal of morality that was conceived by any writer of the epoch. Regarded from a different standpoint, it is the most outrageously improbable of mediæval romances, a gigantic burlesque, a libidinous frolic of absurdity, an unrestrained outpouring of vinous drivel, a monstrous dung-heap reeking with unadulterated filth.

These two conceptions of the 'Homère bouffon' and his work are aptly represented in the two extant portraits of Rabelais which assert the strongest claims to be considered genuine. The first, coloured by popular fancy or blackened by the spleen of outraged opponents, represents him as the sensual Franciscan who died with a profane pun upon his lips. The second is drawn by the hand of an admirer who detects a lofty purpose beneath the Titanic outbursts of ribald laughter, and sees in his terrific indecency the mask which the necessities of the times compel him to assume. Neither of the two portraits appears to be contemporary, or to date from a period anterior to 1620. The first, which is on wood, in the museum at Versailles, was engraved by Isaac Sarrabat in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It gives the full-face of a man, turning slightly towards the left and looking towards the right, wearing a priest's cap with a small medallion in front, and dressed in a black gown trimmed with fur. The broad strong nose and wide-open nostrils, the large eyes surmounted by heavy eyebrows, the thick sensual lips, the mocking smile, is the ordinarily accepted portrait of the 'Écorcheur des Veaux.' The other picture is to be found in the Faculty of Medicine at Montpellier, where several specimens of his handwriting are carefully preserved. It represents him with a grave, dignified, reflective countenance, a smooth, broad, unwrinkled forehead, large hazel eyes full of fire, a florid complexion, mobile lips, large nose, and chestnut beard and moustache. He

wears the red gown of a doctor of medicine, with a square red-tufted cap. Upon the picture is inscribed the year 1537, the date at which Rabelais took his doctor's degree; but it appears that the portraits in the gallery of the faculty, which extend from H. de Guintonia in 1239, were painted by the order of Chancellor Ranchin in 1610-20. The question, therefore, arises, to which no satisfactory answer can be given, whether this particular portrait is copied from a contemporary picture or is merely an imaginary representation, like the bulk of its companions. One thing seems to be certain. The Versailles portrait is not a true likeness of Rabelais. 'Le portrait qu'on voit de Rabelais,' says Talle-mant des Réaux, 'n'est pas fait sur luy; on l'a fait à plaisir 'à peu près comme on croyait qu'il étoit.' If both portraits are imaginary, which gives the truer impression of the man? In the one he is the buffoon, the tippler, the Silenus; in the other the thinker, the scholar, the man of science. Which was Rabelais? It is the purpose of the following pages to offer an answer to the question.

The age of Rabelais, the man himself, and his writings are, as has been said, deeply interesting, and it is under these three heads that the subject will be treated.

Born in 1483, Rabelais died in 1553. His life thus extends over a period which witnessed the spread of the Renaissance, the growth of the Protestant Reformation, the commencement of the Catholic reaction. The winter of the senile Middle Ages had broken up before the warm spring of the Renaissance. New hemispheres were added to the worlds of thought and action. Navigators, scholars, thinkers were inspired by a spirit of enterprise and adventure which swept over Europe with the resistless flow of the returning tide that succeeds the inactive ebb. Every feature of Rabelais' work betokens a transition period. The taste, the manner, the form are mediæval; the criticism, the hatred of ignorance, the contempt for superstition, the thirst for study, the classic culture, the independence are modern. Rabelais represents the thoughts, the exultation, and, at rare intervals, the regrets of the epoch. Analysis, method, freedom of thought were sapping the foundations of the social, the scientific, the philosophical, and the religious systems, and all the steps in the coming change are represented in 'Pantagruel.' Anatomist, physician, botanist, astronomer, proficient in architecture, skilled in navigation, versed in law, deeply read in philosophy, learned in Latin, Greek, Hebrew,

and Arabic, and possessing a smattering of many spoken languages, Rabelais brings to bear upon his vast subject that universality of knowledge which characterises the epoch. Though the field of learning was rapidly widening it was still limited; he was not compelled to specialise his labours, but took the whole for his province. He has the roving humour of Burton, who among English writers most closely resembles him; he was not the slave of any one science, but roamed abroad, having an oar in every man's boat, tasting of every dish, sipping of every cup.

Rabelais is a humanist neither of the Italian nor of the Northern school. His monastic and medical training and the natural bent of his genius stunted the imaginative, artistic, poetic side of his nature, turned him towards a critical study of humanity, encouraged his inclination towards scientific investigation. He was a stranger to that love of the picturesque which inspired Italian poets and artists. Archæologist though he is, he feels none of the enthusiasm for antiquity which thrilled Petrarch as he sate among the Baths of Diocletian. The mystic passion for women which glowed in Dante and burnt up once more in the sonnets of Michael Angelo was extinguished in his breast. His sentiments are those of a mediæval monk. 'Woman,' says Pantagruel, 'comes between man and the love of God.' Whether Gargamelle died of joy at the death of Picrochole is all one to Rabelais: 'I care not for her, or any other woman.' He has no feeling for beauty and no artistic insight. The everlasting clang of the bells of the Eternal City impressed him more vividly than all the poetry of her ruins. Nor was his attitude towards the Renaissance that of the humanists of Germany or of Holland. Unlike the Italians, who sought in classic culture beauty of form and refinement of taste, the Northern nations seized upon the practical side of the revival of letters. The determination to see things as they were without reference to tradition or authority was the dynamic force of a movement which led by no uncertain steps to the overthrow of the ecclesiastical fabric. The stress which the Dutch and German humanists laid upon the right of private judgement, their appeals to the supremacy of reason, their insistence upon the union of morality with religion, brought them more directly into collision with the Church of Rome than the pagan morals or bantering incredulity of the Italians.

In his liberality of thought, his encyclopædic knowledge,



his unsatisfied craving for study, Rabelais is a true child of the Renaissance. He declares war on all that the Middle Ages had worshipped—the love of martial conquest, the life of contemplation, mortification of the flesh, scholasticism, and the sounding words which scarcely concealed their emptiness. The inspiration of the movement is upon him. He feels the ecstasy of its renewed life. But its effect on his mind was widely different from the artistic passion of Italy or the practical devotion of Germany. The ideal which he seeks is freedom of thought, the right of every man to pursue knowledge how and when he will, the liberty to worship God as he understood His divinity. He protests against intolerance, but he cares nothing for doctrinal definitions; to him dogmas, whether of Protestantism or Catholicism, are accidents of time and circumstance. He looked for a gradual reconstruction of the world and the spread of education and of science, a process which was necessarily slow, and, in the face of surrounding circumstances, impossible. The foes of culture were the same that they had ever been, on the one hand the priesthood, on the other the unlearned—the narrowness of fanaticism or the panic fear of ignorance. It was because authority checked speculation, upheld shams, discountenanced study, asserted absurd pretensions, and bound living men to dead forms by the iron chains of tradition, that he arraigns the Papacy, the monasteries, and all the learned professions in one sweeping comprehensive indictment. ‘Pantagruel’ is an attempt to promote the course of progress in France by the removal of everything that obstructed its advance in religion, law, education, institutions, or society. And the basis of Rabelais’ humanitarian enthusiasm is his faith in the natural goodness of mankind. Restraint creates the evil which it is designed to check. Shake off the fetters, and the innate potentialities of human excellence will have room to expand. Meanwhile the true wisdom is that of the Pantagruelian philosopher, who strips himself of all that is transitory and passing, possesses his own soul in patience, labours all his life to advance the spread of knowledge, strives to discover the ‘great perhaps,’ and dies in the bosom of the Church in which he was born.

The absorbing interest of Rabelais’ attitude towards the French Renaissance consists in its representative character, and in his relation through the sixteenth-century movement to the intellectual changes which preceded the Revolution. There was a period in his life when he inclined towards the Reformation, and readers of ‘Pantagruel’ in its existing form

and its English translation\* may possibly imagine that he was always a Protestant at heart. Calvin says of him that he had once tasted the Gospel,† and in the first book of 'Pantagruel' he shows himself to have been a supporter of Reuchlin against Ortuin and the theologians of Cologne. He treats the Papacy with scant ceremony, attacks indulgences, pilgrimages, and superstitious observances; he scoffs at the purchase of pardons; he lashes with the full force of his satire the vices of the monastic system. But these features of his satire are in no degree proofs of his Protestantism. More positive evidence of his inclination towards the Reformed doctrines will be found in his advocacy of a return to the simplicity of Gospel teaching, his insistence with St. Paul on the spirit as opposed to the letter, his education of Pantagruel to read the Bible in Hebrew and Greek, and finally in Pantagruel's promise that in his kingdom of Utopia the Gospel shall be preached 'purement, simplement, et 'entièrement, si que les abus d'un tas des papelars et faulx 'prophètes, qui ont par constitutions humaines et inventions 'dépraveés envenimé tout le monde, seront dentour moy 'exterminéz.' But in time this feeling changed. The intellectual tyranny of Geneva became more distasteful to his mind than the cautious liberty of Rome. He found, and with him a crowd of Frenchmen whose latent leanings towards Protestantism were similarly checked, that the Huguenot leader was not the apostle of liberty, but that Calvin was more rapacious in his attacks on human freedom than the great Pope-hawk himself. The narrowness of the Protestant dogmas repelled him, and although up to a certain point he had fought by the side of the Reformers, the alliance was gradually exchanged for hostility. Calvin

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\* Motteux, his English editor and translator, who was himself a Protestant, omits Rabelais' references to the Calvinists of Geneva. Thus in the fourth book, among the monstrous brood of eavesdropping dissemblers, superstitious pope-mongers, and priest-ridden bigots which anti-nature had engendered, Rabelais includes 'les demoniacles 'Calvins imposteurs de Genève.' Motteux omits this last addition. Also it seems certain that the fifth book, published ten years after the death of Rabelais, contains a considerable number of Protestant additions, possibly from the pen of Henri Estienne.

† 'Quotquot videmus hodie Lucianos homines qui totam Christi 'religionem subsannant! Alii (ut Rabelæsus, Deperus, et Goveanus) 'gustato Evangelio, eâdem cæcitate sunt percussi. Cur istud nisi quia 'illud vitæ æternæ pignus sacrilegâ ludendi aut ridendi audaciâ ante 'profanârunt?'—*De Scandalis*.

wrote against him as the preacher of a creedless, soulless Epicureanism; Henri Estienne complained that 'il jette 'souvent des pierres dans notre jardin;' Ramus denounced him as an atheist; Robert Estienne reproached the men from whom he had himself fled for his own life because they had not burned the author of 'Pantagruel.' Rabelais was not backward in his reprisals. He had attacked the fasts of the Catholics, but he did not find that the meat diet of the Calvinists made them more tolerant or less suspicious; both were equally enemies of that science which was his mistress. His humanitarian fervour was diametrically opposed to the Huguenot doctrine of original sin, and he pours forth his ridicule upon the 'yea verily' of Calvin's catechism. The religious ideal which he puts forward in 'Theleme' is neither Calvinist nor Roman. He excludes from his abbey all who foment religious discord; he foresees the extinction of art and letters which will inevitably result from the impending struggle between Protestant and Catholic, and he throws in his lot with neither the one nor the other.

Rabelais held aloof from the conflict because he saw too clearly the faults of both the combatants. His physical temperament also tended to make him a spectator rather than an actor. More eager to attain liberty of thought than doctrinal truth, Rabelais was totally without the martyr-spirit. He shudders at the execution of Jean Caturece at Toulouse in 1532; but while Dolet openly protests against it Rabelais' policy, like that of Pantagruel, was rather to avoid similar dangers. Pantagruel and his attendants visit Toulouse, 'mais ils n'y demeurent guères quand ils virent qu'ils 'faisaient brûler leurs régents tous vifs comme harengs 'saurets.' And the times were full of peril. Jean Leclerc, the wool-carder of Meaux, was tortured and burned at Metz in 1525. Louis Berquin, the friend of the Marguerite des Marguerites, was the first victim of a Commission of Enquiry, which resembled Alva's Tribunal of Blood. Bonaventure Desperriers broke out into open infidelity in his 'Cynbalum 'Mundi,' and committed suicide to avoid the inevitable result. Clément Marot was imprisoned for eating bacon on Friday--

'Par le morbleu! voilà Clément--  
Prenez-le; il a mangé le lard!'

and finally died in exile. Anne Dubourg was disgraced and deprived of liberty for his religious opinions. For the same reason Etienne Dolet was tortured, hanged, and burned on the Place Maubert in Paris. Three of these men were Rabelais' most intimate friends, and he himself was more

than once obliged to flee for his life. He well knew that the King, in his paroxysms of piety, was, to use the phrase of Brantôme, 'un peu rigoureux à faire brusler vifs les hérétiques de son temps.' He was ready to go, as he said himself, 'jusqu'au bûcher exclusivement' in matters of opinion. But, like Marot, he feared the flames.

'L'oisiveté des prêtres et cagots  
Je la dirois, mais gare les fagots ;  
Et des abus dont l'Eglise est fourrée,  
J'en parlerois, mais gare la bourrée.'

It is not, therefore, surprising that Rabelais, in doctrinal, if not in disciplinary, reforms, imitated the cautious silence of Jean du Bellay and other free-thinking prelates among his contemporaries. But meanwhile the writings of the great vernacular satirist leavened the masses with something of his own discontent at the developement of the struggle between the dominant religion and its Protestant rival. Rabelais represents the scientific impulse of the French Renaissance, its passion for liberty of thought, its humanitarian fervour, its hopes of the Reforming movement and its disappointment in the Genevan tyranny, its eternal acquiescence in the established faith and its growing scepticism and gradual negation of all creeds. And the stern restraint of the feelings which the Renaissance engendered, and which Rabelais cast into a popular form, gives additional importance and significance to his writings. Checked by the Church and by the selfish monarchy which succeeded the break-up of the feudal aristocracy, the ideas expressed in 'Pantagruel' assumed more formidable and more menacing symptoms. It is worthy of note that, at the Revolution, Rabelais was recognised, for the first time since the sixteenth century, as one of the master minds of the world.

During all periods that have witnessed great changes men are only known in reference to some particular point where their existence touches the broad stream of history. Stirring centuries like the sixteenth are too absorbed in the interests of masses to follow those of individuals ; consequently the materials for the Life of Rabelais are scanty. The 'Lues Boswelliana,' which chronicles with infinite particularity the everyday doings of private persons, belongs to modern tastes and tamer times. To compensate in the case of Rabelais for the lack of authentic memorials, a popular biography has been created, resembling that which surrounds the name of Shakespeare. But three centuries after the death of the satirist we may be pardoned if we lay little stress on the

elaborate discussions which have centred round episodes in his career, and chronicle the commonly accepted facts of his life without entering into a criticism of disputed points.

The father of Rabelais was the landlord of the 'Lamproie' at Chinon, and was also the proprietor or the tenant of a vineyard in the neighbouring village of Seuilly, which lies on the left-hand side of the road from Chinon to Saumur. At Chinon or at Seuilly François Rabelais was born in 1483. Probably Rabelais never knew the meaning of maternal affection. The only domestic relationship on which he dwells with any tenderness is that of father and son—the love of Gargantua for Grandgousier, of Pantagruel for Gargantua. It is possible that a passage in the fifth book of 'Pantagruel' may be coloured by the bitterness of personal feeling. On the Ringing Island Pantagruel asks *Ædituus* how the clerk-hawks are bred, if the Pope-hawk is bred from the cardin-hawks, and the cardin-hawks from the bis-hawks, and the bis-hawks from the clerk-hawks. When he hears the answer he is surprised that women, who bear their sons nine months in their womb, cannot endure them nine years, or even seven, in their house; but clap a shirt over the urchin's clothes, lop a few hairs from his crown, and by some Pythagorean metempsychosis transform the boy into a clerk-hawk. Rabelais may be here recalling his own experience. Be this as it may, he was at an early age set apart for the priesthood. Near the Clos de la Devinière at Seuilly stood the Abbey of St. Sepulchre, and there the boy began his education. From Seuilly he passed to the Convent of La Basmette, near Angers, and possibly to the University of Angers. It was at this period of his life that he made the acquaintance of the famous family of Du Bellay, as well as of Geoffroi d'Estissac, afterwards Bishop of Maillezais.

In 1511 Rabelais was admitted into priest's orders as a Franciscan friar in the fraternity established at Fontenay-le-Comte, in Lower Poitou. Like Erasmus, he disgusted the friars by his secular leaning. He had not taken the vow of ignorance, and he was probably more galled by the restraints upon intellectual pleasures than by those upon licentious indulgences. Science was even now his austere mistress, and, in spite of his writings, his life, like that of Balzac, may have been free from sensual vices. Relying upon the Vulgate, the Church steadily set her face against the study of Greek and Hebrew. But Rabelais and his friend Amy taught themselves both languages, and corresponded with Budæus and other scholars. From scholarship to Lutheranism

seemed to the Franciscans a natural step. Rabelais' orthodoxy was doubted, and the suspicion was confirmed by his purchase of books printed in Germany. He was suspected by his brethren, and his studious habits and satirical tongue made him still more unpopular. Numerous stories are told of his escapades, immoralities, and profanities, and if any of these are true they may have contributed to his leaving the Franciscan Order. Popular tradition relates that he was condemned by the chapter to the terrible punishment of imprisonment *in pace*—to be walled up in his cell and fed only on bread and water during the term of his natural life—that the sentence was executed, and that he was only rescued by the armed intervention of André Tiraqueau, the governor of the district of Fontenay, and himself a native of the town. Where truth begins and legend ends is uncertain; but two facts stand out beyond dispute. He received some notable kindness from the famous juriconsult, of whom he speaks as 'le bon, le docte, le sage, le tant humain et tant 'équitable Tiraqueau;' and in 1524 he had left the Franciscans with a papal indulgence obtained for him by D'Estissac, enabling him to enter the Abbey of Maillezais, belonging to the scholarly and learned Order of the Benedictines. But he was not long contented with his new situation. It is even doubtful whether he ever entered the abbey; at any rate he speedily assumed the secular garb and once more became a citizen of the world. But his monastic experiences had left upon his mind an ineffaceable impression. He never spares the monks or forgets his hatred of the class. Throughout his crowd of actors he attributes no good characteristic to the priesthood.

The next five years of Rabelais' life are difficult to follow. Part of the period was spent at Maillezais or at Ligugé under the protection of D'Estissac, an easy-going, semi-pagan prelate, who winked at the ecclesiastical offence of his old school-fellow and made him his secretary. Like Rousseau at Les Charmettes, Rabelais dabbled in poetry and devoted himself to botany. It was along the banks of the river Clain that he acquired that knowledge of herbs and plants which appears in 'Pantagruel,' and which he applied to the practice of medicine. Other friends of his youth had been the brothers Du Bellay, and Rabelais next appears as secretary to Guillaume du Bellay, Sieur de Langey, who, according to Brantôme, was a skilful soldier, a loyal servant, but no courtier; 'il ne sçait ni quand le roy se lève, ni quand le roy se couche, mais il sçait bien où sont les ennemis.' It was at the Château of Glatigny, near Langey, that Rabelais revised

and corrected Guillaume du Bellay's Latin treatise on the stratagems of war, as well as the Latin poems and discourses of his brother Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, cardinal and diplomatist. Part of the house which belonged to Rabelais in the village of Langey still stands, and at Sonday, a neighbouring hamlet, the tradition is preserved that he was curé of the parish.

In September 1530 the name of Rabelais was entered as a student on the register of the University of Montpellier, where Louis XII. had recently founded four chairs to promote the study of medicine. There he passed through the prescribed course with distinction, if any credence is to be attached to popular legends. A doctor's gown, which was believed to be his, was for many years carefully preserved, and every medical pupil was invested with it after passing his fifth examination. The ceremony was said to commemorate the recovery by Rabelais of certain privileges, of which the University was deprived by Chancellor Duprat. But it seems at least probable that the gown, embroidered with the letters F.R.C., was not the gown of Franciscus Rabelæsus Chinonensis, but that of François Ranchin, the great reforming chancellor who governed the University between 1610 and 1620.

In 1532, after the delivery of the public lectures necessary for a bachelor's degree in medicine, Rabelais left Montpellier for Lyons, which, after Paris, was now the chief literary centre of France. The sixteenth century was the most splendid epoch in its civilisation. As the commercial link between France and Italy, Lyons had been the first city to profit by the arts and refinements of the Italian Renaissance. Sébastien Gryphe made the printing presses of Lyons famous throughout Europe; Jean Grollier, the Mæcenas of the age, was an inhabitant of the town, and round him gathered a knot of distinguished friends. Though the Société Angélique, in which antiquarians have seen one of the earliest of literary societies, had no organised existence, many intellectual interests were represented among the citizens of Lyons, or among the strangers who, like Rabelais, Marot, Dolet, and Desperriers, were attracted within its walls. Among the inhabitants were Pagnini, the Orientalist and Hebrew lexicographer; Pierre Tolet, one of the most skilled physicians of the day; Guillaume du Choul, the antiquarian and archæologist; Symphorien Champier, the founder of many public institutions, whose munificence is not only celebrated in 'Pantagruel' but commemorated in the street nomenclature

of Lyons; Michel Sève, a poet, and, as Joachim du Bellay calls him, 'docte aux doctes esclaircy;' Barthélemy Aneau, principal of the Collège de Lyon, poet, translator, and parent of the French opera. Nor was Lyons without its literary ladies. Though Louise Labé, 'la belle cordière,' was only seven years old in 1532, yet women like Pernette du Guillet and the sisters Claudine and Sibylle Sève were poetesses whose reputation has not yet wholly disappeared.

To Lyons Rabelais was mainly attracted by the fame of its printing presses. There he published two medical treatises, and two Latin pieces which he erroneously supposed to be 'ex reliquis venerandæ antiquitatis.'\* He also assisted in the correction of the learned works which issued from the press of Gryphe. With literature he united the practice of medicine, for he had been appointed physician to the Hôtel-Dieu of the town. It is to be hoped that he succeeded better as a doctor than he had hitherto prospered as a man of letters. Piqued by the failure of his previous works, he revenged himself upon the taste of the day by a parody on the popular tales of chivalry. 'The Great and Inestimable 'Chronicle of the Great and Enormous Giant Gargantua' was composed, as the author tells us, in the intervals allotted to eating and drinking. It was published in 1532.

The success of the Chronicle was as gigantic as its hero. It is founded on the popular legends of Touraine. Gargantua was one of the Celtic deities of Brittany; but south of the Loire he was transformed into an ogre. According to tradition he travels through the country in search of adventures, bearing his servants in his pocket and followed by a goblin loaded with provisions. When their master pleases they halt and dine. The servants cook the food and lay the table, and when the giant feeds cast into his mouth the salt and mustard with shovels, while the goblin pours down his throat a dozen barrels of wine. Then he sleeps thirty hours at a stretch, guarded by his attendants. Traces of the legend are scattered all over the country; Gargantua's quoits, footprints, pulpits, and ninepins are almost universal. This popular hero Rabelais made the central figure of his romance, linking him on to the legends of Arthur and of Merlin. The

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\* (1) Hippocratis ac Galeni libri aliquot. Ex recognitione Fr. Rabelæsi. Lugduni apud Gryphium, 1532. (2) Johannis Manardi Ferrariensis Epistolarum medicinalium tomus secundus. Lugduni apud Gryphium, 1532. (3) Ex reliquis venerandæ Antiquitatis Lucii Guspidi Testamentum; item Contractus venditionis antiquis Romanorum temporibus initus. Lugduni: Gryphius. 1532.



Chronicle is a mere farrago of nonsense, a burlesque on the giants and enchantments of romance, intended for sale by the travelling *bisnars* at country fairs and markets in the company of 'Jehan de Paris,' 'Robert le Diable,' or 'Richard Sans Peur.' Yet there were sold, says Rabelais, more copies in two months than will be sold of the Bible in nine years.

Encouraged by his success, Rabelais in the same year brought out a sequel to the Chronicle in 'Pantagruel.' The work is no longer a mere extravagance, or a boisterous caricature of romantic literature. The fiction has assumed a serious character; it has a design and a purpose. King Arthur, Merlin, Gog and Magog, and other legendary heroes have been disbanded, and Pantagruel, though a giant, stands in the streets of Paris. Don Quixote, the burlesque hero of popular fiction, became the model of ideal chivalry; so Pantagruel assumes human characteristics and changes into the noblest and wisest of mortals. With all the freshness of twenty, yet with the ripe experience of fifty, Rabelais thus began his laugh at the world. Molière wooed with persistency the Queen of Tragedy before he discovered that he reigned supreme in the heart of the Comic Muse. So it was with Rabelais. It is not the least singular feature in his strange career that half a century elapsed before he recognised the natural bent of his genius and knew himself to be a born satirist. Into this new direction he pours all the treasures of his varied experience, all the materials which he had gathered as a Franciscan friar, a Benedictine monk, a secular priest, a medical student and a doctor, the secretary of a bishop and a great captain, the companion of wits, scholars, soldiers, and statesmen. The rich vein of broad and jovial humour upon which Rabelais had struck in 'Pantagruel' could not have been a new discovery. Its flashes must have often set the bishop's table in a roar, if it had never convulsed the *frayter* at Fontenay-le-Comte. What Rabelais had discovered was not the existence of a gift of which he was previously unaware, but the faculty of talking to the world with the same unconstrained ease with which he conversed among his most familiar associates.

When he had once tested his powers he exercised them without apparent fatigue. Besides the 'Gargantuan Chronicle' and 'Pantagruel,' which were written within a few months of each other, he issued an 'Almanach' in 1532,\* which was

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\* Almanach pour MDXXXII calculé sur le méridien de la noble cité de Lyon et sur le climat du royaume de France.

afterwards annually continued up to 1550, and the 'Pantagruelian Prognostication,'\* in which he attacked the so-called science of astrology. In 1534 Jean du Bellay, passing through Lyons on a diplomatic mission to Rome, invited Rabelais to accompany him. The proposal was accepted. During the whole of his stay in Italy Rabelais studied with all a scholar's enthusiasm the antiquities of Rome, superintended excavations, made voluminous notes, and prepared to write a book on Roman archæology. He found himself, however, forestalled by a Milanese named Marliani, whose work he subsequently published at Lyons, with additions and corrections. His prolonged absence of many months cost him his post at the Hôtel-Dieu of Lyons. But he by no means neglected his medical studies. It was now that he delivered his anatomical lecture, illustrated by a public dissection of the body of a criminal who had been hanged in the city. This anatomical illustration was probably the first ever witnessed in France, and the excitement which it created is evidenced by the verses of Dolet. His freedom from professional ties gave him greater leisure for literature. In 1534 he published his edition of Marliani's 'Topographia,'† with a dedication to Cardinal du Bellay. In the following year he produced his 'Vie inestimable du grand Gargantua,' which definitely superseded the original Chronicle and now forms the first book of 'Pantagruel.' It is still full of absurdities and extravagances, but the form and the matter are recast, so that the work may be an appropriate prelude to its successor. In tone and spirit it is entirely changed. Like Luther, Rabelais had seen the corruption of the Papacy at its very centre; he had visited Rome in the train of a cardinal who was a pagan philosopher rather than an ecclesiastic. 'Gargantua' was written at the time when he hoped most from, and was most inclined to, the Reformed doctrines. In 'Pantagruel' he had satirised the affected gibberish of pedantic scholars, the absurdities of the technical jargon of lawyers, the trivialities of the scholastic theology; but in 'Gargantua' he pours forth all his satire upon the monks and the glaring contrast which

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\* Pantagrueline prognostication Certaine veritable et infallible pour l'an mil DXXXIII. nouvellemēt composee au profit et aduiseemēt des gēs estourdis et musars de nature par maistre Alcofribas Architréclin dudit Pantagruel.

† Joannis-Bartolomæi Marliani mediolensis topographia antiquæ Romæ. Lyon: Seb. Gryph. 1534.

was afforded by the capabilities and the actualities of the monastic system, assails the superstitious extravagances of the day and those who encouraged them for their own profit, and sketches a wild poetic scheme which contains many practical suggestions for an ideal ecclesiastical socialism.

'Gargantua' is full of audacious satire against the ecclesiastical system, and there were many passages in the original edition which would have brought Rabelais within the reach of the heresy-hunters. He had touched the shield of the Church with the point of his spear, and, in view of the hostility which he had aroused, it is not strange to find him once more at Rome in 1536. The pantheism of Leo X. had made strictness in dogmatic faith for the time impossible. The Papal city was the safest sanctuary for all whose orthodoxy was doubtful. To this second period of Rabelais' sojourn at Rome belong his letters to the Bishop of Maillezais, which give a minute account of the disposal of his time, the confidence which Cardinal du Bellay reposed in him, his studies of archæology, botany, and languages, and his interest in contemporary politics. His prime object was, doubtless, to put himself *en règle* with the Church; he received the Papal permission to re-enter a Benedictine monastery and to practise medicine, with the restriction, universal in the case of the clergy, of not using fire or the knife in any surgical operation. The commencement of the following year found him at Paris and present at a banquet to Dolet; at its close he was at Montpellier, where he took his doctor's degree in medicine and lectured for two years.

In 1540 he came to Paris, to enter the collegiate church of St. Maur des Fossés, where Du Bellay had procured him a canonry. Here he might have led a life of ease in a spot which he described as 'un paradis de salubrité, aménité, sérénité, commodité, délices de tous honnêtes plaisirs d'agriculture et vie rustique.' But he had obtained leave to practise medicine wherever he wished, and his enthusiasm for the art, together with his roving disposition, made him a wanderer in many parts of France. During this period he composed the third book of 'Pantagruel.' It appeared in 1546 with his name attached, instead of the anagram Alcofribas Nasier, which he had hitherto adopted. By the first two books Rabelais had not only provoked the hostility of all the monasteries in the land, but aroused the enmity of the Parliament of Paris and of the Sorbonne, the most jealous guardian of orthodoxy. The great pro-

tectress of men of letters, Marguerite of Navarre, was living remote from the world, wrapped in mystic contemplation; Dolet, Desperriers, and Marot had been burned at the stake, driven to suicide, or forced into exile for smaller offences than his own. He required all his caution to escape their fate. The third book was read by Francis I. before its publication, and appeared 'avec privilège du roi' in 1546.

The death of Francis I. in the next year, followed as it was by the disgrace of Du Bellay, left Rabelais without a protector. His enemies seized their opportunity to attack him. He fled precipitately to Metz, where he with difficulty supported himself as a doctor, and afterwards made his way to Rome. The birth of the eldest son of Henry II. in 1549 was the signal for great rejoicings at the Papal Court, and Rabelais assisted in preparing the different spectacles with which the occasion was celebrated. He sent an account in several letters addressed to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had succeeded Jean du Bellay in the favour of the Court. 'La Sciomachie et festins faits à Rome' \* procured for Rabelais his restoration to France, as well as the favour of the Cardinal, who made him curé of Meudon. During his wanderings Rabelais had completed a fourth book; but he felt that even the powerful protection of the Guises was not sufficiently strong to save him from the Sorbonne. He therefore obtained the leave of Henry II. to publish the book, and dedicated it to the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, who, as the elder brother of Admiral Coligny, led the opposition to the Guises. Thus secured on all sides, the fourth book of 'Pantagruel' was published in 1552. But, though it appeared 'avec privilège du roi,' the Parliament of Paris forbade its sale and summoned its author before their bar. Ultimately the sale was permitted, but at the cost of Rabelais' surrender of his ecclesiastical benefices. In February 1552 he resigned his preferments, and a year later died in Paris in the Rue des Jardins, and was buried in the cemetery of the parish of St. Paul. But all traces of the place of his interment have been lost for upwards of two centuries.

The peaceful picture of the close of the life of the curé of Meudon is probably apocryphal. It is said that the last days of Rabelais as parish priest were exemplary. His

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\* La Sciomachie et festins faits à Rome au palais du R. Cardinal du Bellay, pour l'heureuse naissance de M. le duc d'Orleans. Lyon: Seb. Gryph. 1549.

house was the resort of the learned, but its doors were also never closed to the poor. He had no infirmities, except his enormous size. He had formed an excellent library of rare and curious books, and retained his love of study to the last. No day passed on which he did not spend some portion in teaching the children to read and sing. People flocked from Paris to hear him preach or celebrate mass, or to enjoy his genial hospitality. Thus at Meudon his life passed tranquilly away, and there he died at peace with the Church and in the odour of sanctity. So runs the pleasant legend of the venerable curé. But the facts of history are inexorable. It is at least doubtful whether Rabelais ever exercised the functions of parish priest at Meudon; it is certain that he did not hold the cure more than two years, that he had resigned it before his death, and that he died in Paris. On the other hand his death-bed is surrounded with legends which are less edifying and perhaps equally fabulous. As in his lifetime numbers of books were attributed to him which he indignantly repudiated, so after his death his enemies vied with his indiscreet friends in associating preposterous stories with his name. Broad jests and floating witticisms current among the vulgar were fathered upon Rabelais, on the principle that such traditions gain in reality by association with a well-known figure. Every stage in his death is accompanied with some farcical impropriety, and it is now too late to sever truth from falsehood. Even his mule did not escape from slander. Imitating the irreverence of her master, she entered a church and drank the holy water. Rabelais' will is said to have been made in the words, 'I have nothing; I owe much; the rest I leave to the poor.' But twenty-six years before the death of the supposed testator the same disposition of worldly goods is quoted by Erasmus in a letter to Budæus. Tradition relates that, after he had received extreme unction, he told a friend 'qu'on lui avait graissé ses bottes pour le grand voyage;' that he called for his Benedictine domino, in order to receive the blessing of those 'qui in Domino moriuntur;' that he greeted the page of Cardinal de Châtillon, who had been sent to ask him how he was, with, 'Je vais quérir un grand Peut-être. Monseigneur est au nid de la pie; dis-lui qu'il s'y tienne. Pour toi, tu ne seras jamais qu'un fou;' that he saluted the priest who brought him the Sacrament with the words, 'Je crois voir mon Dieu tel qu'il entra à Jérusalem triomphant et porté sur un âne;' and, finally, that his last utterance was, 'Tirez le

'rideau; la farce est jouée.' The drop of the curtain is as old as Augustus. 'Ex uno disce omnia.'

No Life of Rabelais was written till a century after his death. In the meantime his true features were forgotten and distorted. The character of his writings invited misrepresentation. On the serious side of 'Pantagruel' the clergy, the monks, the Protestants, were interested in blackening his character, in order to minimise the effect of his satires. On its lighter side the enormous indecencies exposed him to the charge of personal immorality, while the gigantic buffooneries gave colour to his identification with countless popular stories which presented him in the light of a drunken jester without reverence for things human or divine. Both directly and indirectly he had offended the lawyers. He laughs at their interminable processes, at the ignorant idleness of judges like Bridoye, at the hair-splitting chicanery of the law-courts. He ridicules their treatises, which, like 'Tariboles de Droict,' buried the broad principles of Roman jurisprudence under a mass of subtle distinctions and profitless commentary. So long as he had treated of their civil processes he had only mocked; but when he touches upon their administration of criminal justice he brands the profession with indelible disgrace. The Furred Law Cats and the Gripemenalls were not likely to be tender to the memory of Rabelais. His caricatures of polite euphuism, his ridicule of elegant affectations of style, his contempt for the pedantic use of hybrid Latinisms, ran counter to the literary creed of the day. He did not, like the members of the Pléiade,\* disdain the old French romances as fit only for the floral games of Toulouse, but founded his satirical work on a cycle of myths deeply rooted in the popular imagination. He was, moreover, personally disliked by two of the leaders of the poetical clique which zealously supported the Parliament and the Sorbonne. Ronsard was his neighbour at Meudon, and saw in Rabelais his successful rival in the favour not only of France, but of their common patron, the Cardinal of Lorraine. Joachim du Bellay, a spare, vinegar-faced, melancholy dreamer, had been his companion at Rome in the household of the Cardinal du Bellay, and no two men could have been more antipathetic in their views of life. While Rabelais lived the Pléiade kept silence. No sooner was he dead than they

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\* Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Rémi Bellau, Jean Dorat, Jean-Antoine Baïf, Pontus de Tisard, Etienne Jodelle,

assailed his memory. The satirical verses of Ronsard and Du Bellay gave the permanence of literary form to the hostile estimate of his character. Du Bellay wrote two Latin epitaphs upon him, in one of which he nicknames him Pamphagus, in the other Cœnophilus. Ronsard's satire is more bitter. In his 'Épitaphe d'un Biberon' he speaks of Rabelais as the

'... bon biberon qui beuvoit  
Toujours cependant qu'il vivoit,'

and as the boon companion who

'... parmi des escuelles grasses  
Sans nulle honte se touillant \*  
Alloit dans le vin barbouillant  
Comme une grenouille en la fange.'

Those who reflect upon the known facts of Rabelais' life, the uncompromising boldness of his satires, the persecutions which he voluntarily risked by his zeal for reform; those who consider his passionate pursuit of science, his enthusiasm for his multifarious studies, his encyclopædic knowledge, and the extraordinary width of his learned interests; those, finally, who remember the reputation and the position of the men with whom he habitually associated on terms of intimate friendship, will find it difficult to accept the hostile estimate of Rabelais' character. If we turn from the facts of his life to the general tone of his writings, the difficulty of reconciling the two portraits and of discriminating between truth and falsehood confronts the student under a different form. Here too the question arises, Which is the genuine man, the eager reformer or the jovial boon companion, the audacious satirist or the vinous buffoon? But it is worth noticing that only old men like Grandgousier, or ignorant animals such as Friar John, drink to excess; that it is only Panurge, the coward, the kuave, the cynic, who wallows in debauchery; that his true hero, Pantagruel, indulges in no undue gratification of sensual appetites; and that in the ideal Abbey of Theleme there is no banqueting-hall, no cellar, no kitchen, and no mention of the pleasures of the table or the senses. Further, it is unfair to test the character of writers by the tone of their writings. Molière was a silent observer, Béranger serious and melancholy, Balzac absorbed in the pursuit of letters. Lastly, the nega-

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\* *Se touiller* is a local word, used at the present day in the districts of Perche and Maine, = to 'dirty oneself.'

tive evidence does not stand alone. Numerous passages in 'Pantagruel' prove that Rabelais had his high thoughts, his pure ideals, his serious moments, his deep religious susceptibilities; that his soul was burdened by hours of mystic melancholy, was subject to unutterable speculative longings, and capable of grand poetic flashes.

The framework on which the five parts of 'Pantagruel' are hung may be thus briefly sketched: The first book, which was printed in 1535, and is, therefore, in order of publication, the second, relates the miraculous birth of Gargantua, his education, his exploits, and his friendship for Friar John of the Chopping Knives. The second book, printed in 1532, appears to be in its early portions an inferior repetition of the first. It describes the birth of Pantagruel, the gigantic son of Gargantua, who is sent to be educated in Paris, where he meets Panurge and engages him as a companion. The two first books were published under the signature of Alcofribas Nasier. The third, printed in 1546, was the first to which Rabelais appended his name. The fourth book appeared in 1552, and the fifth in 1564, eleven years after the death of Rabelais. In the three last parts Panurge is the chief figure. They tell us how he fared as the ruler of Salmigondin; how he desired to take a wife, but fears that his marriage may prove unhappy; how, after consulting everyone in vain, it was agreed that Pantagruel, Friar John, and himself should enquire of the Oracle of the Holy Bottle; and how they visited strange countries in the course of their voyage.

Upon this absurd basis is piled mountain-high a mass of miscellaneous matter. The book is absolutely unique in the literature of the world. Here, raked together, are anecdotes, dissertations, quaint scraps of obscure learning, dialogues, sarcasm, wit, humour, proverbs, allegory, and astounding obscenity. Written with long intervals between the several parts, 'Pantagruel' represents all the changes which the opinions of Rabelais underwent between fifty and seventy. It passes from the extravagant caricature of the Gargantuan chronicle, in which it originated, to a blending of sarcasm and burlesque, and finally to satire, open, undisguised, audacious. The tone is changed. In the first two books Rabelais writes as a reformer of the school of Erasmus; in the last three he becomes more and more sceptical, less hopeful of the fulfilment of his ideal. The illusions of his comparative youth are dispelled; universal liberty seems as distant as when he was condemned to the punishment *in pace*; his



laughter grows harsh and bitter. Thus 'Pantagruel' affords a concrete illustration of the passage which France underwent from the gay freedom of the Renaissance to the gloomy distrust which was bred of the fanatical intolerance of both Catholics and Protestants. The theory that the whole work is allegorical, and that the actors are real historical characters, may be dismissed as trivial. The construction of keys is wasted labour, and, if shades can laugh, the 'gros rire tourangeau' must shake the nether world at a search as profitless as that for the philosopher's stone. Like all great writers, Rabelais does not paint pictures of his contemporaries; he puts together many different features that have struck him, but portraiture is not his object. He might say with Molière, 'Je prends mon bien où je le trouve.' He makes the same casual references to men of the time which Swift makes to Whig and Tory leaders in *Blefusc* and *Liliput*. 'Pantagruel' satirises the social fabric of the sixteenth century; but it is unnecessary to reduce its gigantic proportions to the dwarfish stature of a libel upon a particular Court. Rabelais is a universal moralist, not a satirist of individuals, and his work is a general criticism of the world, a Titanic outburst of laughter against shams, a sweeping protest against every form of intellectual restraint, a comprehensive indictment of all obstructions to mental liberty.

'Pantagruel' is for students of costume a book of fashions, enumerating the stuffs, the colours, the dresses, the jewels, the furs in which mediæval society was adorned. For historians of games it is a book of sport, of falconry and venery, of manly exercises and diversions. Of games at cards alone Rabelais enumerates more than two hundred different combinations. It gives a plan of domestic architecture, an inventory of household furniture, a menu of mediæval banquets as well as of rustic fare. It is a treatise on the art of medicine, a manual of anatomical science, a handbook of botany, a compendium of the processes and procedure of mediæval law. It gives a catalogue of the contents of monastic libraries, and from it may be compiled a diary of the daily life of a Franciscan friar. It affords a specimen of the dialectics of logicians and the philosophical exercises of the doctors of the Sorbonne. It is a valuable monograph on mediæval education, a treatise on the arts of war and navigation. It enumerates all the known pieces of ordnance from the culverin to the falcon; it is a museum of the mail, an armoury of the weapons of the Middle Ages. It is a

repertory which contains the superstitious practices of the day, astrological science, Virgilian lotteries, and all the current modes of presaging the future. It is a 'Bibliothèque bleue' of rustic romances, a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, a magazine of scraps of popular songs, a glossary of local idioms, a dictionary of dialects, an inexhaustible vocabulary of picturesque provincialisms. In a word, it is an enormous scrap-bag of miscellaneous articles.

No adequate impression could be conveyed, within reasonable limits, of the multifarious contents of such a work. Three points may, however, be selected—mainly from the first book—to illustrate the method in which the various subjects are treated—education, ecclesiastical abuses, and Rabelais' Utopian ideal.

The first serious topic which is touched upon in 'Pantagruel' is education; for this, in Rabelais' conception of the Renaissance movement, was the all-important factor. Grandgousier, who belongs to the rude, easy-going age that was passing away, gives his son Gargantua the ordinary education of a youth of noble birth in the Middle Ages. He is brought up like a page among the women in the licentious atmosphere of a court. He is taught to read by a tutor who consumes five years and three months in the task. At the end of that time he can say his alphabet as well backwards as forwards. Next he is exercised in logical and grammatical gymnastics, which destroy thought in order to preserve its forms. He learns by heart and word for word antiquated treatises and obsolete textbooks of the twelfth century. In this way he spends thirty-five years and two months. His body is as neglected as his mind. He is told that it is waste of time for him to wash or clean himself; consequently he only smooths his hair with the German comb—that is, with his fingers and thumb. After gorging himself at breakfast he hears from twenty-six to thirty masses, mumbles the Hours and his litanies, and, with a paternoster from St. Claude, says more prayers than sixteen hermits could have offered. Then, with his heart in the kitchen, he studies for half an hour. At his dinner he eats to excess, and sleeps for three hours 'without thinking or speaking any harm.' He wakes to drink, read a little, gabble more prayers, visit the kitchen in order to see what meat is on the spit, sups, goes to bed, and sleeps till eight the next morning. Gargantua learns his lessons perfectly, studies hard, and satisfies his tutors and examiners; yet every day he becomes 'more foolish, doited, and blockish.'

Seeing that Gargantua thus went from bad to worse, Grandgousier consults a friend about his son. The friend advises that the new learning should be tried, and offers to illustrate its efficacy in the person of his page, Eudemon, a lad barely twelve years old. In the presence of the whole Court, Eudemon, with his cap in his hand, his hair smoothly brushed, a clear and open countenance, beautiful and ruddy lips, his eyes steady, standing up straight on his feet, and yet full of youthful modesty, asks Gargantua's leave to become one of his household in the style and manner of Cicero. Gargantua, though four times his age, cannot say a word in reply, but 'hides his face in his cap and blubbers like a cow.' Grandgousier discharges the old teacher, and engages Ponocrates, who is the representative of the Renaissance. The method of Bossuet is exchanged for that of Fénelon.

The sketch which follows is a remarkable proof of Rabelais' enlightened views on education. The old mediæval 'trivium' and 'quadrivium' is abandoned for the Greek *mousiké* and *gymnastiké*. The mind and the body are to be developed by intellectual and physical exercises; instruction is to be combined with amusement; the pupil is to be taught to observe and note things for himself. Gargantua now rises at four. He takes a bath, and while he is being rubbed some pages of the New Testament are read to him, and then he says his prayers. He breaks his fast with the lightest possible food, and after he has dressed himself he receives a variety of lessons, followed by three consecutive hours of reading. Then he plays at ball, and, after changing his shirt, goes for a walk and returns to dinner. During the repast he hears some pleasant history of warlike achievements, and talks with his tutor on the nature of the vegetables, fruit, fish, and meat which are served at table. Dinner ended, he washes his eyes and hands in fresh water, and gives thanks to God in praise of His bounty and goodness. The hour for digestion is devoted to music, or to cards, which were made the instruments of arithmetical instruction. Another three hours are then devoted to study. Next follow various bodily exercises. He rides, practises with the lance, hunts, leaps, swims, and enjoys various forms of sport. Once more he takes a bath, rubs himself carefully down, changes his clothes, and returns at a foot's pace through the woods and fields to his house. On the way he and his tutor botanise and collect specimens of different plants. Or he visits the workshops of the different trades, asks the artisans to explain their industries, and never fails to reward them handsomely.

Supper follows. It is the fullest meal of the day, and is accompanied by learned conversations and closed by grace. After supper he plays at dice or cards, or on musical instruments, or visits men of learning, and above all distinguished travellers. The day ends with a study of the heavens and a recapitulation of all that has been read, seen, learned, or heard during the day. Finally, when the hour came for repose, the pupil and his master 'prayed to God the Creator 'of all things, falling down before Him, strengthening their 'faith in Him, glorifying Him for His boundless munificence, 'giving thanks to Him for the past, and commending themselves to His clemency for the future.' And so to bed. Once in each month they made an excursion to some neighbouring village, and spent their time 'in the greatest cheer 'imaginable, sporting, making merry, drinking healths, 'playing, singing, dancing, tumbling in some fair meadow, 'unnestling of sparrows, taking of quails, and fishing for 'frogs and cray-fish.'

In the contrast which Rabelais draws between these two systems of education he satirises the daily life of the Franciscans. He shows how its fruit is gluttony, dirt, and ignorance. As has been said, he never spares the monks, but attacks them with some of the concentrated bitterness of a renegade. In comparing Friar John's conduct with that of his brethren at the assault upon the vineyard of Seuilly, he illustrates the apathy of the monastic bodies, their want of practical energy, their incapacity to cope with events when action is required. When Picrochole's army pours into the vineyard, the monks knew not which saint they should invoke. The bell was rung to summon the chapter, and it was decided to hold processional services, chanting the 'contra hostium insidias' and repeating the responses 'pro pace.'

'Now there was in the monastery a cloister monk named Friar John of the Chopping Knives,\* young, gallant, nimble, lusty, handy with his weapons, bold, resolute, adventurous, tall, spare, wide-mouthed, long-nosed, quick to rattle off Hours, gabble masses, despatch vigils; in a word, a true monk, if ever there was one since the monking world monk'd a monkery; and for the rest, a learned clerk—within the covers of his breviary. This monk, so soon as he heard the noise that the enemy made in the vineyard, came out to know what it meant.

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\* *Frere Jean des Entonneures*, in modern French *des entamures*. Urquhart calls him Friar John of the Funnels, as though the word was *entonnoirs*. The passage which follows is a condensed and free version of the original.

And when he saw that they were gathering the grapes which were to serve for next year's wine, back he comes into the choir of the church where were gathered all the rest of the monks, stark silly with bewilderment, like so many bell-founders, chanting in plain song "impetum inimicorum." Whereat he cried out, "Well sung! well sung! In God's name, why don't ye sing 'Baskets, good-bye; the 'vintage is o'er'? Devil take me if there be not rascals in our vineyard cutting the grapes and vines in such fashion that there will not be a single berry for years to come. By the belly of St. James, what shall we poor wretches have to drink in the meantime?" Then said the Lord Prior, "What does this drunken beast here? Away with him to prison for troubling our divine service." "Nay," said Friar John, "let us think of our vine service, that that be not troubled; for you, my Lord Prior, love good wine, as does every honest man. Never yet did man of worth dislike good wine; that is a monastic apophthegm. But these responses that you sing here, by God, men, they are not in season. Wherefore is it that our Hours are short at vintage, and in winter long? Brother Macé Pelosse, of blessed memory—true and zealous servant of religion—Devil take me if I lie, told me, and I well remember it, that the reason was that we might in this season well press the juice and make the wine, and in winter swallow it up. Hark ye, my masters: all ye that love good wine, follow me! St. Anthony burn me if the coward shall wet his lips with a drop who will not fight to save the vines!" So saying he threw off his habit, seized the staff of the cross, which was made of the heart of a sorb-apple tree, long as a lance and thick as a man could grasp, and fell upon the enemy, who, without order, ensigns, drums, or trumpets, were gathering the grapes. The standard-bearers had laid their ensigns against the walls; the drummers had knocked out the heads of their drums to fill them with grapes; the trumpets were choked with the clusters; all were in disarray. So sudden and furious was his onset that he turned them over like swine; they went down before him like grass before a mower; never was corn so threshed by a ploughman's flail as were they hammered by his merciless staff. There was no escape. One cried to St. James, another to St. George; some died without speaking, others spoke without dying; some died speaking, others spoke dying. Thus by the single-handed prowess and valour of Friar John was destroyed all that army which had entered the vineyard to the number of thirteen thousand six hundred and twenty-two, besides the women and little children, which are always understood.'

Had the monks been deficient in practical energy because of their excess of piety or of study, they might have been pardoned; but Rabelais will not allow them this excuse. Their bad Latinity is a frequent mark for his satire. 'En 'nôtre abbaye,' says Friar John, 'nous n'étudions jamais, de peur des auripeaulx' (earache). 'Nôtre feu abbé disait que c'est chose monstrueuse de voir un frère savant. Magis 'magis clericos non sunt magis magis sapientes. Pour

‘ma part, corps Dieu, je n’étudie jamais.’ They do nothing to earn their wealth. Why, asks Rabelais, is a monk shunned by all the world? He answers the question in the words of Gargantua:—

‘For the same reason that a monkey in a family is always teased and provoked. The monkey does not guard the house like the dog, or draw the plough like the ox; he yields neither milk nor wool as the sheep; he carries no burden like the horse. It is the same with the monk. He does not till the soil like the husbandman, defend the country like the soldier, cure the sick like the physician, preach like an evangelical doctor, teach like the schoolmaster, provide necessities for the commonwealth like the merchant. “But at least,” says the kindly Grandgousier, “they pray to God for us.” “Not a bit of it,” returns Gargantua; “all that they do is to torment the neighbourhood with the ting-tang jangle of their eternal bells.” “Right,” cried Friar John, “a mass, a matin, a vesper well rung are half said.” “They mumble out legends,” continues Gargantua, “and psalms of which they understand nothing; they string together Paternosters and Ave Marias without apprehending the meaning of what they say. I call it mocking God and not praying to Him. If they pray for us, Heaven help us! it is because they fear to lose their victuals and fat messes of pottage.”’

Nor is his attack confined to the gluttony, ignorance, apathy, dirt, and idleness of the monks. He arraigns the whole ecclesiastical fabric from the Pope downwards. In the nether world the magnificence of the Papacy is gauged at its true worth. Julius II. cries hot pudding pies; Boniface VIII. is a scummer of pots, Nicholas III. a paper-maker; Alexander VI., with a sly allusion to the skill of the Borgias in poisons, is a rat-killer. In the fifth book he laughs at the adoration of the Popes, their assumption of the title of God upon earth, the wars which they wage in the name of religion, the decretals upon which their power is based. On the Linging Island Pantagruel and his companions obtain access with great difficulty to the cage of the Pope-hawk. Panurge looks at him curiously for a while, and then exclaims, ‘Maudite soit la bête! elle a l’air d’une huppe.’ On the same island they see an old green-headed bis-hawk snoring in his cage. Panurge takes up a stone to wake him, but Ædituus stays his hand with

‘Hold, hold, honest friend! Strike, wound, poison, kill, and murder all the kings and princes in the world, by treachery or how thou wilt, and as soon as thou likest unnestle the angels from their cock-loft. Pope-hawk will pardon all this. But never be so mad as to meddle with these sacred birds, as thou lovest the profit, welfare, and life not only of thyself but of thy friends and relations, alive or

dead, or to be born for a thousand generations to come. For so long wouldest thou entail misery upon them.'

Nor is it only the abuses of the monastic system or the flaws in the ecclesiastical fabric that Rabelais attacks. He does not spare the religious practices. For instance, he strongly condemns pilgrimages. In the war between Picrochole and Grandgousier six poor pilgrims are caught between the hostile armies, and are brought before Grandgousier. They have visited the shrine of St. Sebastian, near Nantes, to pray him to save them from the plague.

"Ah, poor men!" said Grandgousier, "do you indeed think that St. Sebastian verily sends the plague?" "Yes, surely," answered one, "for so our preachers tell us." "And can it be so?" cried Grandgousier. "Do the false prophets teach you such abuses? Do they so blaspheme the saints and holy men of God as to liken them unto the devils who work nothing but evil unto mankind? Truly I greatly marvel that your king should suffer such scandalous doctrines to be preached. But go your ways, poor men, in the name of God the Creator, to whom I pray for you, that He will guide you perpetually, that ye be not henceforward so ready to undertake these idle and profitless journeys. Look to your families; labour every man diligently in his vocation; instruct your children; live as the good Apostle St. Paul directs you. In so doing God, His angels, and His saints will guard and shield you, so that no plague or evil can at any time come nigh you."

Rabelais has shown what wretched dens of indulgence, ignorance, and inactivity monasteries often were. He proceeds to frame his own ideal institution, in which men and women may pursue religion, virtue, truth, and science. The Abbey of Thelème deserves special notice because the gross parodies of Crazy Hall and Medmenham Abbey have defamed the memory of the institution and its founder.

Friar John's services in the war against Picrochole required to be rewarded. He is offered the Abbey of Seuilly; he might have been Abbot of Bourgueil or St. Florent, or both. But he refuses all. 'How,' he asks, 'shall I govern others, that cannot govern myself?' So he is allowed to create his own 'As you like it,' to institute an order 'à son devis,' to found his own Abbey of Thelème. By the side of the Loire he rears a stately abbey, a thousand times more splendid than Bonnavet or Chambord. Yet no walls enclose it in; no chapel localises its worship. Bells were the monastic conscience; they regulated the life of the monk, and proclaimed his death. But here no clocks or dials or bells tell the passage of time. The day, like the thoughts or the money of the inmates, was their own. Like Fontei

vrault, Theleme was a *duplex monasterium*. Half the building was allotted to the men; half to the women. Only fair high-born ladies of sweet disposition, only gay, comely youths of gentle condition were permitted to dwell therein. Idlers, flatterers, bigots, hypocrites, law practitioners, usurers, fomenters of dissension are shut out. The age at which the inmates entered is fixed, but no period is laid down for leaving. Youths entered the abbey between twelve and eighteen, maidens from ten to fifteen. They might spend their lives within Theleme; but if they wished to leave they were permitted to depart, taking with them their money and the lady of their choice. They took no perpetual vows of chastity, obedience, or poverty, but were free, wealthy, and at liberty to marry.

To each of the inmates is assigned a private oratory. There is no church for an official worship; there are no churches for different creeds. Religion is what each person chooses to make it; times of prayer are not prescribed. Harmoniously dressed in rich, bright-coloured liveries of damasks, satins, or velvets, which are changed from day to day at the will of the ladies, men and women study in the great libraries Hebrew and Greek, Latin, Spanish, and Italian; in their hours of recreation they paint, sing, play, compose verses, and act comedies, or sit in the fair pleasure gardens with their mazes and flowering fruit-trees which fringe the river Loire, or join, each gallant under the eyes of the lady whose knight he is, in the games and sports of the tennis-court, the lists, the racecourse, and the chase. Their lives are controlled by no laws, statutes, or regulations; they eat and drink, sleep and work according to their own good pleasure. Yet no hour of the day is wasted; all are occupied in training the body and the mind, in developing all the faculties, physical as well as mental. The rule of the order is summed up in 'Fay ce que voudras.' There is no need of any other, for honour prompts to virtue and forbids vice. Man is at heart naturally inclined not to evil, but to good; it is only restraint which creates his desire for what is forbidden. The description closes with a prophecy discovered when the foundations of the abbey were dug. It is a cry of hope, a *sursum corda*,

'Pauvres humains qui bon heur attendez,  
Levez vos cueurs et mes dits entendez.'

And then, in obscure and cautiously veiled language, Rabelais foretells the final triumph of divine truth, science, and



philosophy, which shall emerge from the bloody conflict of Catholics and Protestants.

The audacity of Rabelais' satire upon the Church is the more remarkable because he was at no pains to secure an ally by playing upon the superstitions or flattering the follies of kings. At a time when rulers obeyed the predictions of a Ruggieri or a Nostradamus, he ridiculed the false science of astrology, and claimed that the stars were no respecters of persons. At a time when a Francis I. sate on the throne he did not hesitate to administer bold and honest rebukes to the warlike follies of kings. 'Ces diables de rois ne sont que veaux et ne savent ni ne valent rien sinon à faire des maux es pauvres sujets et à troubler tout le monde par guerre pour leur inique et detestable plaisir.' He denounces the inhumanity of mediæval war. 'Væ victis' is not upon his lips; his ideal ruler does not seize the kingdom of his rival, or detain his son as a hostage, or harry his dominions. He dislikes every kind of warlike conquest. Yet if a country is to be annexed it must be humoured like a child, tended as a sick person, fostered like newly planted trees. Such conduct is the duty of kings, and the only course which is truly royal is to do good and to eschew evil. These sentiments were not then the commonplaces they now are. During the sixteenth century, in the heat of the rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V., their utterance was bold. Rabelais' picture of Picrochole's council of war and that ruler's hot-headed dreams of universal conquest has coupled his imaginary monarch with Pyrrhus and La Laitière in La Fontaine's immortal verse. In a future life warlike heroes will receive their deserts. In Hades Hector serves as a scullion; Xerxes sells mustard; Alexander the Great is a patcher of old breeches and boots; Hannibal mends kettles; Camillus makes wooden shoes. Meanwhile an Epictetus sits attired in the French fashion, under a pleasant arbour, with a bright company of merry maidens. Rabelais' horror of war nerves him to contrast weak-minded sovereigns, puffed up by the flattery of greedy courtiers and infatuated by lust of conquest, with peaceful Godfearing monarchs who have before them the good of their subjects, whose creatures they acknowledge themselves to be. He does not bow with the courtly adulation of an official preacher, with the phrase upon his lips, 'Sire, we are almost all mortal!' but at a time when France was bleeding to death from the devastating campaigns of Francis I. he honestly exposes the follies of dreams of conquest, paints the horrors which wars entail

upon the poor, and opposes to the vainglorious fury of a Picrochole the Homeric grandeur of a Grandgousier, who knows that the best crown of a king is the love of his subjects.

As a satirist Rabelais is, in fact, the lineal descendant of the Gaul who plucked the beard of the Roman senator as he sate on his curule chair. He is totally without veneration. Yet whatever is really great and good he passes by as unfit for his purpose, and he is very far from being a destructive sceptic like Lucian. All that is bombastic, false, cowardly, or mischievous, he detects, under whatever disguises it may be concealed, strips off its tinsel decoration, and holds it up for ridicule in his picturesque and vigorous prose. As a humourist his method is unlike that of his countrymen. He does not deal in hints or allusions; his banter is rather rustic than courtly; it is plain-spoken and detailed, not light or delicate. One feature of his humour is now more common than when the exactitude of his calculations and the particularity of his descriptions first produced their effect; his meanest messengers have names, parents, and habitations. Nor does Rabelais more closely resemble the humourists of other countries. He does not champion the past like Aristophanes, and he has not a trace of the Greek dramatist's clear-cut grace and precision; he is without Cervantes' melancholy or Swift's contempt of his fellow-men; he is not a psychologist like Sterne. His humour does not more closely resemble the dry exaggeration of the American, the 'pawky' shrewdness of the Scotchman, than the sly innuendo of his own fellow-countryman. But its charm lies in its complete abandonment, the headlong outpouring of everything that enters his mind, the vigour of his assimilating power, the resistless play of his exuberant fancy. Although his touch is heavy and his fun is worked out with a detail which is often excessive in its elaboration, yet his faculties seem to run their own course, and his discursiveness owes its humorous efficacy to the labyrinthine complexity of the associations and suggestions which his marvellous gift of combination enables him to string upon a single thread. The process of connexion is never, in appearance at least, laborious; his mind seems to work instinctively, impelled by an unfailingly buoyant gaiety. His humour is the Pythic fervour of the poet working in the field of extravagant drollery. He pours out his absurdities with a lordly disregard of decorum and with the mock solemnity of intoxication; and he holds himself at perfect

liberty to skip, dilate, digress, halt, or hurry when and where his caprice pleases. Side by side with his unbridled zanyism are piled up, like Pelion upon Ossa, in most ridiculous contrast, prodigious masses of learning. Rabelais has hardly a literary predecessor whom he does not parody or imitate. Greek and Roman poets and historians, monastic chroniclers, theologians, civilians, all are rifled, and their possessions thrown into the seething cauldron of his wit. Hence they emerge not in an undigested mass, but classified, arranged, and marshalled for each particular purpose. Nor does Rabelais accept with the omnivorous appetite of a mere devourer of books all the crude theories promulgated by the ancients, but he applies the processes of the critic to the narratives. The abundance of illustration would be pedantic if it were not for the ease with which the learning is borne and for the ludicrous incongruity of the associations. Scraps of varied knowledge, particles of monastic lore, fragments of science, shreds of legal learning, morsels of history, sacred or profane, are poured forth and swept along on the broad brimming tide of his humour, jumbled up with quaint conceits, rude horseplay, popular proverbs, contemporary allusions, and local idioms. The result is a kaleidoscopic commixture of the most recondite knowledge with the broadest buffoonery, grand ideas with puerile plays upon words, vinous drivell with profound allegory, stupendous grossness with high religious moral purpose.

Rabelais' power of exciting a laugh is strong and masculine. He does not extort a smile by sly malice or neatly turned innuendo, but raises a hearty laugh by a broad humour which is often regarded as his distinctive gift. His narrative power and dramatic genius are equally striking. Space does not permit us to illustrate the former. Of the latter it may be truly said that nothing can exceed the vivid force and distinctness with which Rabelais makes his readers picture the characters of his fiction. Who, for instance, to take a simple example from the first book, can fail to see the figure of Grandgousier as he draws him in the midst of his domestic circle, when the messenger comes to tell him of Picrochole's invasion, as he sits 'warming himself before a good, clear, 'great fire, and, waiting upon the broiling of some chestnuts, 'is very serious in drawing scratches on the hearth with a 'stick burnt at one end, wherewith they did use to stir the 'fire, telling to his wife and the rest of the family pleasant 'old stories and tales of former times'? Many of the minor portraits are hit off with bold, telling strokes; in perfect

keeping are the conduct and language of the scholastic orator, the decretalist, or the Pyrrhonist philosopher. Sometimes indeed, as in the case of Grandgousier or Gargantua, the human traits are lost in the gigantic proportions which lift the actors out of the world of mortals into the fantastic regions of mediæval romance. But Rabelais' dramatic and creative faculties find their fullest scope in the characters of Pantagruel, Panurge, and Friar John; it is in their figures that he most conspicuously displays his keenness of observation and profound knowledge of human nature. Pantagruel is 'l'idée et l'exemplaire de toute joyeuse perfection.' To the calm, wise figure of his ideal king Rabelais opposes the pedantry of scholars, the ignorance of monks, the charlatanism of sophists, alchemists, and astrologers, the chicanery of lawyers, the hairsplittings of theologians, the profitless dialectics of logicians, the worldly ambition of ecclesiastics, and, in greater detail, contrasts the poetry of his character with the prose of his companions, with the gross animalism of Friar John or the soulless learning of a shifty adventurer like Panurge. Possessed of a rare combination of learning, common sense, and energy, a worthy pupil of Euthenes and Epistemon, wise, good, modest, dreamy, and speculating on the mysteries of life with something of a Hamlet's melancholy, Pantagruel stands aloof from his two companions like a spectator, considerate to their weaknesses but descending among their adventures like a superior being from another sphere. Between Friar John and Panurge the contrast is sharp and many-sided. Friar John personifies the animal good, Panurge the natural evil, that are inherent in humanity. The former is the embodiment of rude health and physical enjoyment. He is a lusty, fearless, jovial comrade, transparently honest, and with all his coarseness often surprising us with an unexpected delicacy of feeling, always ready with his knife for a joint or his hanger for a foe; a fighting, swearing Friar Tuck, the deepest drinker in any company, a second Samson in demolishing his enemies single-handed. Ramping through the world like a bull, he is devoid of religious sentiment, and though he lards his speech with imperfect sentences from his breviary he is the most ignorant of monks. He is a man of vigorous, energetic temperament, by nature destined for a soldier, by profession forced to lead an uncongenial life of contemplation. Panurge is a more complicated character. He is more philosophical than Falstaff, though his connexion with Pantagruel suggests a comparison with the witty companion of Prince Hal.

Nor, again, does he resemble the shrewd peasant Sancho Panza, though at first sight the similarity of the relationship between the ideal Don Quixote and his realistic servant is close. Panurge combines the mischievous ingenuity of a Paris *gamin* with the wrinkled experience of a man of fifty; but he is rather a Puck than a Mephistopheles, and it may be doubted whether the latter personage could be conceived by a Frenchman. His reckless gaiety and his keen wit cover a multitude of sins. Furtive, witty, unprincipled, a spendthrift, a rake, and a coward, he has abandoned passion for cynicism, and exchanged love for libertinism. Ready and resourceful, without conscience, shame, or virtue, he is a railer at God and the Church, yet intensely superstitious in moments of peril, a strenuous upholder of orthodoxy, a bitter foe to the heresy of Raminagrobis. A Villon in his Bohemian license, an Amyot in his wealth of learning, a Figaro in his gaiety, a Gil Blas in his knowledge of the world, a Duc de Richelieu in his dissolute effrontery, despising ideals or elevated sentiment, he is a type of those witty, adroit, unprincipled, self-seeking, pleasure-loving reprobates of whom French history and French fiction afford numerous examples.

Round these central figures, together with those of Grandgousier and Gargantua, Rabelais has painted his strange panorama of sixteenth-century life. The elaboration of the three principal characters would alone show that there was far more than mere burlesque in 'Pantagruel.' What, then, is the relation which the Homère bouffon bears to the intellectual movements of the sixteenth century, a period which in the antagonism of faith and culture so closely resembles the present age? The magic word which sums up the Rabelaisian philosophy is 'Drink.' How are we to interpret the sibylline oracle of the Holy Bottle?

Rabelais' character and opinions as they are revealed in his writings forbid us to suppose that he means only to teach the old lesson, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' though it is characteristic of his manner that that interpretation is left open to the reader. He is not a scoffing, creedless preacher of sensualism. Possibly he may have drifted far from the moorings of the ancient creed; but even of this there is no evidence. He nowhere speaks with irreverence of Christianity, and there is nothing to show that he had left its pale or rejected any of its principles. He assails the discipline rather than the doctrines of the Roman Church; he attacks the ignorance and idleness of the monastic orders, the false miracles and relics, the purchase of

absolution, the sale of indulgences, the power and ambition of the Papacy; but he is no advocate for doctrinal revolution. When Pantagruel weeps for the death of the great God Pan, which he understands of the 'great Saviour of the faithful, 'who was put to death at Jerusalem,' we seem to see the spirit of the Renaissance shed a regretful tear over the beauty of universal faith. Rabelais is a believer in the immortality of the soul, though the form in which he casts his creed is rather that of Goethe than of the Church. "Je ' " crois," dit Pantagruel, " que toutes âmes intellectives sont ' " exemptes des ciseaux d'Atropos." " Numerous passages illustrate his faith in the existence of a God, and his definition was borrowed by Pascal. 'May that intellectual ' sphere,' says the priestess of the Bottle, 'whose centre is ' everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere, which we ' call God, keep you in His almighty protection!' It is in this connexion remarkable that Rabelais does not, like the majority of the humanists, throw in his lot unreservedly with the Platonists, but continues a disciple of the Aristotelian philosophy. On this side he inclined rather to mediæval scholasticism than to the thought of the Renaissance. Culture was Rabelais' passion, ignorance his detestation. But he does not sever the developement of the intellect from interest in practical life or from the growth of religion. Drink deep at the fount of learning; drain to the dregs, if you can, the Holy Bottle of science; strive, body and spirit together, to hold intercourse with all that is divine. Scholastic disputations, dogmatic definitions, legal pedantries, false sciences are only masks assumed by ignorance and fetters imposed upon the human mind by fashion. Life, in its fullest and widest sense, consists neither in monastic seclusion from the world, nor in the extravagant mortifications of Catholics, nor in the intolerant austerities of Protestants; it is not the easy-going apathy of a Grand-gousier nor the simple instinctive greatness of a noble but imperfectly educated savage like Gargantua; it is not the natural animalism of a healthy Philistine like Friar John; still less is it the cynical, unsympathetic, unspiritual culture of a Panurge. Churchmen had starved the intellect or mortified the body, that so they might increase the ecstasy of the spirit; they had anticipated the grave by a voluntary death in life and a complete renunciation of the world. The men of the Renaissance fed the animal soul with the newly discovered wonders of the mind, or with the beauties of artistic culture; but they destroyed the spiritual soul,

because they left the body plunged in refined debauchery. Both had greatly erred. Neither the extinction nor the idealisation of the body satisfies the highest conceptions of humanity. Drink deeply, says the oracle of the Holy Bottle, at the spring of science and of learning, for all the abuses of society are the monstrous brood of ignorance; seize not on one or the other side of man's dual being, but cultivate the whole of humanity and not this or that part. Let spirit and body pursue the same end in unison; exercise all the faculties at once, spiritual as well as animal, immaterial as well as sensual; labour to attain the true wisdom, but disdain not to pluck the flowers of enjoyment that bloom by the way. Accept life cheerfully, not sadly. Draw from the senses whatever of pleasure they have to offer; kindle the mind with all that the heart possesses of passion and of enthusiasm; but permit not the spirit to be overwhelmed by that which is its vehicle; suffer not the soul to be degraded by the mere gratification of sensual appetites, or chilled by the exclusive culture of the intellect, or stunted by withdrawal from the practical affairs of men. Refuse not the wisdom of antiquity, but pay it no extravagant reverence, lest the learning of the ancients become a burden rather than an aid. Use it as the foundation on which to build, each one for himself raising his own edifice, independently and unhampered by his predecessors. Culture alone will quicken the mental vision, so that men may see by what mists of ignorance they are blinded. Till culture is spread abroad universally, the leisured, refined *ataraxia* of the Abbey of Theleme must necessarily remain a vain, impossible dream. And, meanwhile, what is the true Pantagruelian philosophy? Acquiesce in the present, says Rabelais, so far as it is unalterable; pay no heed to the contest between the bigots of Rome and Geneva, for their strife is as meaningless as the bells of the Ringing Island, as void of living warmth as the frozen words that fell on the deck of Pantagruel's ship. Drink ever at the fount of science; strive to the utmost to help forward the cause of progress by spreading abroad learning and culture; and preserve 'une certaine gaieté d'esprit confite en mespris des choses fortuites,' for the true Pantagruelian philosopher ever maintains 'a spirit of jollity pickled in scorn of fortune.'

Rabelais will always retain the fresh interest which he derives from his intellectual connexion, through the Renaissance and the Reformation, with the French Revolution. Of

that momentous movement he is the earliest harbinger. His doctrine of human liberty was not far removed from the theory of return to Nature, seeing that both were based on enthusiasm for the natural goodness of humanity. But Rabelais not only supplied his countrymen with great dynamic ideas; he also gave them the forms in which they might be expressed. His services to the French vernacular tongue are so incalculably great that they cannot here be wholly ignored. When he began to write, the grammar of his native tongue was in complete confusion; verbs were conjugated differently according to the custom of each province; words were disguised beyond detection by the fashion of the day, the caprice of individual writers, or the lawlessness of dialects; spelling and pronunciation were entirely divorced. Before the powers and proper use of the letters or the original roots of the language could be ascertained, it was necessary to study the *patois*. It was in this respect especially that Rabelais was the predecessor of the great French grammarians, a pioneer of discovery in fields where Ramus and the Estiennes subsequently laboured. But it was not in grammar that Rabelais did his most useful work. When he began to write, French prose was not only ungrammatical, but in style involved, slow-moving, heavy, and in command of words meagre and poverty-stricken. Bringing to bear upon his style a mind trained in the niceties of the classics, he gave his prose epigrammatic neatness and supple flexibility, secured simple and logical forms for his constructions, studied the balance of his phrases, added point and energy to his sentences. Above all, he bestowed upon the language its richness and its amplitude of resource. Collectively, French dialects were wealthy, individually they were poor. There was no vernacular official language, for Latin was the language of the Church and the law-courts. Each group within the *langue d'oïl* and the *langue d'oc* was infinitely divided, so that speech varied as you passed from province to province, village to village, and even from one part of a city to another. Travelling, as Rabelais did, from one end of France to the other, everywhere registering the sayings of the fields, the streets, the markets, and the taverns, he was peculiarly qualified to effect the requisite work of accumulation. Not only did he seek new creations in coinages from Greek, Latin, and Italian, but he gathered together all the original resources of the different dialects. He saw that the best mode of reviving the strength of the language was to bring back into use the pictu-



resque phrases and lively idioms of the provinces, to restore the almost obsolete words on which the popular imagination had stamped its energetic impress. Here is an oath from Lorraine, here an affirmation from Champagne, here a salute from the shores of the Mediterranean, here an interrogative from Provence, here a descriptive epithet from Normandy. But naturally he is peculiarly rich in the *patois* of the centre, and especially of Touraine, Anjou, and Poitou. If space permitted, a curious collection of words might be compiled from 'Pantagruel' which may still be heard in the 'Garden of France.' Nothing escaped his far reaching net. Every word that was coined in the *esprit gaulois* to discriminate nice shades of character, to satirise, ridicule, or banter, Rabelais has saved from loss and preserved for future use. It is not the least of his claims to the gratitude of his countrymen—and it is one which will be most universally conceded—that he so enriched and amplified the literary resources of his native tongue that the civilised world is content to be the debtor of France.

- ART. VI.—1. *Krakatau*. Par M. VERBEEK. Publié par ordre de Son Excellence le Gouverneur Général des Indes Néerlandaises. Batavia: 1884 and 1885. Paris: 1885 and 1886.
2. *The Eruption of Krakatoa and Subsequent Phenomena*. Report of a Committee appointed by the Royal Society. 4to. 1888.
3. *Untersuchungen über Dämmerungerscheinungen zur Erklärung der nach dem Krakatau-Ausbruch beobachteten atmosphärisch-optischen Störung*. Von J. KIESSLING. Hamburg and Leipzig: 1888.
4. *Osservazioni e Studii dei Crepuscoli Rossi*, 1883–6. Dal Professore Riccò. Estratto degli 'Annali della Meteorologia Italiana,' Parte I. 1885.

ACCOUNTS of the great eruption ascribed to Skaptá Jökull in Iceland, in the year 1783, and of subsequent atmospheric appearances, bring before us, with some degree of detail, the more obvious character of those phenomena, but a comparison with the recently issued volumes dealing with the outburst of Krakatoa serves to mark the wide stretches of intellectual territory which the energy of scientific research

has, within a century, added to human knowledge. To the poet Cowper the strange aspect of the heavens was 'portentous, unexampled, unexplained;' the present generation has learnt that the recent phenomena of 1883 were neither unexampled, except in magnitude, nor portentous, nor, except in a remote sense, unexplained. Both of these tremendous catastrophes occurred within the most active volcanic regions of the earth's crust; both were preceded by manifestations of strong activity, but insufficient to produce alarm, and both arose from places which had long been more or less quiescent and undreaded. The submarine volcano off the south-west cape of Iceland, which had been burning for weeks before the outburst on the mainland in the following June, corresponds with the Strombolian condition of Krakatoa in the months of June and July 1883, when columns of vapour were rising from two craters on the island, with occasional violent detonations. In the case of Krakatoa, however, the grand explosion of the end of August had been preceded by a considerable eruption on May 20 and three following days. The terrible earthquakes which desolated Calabria in February 1783 had no parallel in the eastern hemisphere in 1883, though there does appear to be evidence of an unusual prevalence of earthquakes in the neighbourhood of Sunda Strait, which might, after the event, be regarded as premonitory of the approaching destruction.

The islands of Java and Iceland have throughout historic times been remarkable for the number and activity of their volcanoes, and for the calamities which have overtaken their inhabitants. The Tenger mountain in Java, one of the largest volcanoes in the world, measures four and a half by three and a half miles in diameter, and, like a lunar crater, contains volcanic peaks within its arena, a plain covered with shifting sand. In 1772, the volcano Papandayang threw out an immense quantity of scorix and ashes in one night, and covered an area of seven miles in diameter with a layer nearly fifty feet thick. But perhaps the most suddenly violent eruption on record was that of Galungoon, a few miles from Papandayang, on October 8, 1822. At noon all was peaceful and quiet in the thriving districts around; soon after midday a dense mass rapidly rose into the air with appalling noise, and in a few minutes the whole landscape was plunged in darkness, pierced only by incessant flashes of lightning. Stones and sand, which had been projected to an enormous height, covered up and destroyed almost everything within a radius of twenty miles. On the 12th, another

eruption of equal intensity followed, a large part of the mountain was broken off, and blocks of basalt were thrown to a distance of seven miles. By such manifestations, and the great number of craters within its area, Java came to be regarded as the chief focus of volcanic activity on the surface of the globe.

In our own hemisphere Iceland has probably no equal in the frequency and violence of its eruptions, and it may well be doubted whether a land so fatally subject to the worst influences of frost and fire should be allowed to retain its present struggling and dwindling population.

The eruption of 1783, above alluded to, is stated in most geological treatises to have belonged to the frozen mountain of Skaptá, but in reality issued from a large number of craters to the south-west, north and east of Mont Laki.\* Immense masses of pumice and lava were thrown out; some of the stones fell at a distance of about seventy miles. The lava streams were more extensive than any single eruption had before produced in historic times, and their volume, according to Lyell, considerably exceeded that of Mont Blanc. Pumice covered the sea for long distances, and ashes fell in the north of Scotland. For months afterwards a thick dry mist spread over Europe. In Italy objects at a distance of three miles could not be distinguished, the sun was invisible near the horizon, and red or pale like the moon during the daytime, and the nights were strangely luminous.

The great eruption of Krakatoa in 1883 entered the violent stage on August 26, producing effects in the neighbourhood which must have been quite appalling. The sky presented the most terrible appearance, fierce flashes of lightning penetrating the dense masses of cloud over the island, clouds of black matter were rushing across the sky, rapidly recurring detonations like discharges of artillery, with a crackling noise in the atmosphere, were heard continuously, and large pieces of pumice, quite warm, rained down at a distance of ten miles. At a point seventy-six miles from Krakatoa, the height of the black cloud projected from the volcano was estimated at seventeen miles. At forty miles distance this cloud looked 'like an immense wall with bursts of forked lightning at times like large serpents rushing through the air.' Balls of fire (corposants) rested on the mastheads and on the extremities of the yard-arms. During the night the intense darkness was relieved by a 'peculiar pinky flame' which

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\* Smithsonian Report, 1885, Part i.

seemed to come from clouds and touched the ship, chains of fire seemed to be ascending from the volcano to the sky, while balls of fire rolled on its sides, and lightning flashed so far and frequently that the mainmast conductor of the 'G. G. Loudoun,' forty or fifty miles N.W. of the volcano, was struck five or six times. The natives on board were busily engaged in putting out the corposants with their hands, for fear the 'evil spirits' would scuttle the ship. At Anjer on the 26th it was pitch dark early in the afternoon, and as far as 180 miles south of Krakatoa ashes were already falling on the evening of that day from a densely overcast sky. The noise of the explosions during the afternoon was heard all over the island of Java, in Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea, Burmah, the Andaman Islands, and Ceylon. Westwards as far as 1,400 miles from Java the sky was 'all of 'a flare' at sunset. The force of the explosions accumulated during the night, and they were actually heard at Rodriguez, 2,968 miles distant, and on board a ship about 1,280 miles eastwards. This is equal to an explosion on the north coast of Africa being heard far north of the Shetland Islands.

At Batavia, ninety-four miles distant, on the night of the 26th-27th many of the inhabitants did not dare to go to bed and walked on the promenade. In the early morning of the 27th the noise was 'simply deafening,' and about 2 A.M., and again at 3 A.M., many of the gas-lamps were extinguished, and panes of glass were broken. About 8.25 A.M. there was a most violent detonation which cracked the walls of houses. After this almost nothing was heard till after 8 P.M., when the noise recommenced and continued to a late hour. This interval of stillness is very remarkable, for at 9.58 A.M. took place that great culminating explosion which wrote its mark on all the chief barometric recorders of the world. At Serang a loud detonation occurred at 10 A.M., and the noise only ceased after the air was filled with ashes; when they cleared off the noise began again. The sound of this explosion does not appear to have been generally noted at distant places as exceeding the reports which had puzzled the inhabitants for many hours previously. Conjectures as to the cause of the strange thunderings were various. At Carimon, Java, 355 miles distant, native boats were despatched to assist an imaginary vessel in distress; at Acheen, 1,073 miles distant, it was supposed that a fort was being attacked, and the troops were put under arms; at Singapore, 512 miles, two steamers were sent to look out for a vessel in

distress ; at Penang, 868 miles, the sounds were supposed to be a salute from an American corvette ; at Elopura, 1,210 miles, it seemed as if heavy guns were being fired at a distance of not more than four or five miles away ; at Manila, Luzon, 1,804 miles, preparations were made to render assistance to a supposed vessel in distress ; at Timor, 1,351 miles, a Government steamer was despatched to ascertain the cause ; at Dorey, New Guinea, 2,014 miles, sounds were heard like distant cannonading ; at Perth, 1,902 miles, and other places in Western Australia, sounds like guns firing were heard ; in South Australia, at places over 2,000 miles distant, sounds like the blasting of a rock were heard ; at many places in Ceylon, nearly 2,000 miles, and at the Andaman Islands, sounds as of a vessel in distress or of blasting were frequent ; also at Diego Garcia, 2,267 miles, and Rodriguez, 2,968 miles. Never before have sounds been known to reach any distance approaching 3,000 or even 2,000 miles, and the area covered by audible vibrations probably fairly represents the measure of intensity of the explosions. That area exceeded twice the surface of Europe.

The smaller vibrations in the vast concussions which reverberated above Krakatoa, being the only waves which would sensibly affect the ear, encountered so dense and wide a cloud of pumice, dust, and ashes in the air beneath that they were largely stopped and softened, and the detonations in the neighbourhood of the volcano were thus rendered bearable, and, it seems, even less appalling than at greater distances. A similar dulling of sound has been observed during thick snowstorms, and must partially be due to the multiplied reflection and absorption, involved in the passage from gas to solid, and solid to gas, through a heterogeneous mixture. Tyndall, in experiments made off the South Foreland and in the Alps, was unable to discover any enfeeblement of sound during storms of rain, hail, and snow ; indeed, the effect of a heavy shower of rain was to increase audibility.\* This unexpected result was attributed by him to the condensation of water, which, in the state of vapour so mixed with air as to form non-homogeneous parcels, acted powerfully in wasting sound. Under the action of a strong sun prior to the rain the air had been in this flocculent condition, but the descent of a shower restored in part the homogeneity of the atmosphere and augmented its transmissive power. With regard to fog, a similar effect

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\* 'On the Atmosphere as a Vehicle of Sound,' Proc. Roy. Soc. 1874.

follows from the condensation of vapour into visible particles. These appear to have 'no more influence upon the waves of sound than the suspended particles stirred up over the banks of Newfoundland have upon the waves of the Atlantic.' There can be no doubt, however, that, other things being equal, the passage of sound must be more or less stopped by interposed solid or liquid surfaces. A belt of trees such as oaks or pines will give an echo almost as sharply as a wall, and the noise of a train in passing by dense foliage is converted into a rushing sound of higher pitch, through the breaking up of large waves into smaller ones by numberless closely following reflections from the leaves successively encountered. If leaves reflect so much sound from a narrow strip of coppice, the effect of miles of air packed with scoræ fine and coarse must be considerable; moreover, the variations in temperature and humidity would be quite abnormally great where hot ashes were raining through the cold upper strata, and the whole air near the volcano was in violent commotion. These variations probably constituted the chief obstacle to the propagation of sound downwards near the volcano. As a matter of fact the explosions were not much noticed in the neighbourhood of Krakatoa soon after 10 A.M.—that is, just after the great paroxysm—although they were heard for some hours later at greater distances.

The quantity of foreign matter in the air on the 27th may be realised when we hear of the mud, which succeeded a heavy fall of pumice, accumulating on the deck of the 'G. G. Loudoun' at the rate of six inches in ten minutes, of dust reaching a depth of seven inches on board a vessel 370 miles distant, and of a vast area of the ocean being thickly covered with pumice, sufficient in some parts to impede navigation. On board the 'Sir R. Sale' pumice stones are reported to have fallen of the size of a pumpkin, and the crews of several vessels were employed for hours in shovelling the sand from their decks.

The sounds which thus called forth wondering inquiries over one-fourteenth of the entire surface of the globe within four hours of their emission, were, in fact, announcing, not the 'salute of a corvette,' but the blowing to pieces of a mountain by the hidden artillery of nature.

The expulsion of two-thirds of the Krakatoa mountain has left a magnificent section of the volcano by which to study its internal structure. Two drawings, reproduced from Verbeek's Atlas, accompany Professor Judd's article in the volume issued by the Royal Society. An examination of

the remaining solid portion of Krakatoa, and of the ejecta which have been collected from various places, has led this author to a theory of volcanic action differing considerably from the views formerly held by geologists. Both the older and more recent lavas have been subjected to careful microscopic study, and the results have thrown much light on the history of this mountain and of volcanic action in general. The ultimate chemical composition of recent lavas and the nature of certain crystals in them indicate the re-fusion of earlier lavas before ejection. But in the eruption of 1883, from May 20 to the final paroxysm, it is calculated by Verbeek that at least 95 per cent. of the materials thrown out consisted of pumice and dust, and not more than 5 per cent. of compact lava and of fragments torn from the side of the vent. This opinion is qualified by the English theory of re-fusion. The lava of 1883 presented itself in two different forms, porphyritic pitch and porphyritic obsidian. In each of these, crystalline elements constitute only about 10 per cent. of the whole bulk. The obsidian has been found to be possessed of very remarkable properties, which, in the opinion of the author, go far to explain both the energy of volcanic action and the celestial appearances which astonished the world in 1883. This mineral, which in thin sections is almost colourless, has a strikingly vitreous lustre, is easily fused in a gas-flame, and during fusion bubbles and swells up into cauliflower-like masses which will float on water. The masses in appearance and structure exactly resemble the pumice ejected from Krakatoa. After fusion they are found to have lost from 1 to 6 per cent. of their weight. In examining the common pumice of Krakatoa it was found to have undergone a dilatation to five and a half times its original bulk, although something like one-tenth of the original lava consisted of undilatable crystals which remained to weight the mass. The obsidian or glassy rock has only to be heated in order to give off its volatile ingredients; these, like carbonic acid in dough, swell out the mass to five or six times its former bulk, and the melting glass is thus converted into true pumice, penetrated throughout with the vesicles produced by the escape of its original gaseous constituents. It seems probable that the water and volatile substances given off by such rocks at a white heat were in actual combination, and caused the rock to be fusible at comparatively low temperatures. The pumice of Krakatoa exhibits plates and threads of glass drawn out to the smallest dimensions visible under the microscope. The rapidity with

which it cooled is shown by its extreme brittleness and by its depolarisation of light.

The volcanic dust consisted chiefly of this pumice reduced to the finest powder by being carried up by the gases escaping from the interior with explosive violence, and by the grinding together in the air of fragments rendered brittle by intense strain. The heaviest particles would fall near the volcano, the very light and friable glassy dust would be carried to great distances. This dust would be composed of the ultra-microscopical, the elongated, and the very thin particles, and being less basic in composition would be the most transparent. Much of it must certainly have been carried by upper currents to distant parts of the world, and have reached the earth after long wanderings; but the sediments found in rain gauges and on snow give no evidence by which such extremely minute and perhaps chiefly ultra-microscopic dust could be recognised.

The process by which this great eruption was brought about is considered to be typical of the physical action of volcanoes all over the world. Sea and surface water obtain access to the vent or to the heated rocks below it, and if brought suddenly into contact may give rise, by the development of steam, to earthquakes or eruptions of moderate strength, but it is to the slow percolation of water into rocks in a certain condition that the author attributes the principal part in cataclysmal outbreaks. The water combines with the material of the rock, and by this combination the melting point of the rock is reduced; it only requires the subjection of the hydrated compound to such heat as would be supplied by the anhydrous lavas in a fluid condition to disengage steam and other gases in enormous quantities, and to produce outbursts proportionate to the pressure and the strength of the enclosing walls. If, while this process is going on, water in large quantities gains access to the surface of the heated mass, solidification might take place and the escape of gases through the crater would be temporarily checked. When at last the accumulated force bursts the newly formed crust, this and other obstacles would be speedily removed by the tremendous violence of the blast, and the sides of the crater might either be blown away or fall into the seething lava. Such appears to have been the working of the final and self-destructive eruption of *Krakatoa*. The objection that water could not percolate to great depths, owing to the upward pressure of steam already



formed, is met by recent experiments which show that the capillary action continues in spite of such pressure.

But, as if to confound the most ingenious explanation of terrestrial volcanoes, the moon looks down in scorn at the minute cones and craters of earth, and seems to declare in plain language that her mighty array of huge volcanic mountains, her hundreds of extinct Etnas, built themselves up in fire and fury without the aid of any water at all. There are craters fifteen times as large as the largest on our globe; there is the whole surface studded with cones as large as Vesuvius, a piled record of eruptions of tremendous force, and of internal energy so great that enormous circles, representing the walls of craters, overlap each other, and cracks extend for hundreds of miles from the volcanic centres. It is true that the largest circular walls on the moon's surface have been supposed to have been formed, not in the manner of the sides of terrestrial volcanoes, but by the sinking of the area within them; but the difficulties of this supposition have not been overcome. The abundance and size of craters testify to an effectual power of lunar volcanic action greatly exceeding anything with which we are familiar on the earth, but it must be borne in mind that, the force of gravity on the moon being only one-sixth of that of the earth, the height to which rocky matter would be thrown would be six times as great, and the crater walls proportionately extensive. Moreover, the ancient crust of the earth, denuded of its stratified and earthy deposits, would exhibit some very large crater rings, many being now well known, and fissures hundreds of miles long seem to correspond with the far more conspicuous cracks and bright lines of the moon. Vast lakes of lava, too, seem to have extended over hundreds of square miles in Europe and America, as a consequence not of violent eruption, but of quiet extrusion. Possibly these deposits may resemble the so-called 'seas' on the moon. There can be no doubt that most of the volcanoes of the earth are arranged on certain lines of weakness, but the pressure of solidified matter being much greater than on the moon, eruptive action has been more confined to particular areas. It is surprising to find that an ancient Krakatoa has been traced which might be compared with many of the rather large lunar craters, having a circumference of something like twenty-five miles, and a height of ten thousand or twelve thousand feet. Some great outburst, far exceeding that of 1883, seems, at a remote period, to have eviscerated the whole volcano, and left only a basal wreck, of which one portion

was the recent Krakatoa. We can hardly accept either the 'steam-engine' theory of some vulcanologists, or the hydrated lava theory of Professor Judd without admitting the former existence on the moon of a large volume of water. It is improbable that the chief agency of paroxysmal eruptions differed in the two cases. In each of the two globes the expansion of fluid rock in the process of cooling would bring to bear an enormous pressure, resulting in outwellings of lava, and violent eruptions would be accounted for by the developement of steam on a large scale. That communication frequently exists between reservoirs of molten rock at great distances from each other on lines of fissure appears to be certain. Heated rocks which have long been subject to the hydration and aëration of infiltrated water would probably occupy more space in a solid than in a pasty or liquid condition, and would melt, as Professor Judd points out, at a lower temperature. Solid iron and solid bismuth will float on the melted metals, and solid lava floats on the liquid lake of a crater.\* It is true that the contraction by cooling of the solidified part of the globe works in the opposite direction; but while this process is fairly regular and even, solidification may take place unequally, rapidly, and by local causes such as cooling by extensive aqueous percolation. Another cause of periodic increases of pressure would be the shrinkage of the earth's crust upon the cooling interior, the percolation of water through fissures, and the closure of these fissures by changes of level, so that steam developed at some miles below the surface would force the fluid lava through the nearest volcanic vent. The apparent objection, however, to Professor Judd's theory, arising from a consideration of the non-aqueous surface of the moon, is disposed of if we admit, what seems not at all improbable, that the water previously existing in the moon in a free state has been entirely absorbed by the rocky substance. The intermittent character of most eruptions, their sudden violence, and the nature of the matter ejected are very well explained by the new theory; problems at least as difficult remain for solution.

The destruction caused by ashes and stones was slight in comparison with that which was brought about by sea-waves. These waves seemed to have started at the same time as the heaviest air-waves, and to have been connected with the cul-

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\* Nasmyth, 'The Moon.'

minating explosions. By successive waves, the largest of which occurred soon after ten o'clock, the towns of Amjer, Telokbetong, Tyingin, Merak, and many villages, were swept away. The height of the great wave was about one hundred feet at Merak, about eighty feet at Katinbang, seventy-two feet at Telokbetong, where the man-of-war 'Berouw' was carried nearly two miles inland up the valley, and left about thirty feet above the level of the sea. The actual height of the wave before reaching the shore appears to have been about fifty feet. The travels of the principal sea-waves, and many details respecting them, are given with great elaboration by Captain Wharton. Eastwards of Krakatoa, the water is not deep, the narrow channel opens into the Java Sea, encumbered with reefs and shoals, and hemmed in by numerous islands. On the west, the water is clear of such obstructions. Consequently, at Sourabaya, 440 miles east of Krakatoa, a maximum rise of only ten inches was noted, and at Singapore and Hong Kong no disturbance was remarked, while towards the west the wave was propagated to greater distances than have hitherto been recorded of any such disturbance. Tide gauges on the coast of India recorded waves of a varying height according to local conditions. At Karachi the height was twelve inches; near Calcutta, on the river, three inches; at Batticaloa and other places in Ceylon a rise of eight feet was noticed, representing probably a short wave superposed on one of the large ones. The waves were observed at Mauritius, and lasted for several hours, creating considerable commotion, and driving coasters from their anchorage. They were also conspicuous at Rodriguez and the Seychelles. At Port Alfred, in South Africa, the rise of the sea was one foot four inches, and at Table Bay eighteen inches; even at Orange Bay, Cape Horn, one of the waves was as high as seven inches. The coasts of France give indications of the arrival of several waves in succession, and at Havre, a distance of 10,780 miles, undulations up to one inch are taken to represent the same disturbance.

The seismic flows and ebbs which thus covered a very large part of the globe were composed of long undulations, with periods of over an hour, and of shorter superposed irregular waves at brief intervals. The rate of propagation was in all cases less than theory would demand for the supposed depth of water. The average speed seems to have been something between 330 and 380 miles per hour. The mean depths deduced by the usual formula from this speed are less

than those given by actual soundings. The cause of this discrepancy is not clear; but if the tide gauges can be relied upon, and the disturbances recorded are due to identical original waves, it seems probable that submarine elevations and ridges, hitherto unknown, retarded the progress of the disturbance. The period of the long wave was originally about two hours, but at distant stations, such as Orange Bay and the ports of the English Channel, the period seems to have been reduced to about one-fourth, and throughout the course of the undulations its original character appears to have undergone considerable modification. The cause of an undulation with a period of two hours remains a mystery, but of the correspondence between the water and air waves in point of time at starting there can be no question. An upheaval of the sea bottom must have been very slow to account for the length of the wave; no earthquake was observed, and the evidence generally is against earth disturbance as a cause. The author of the geological section observes that the bulk of the fragments thrown out during the explosions must have fallen into the sea, and by their impact, almost coinciding with the violent evisceration of the crater, must have contributed to the rush of the destructive waves, and Captain Wharton calculates that a fiftieth part of the missing mass of Krakatoa, which was estimated to be at least 200,000,000,000 cubic feet, would, by dropping suddenly into the water, form a wave circle of 100 miles in circumference, 20 feet high, and 350 feet wide. But this is clearly totally inadequate to account for the long wave, and he therefore believes that the destructive waves in the Strait of Sunda were mainly due to masses falling into the sea, or to sudden explosions under the sea, but that the long wave recorded by distant tide gauges had its origin in upheaval of the bottom. No consideration appears to have been given in any part of the Report to a possible cause of some portion of the sea disturbance in the great barometric alternations in the air caused by the principal explosions. Already, on August 26, barometers were observed to fall nearly an inch at short intervals at about 240 miles from the volcano, and at a distance of about 1,100 miles a fall and rise of  $\frac{3}{10}$  of an inch occurred in half an hour. The movements of pressure on the 27th must have been much greater. Like the great sea-wave, the barometric disturbance caused by the explosion of 10 A.M. extended over a period of nearly two hours, beginning with a rapid rise, passing to a deep depression and other less conspicuous alternations.

Although we do not find in the Report any barometric observation in the neighbourhood of the volcano during the passage of this great air-wave, we have the strongest evidence of an undulation of unique magnitude in the record of barometers all over the world, and in the tracing of the pencil of the Batavia gasometer, which was carried beyond the scale. If any recording instrument had existed in close proximity to the island, the probability is that a rise and fall of several inches would have been indicated between 10 A.M. and noon, and this would entail a change of several feet in the level of the sea, for the air-wave was long enough to allow of a large movement of water following variations of pressure. The researches of Sir W. Thomson and Mr. G. H. Darwin lead to the inference that the earth is not only solid throughout, but possesses at least the rigidity of an equal bulk of steel. Yet an increase in atmospheric pressure of only one inch is calculated to cause a sinking of several inches in the area of the earth's surface over which it extends. On the waters of the sea, and especially in confined channels, such a difference of pressure must lead to a dangerous disturbance. The great rise in air pressure which undoubtedly took place above Krakatoa at the time of the 10 o'clock explosion may have been due both to an actual wave of compression, of the nature of a sound-wave, and to the enormous quantity of gases and vapours projected to an immense height, and taking a considerable time to spread over the surrounding space. The increased pressure of the atmosphere on the sea in the Strait of Sunda would, in effect, combine with the falling matter to produce an outrush in all directions, and it must have been many minutes, as shown by the barograms, before the wave of rarefaction ensued. These long air-waves are not easily understood, and more information is needed on several points; for instance, the approximate actual rises and falls of the barometer in parts of an inch at different places, a statement as to the number of minutes during which the reading was above or below the mean in each wave, an explanation of the apparently nearly equal barometric oscillations at places near and far, particulars of the effects, at the time erroneously ascribed to earthquakes, of the air-vibrations in Java and Sumatra, and a theoretical value for the amplitude and density of the air-wave near its source, calculated from the barometric indications at long distances. But the plain story of the progress of this wonderful wave, and the elaborate diagrams, beautiful and interesting in themselves, which illustrate the

section, undoubtedly form one of the most valuable contributions in the whole inquiry. Never before has so vast an atmospheric disturbance been recorded by the barometers of the world; never, we believe we may add, have the diurnal tracings been thought of as likely to be sought for in connexion with the activity of a distant volcano. They have emerged from their quiet recesses with one accord to bear testimony to the truth of a scarcely credible tale. From forty-seven stations, fairly representing the whole civilised world, we learn that the wave spread out from Krakatoa as a centre, expanding in a circular form till half round the globe, concentrated again towards the Antipodes, whence it started afresh and travelled back to Krakatoa, occupying in the double journey thirty-six hours, rebounded, and set off again on the same revolution, and repeated the movement at least three times sufficiently strongly to be recorded. At some stations no less than seven passages, going and returning, are indicated by the diagrams. The whole process was almost exactly similar to the alternate expansions and contractions of a wave of water caused by dropping a stone at the centre of a circular pool. Certainly, without the most general and impassive testimony in its favour, the startling induction represented with calm precision in these four fascinating plates would have been contemptuously rejected. But the sensitive paper of the barograms has no theories and no prepossessions, no personal equation and no love of the marvellous, no credulity, and, above all, no incredulity. In a matter of human observation, nothing stands so much in the way of progress as the indolent habit of explaining the new and unknown by the old and familiar, the unreadiness to derive new ideas from new facts; and a quick imagination, though sometimes mistaken, proves itself more productive in the end than the mind which either rejects the fact for its novelty, or insists on saddling it uncomfortably on an old hypothesis. But the safe groundwork of facts always repays close attention. All through this inquiry we are reminded of the large results to be obtained by small but accurate instruments, and by a few careful measurements, rather than by numerous casual observations. From the barograms, then, we have tidings of atmospheric movements comparable to gigantic waves of sound, starting from a small area and encompassing the globe, not only once, but several times in succession, completing each circuit in about thirty-six hours. The mean speed of propagation was about seven hundred miles an hour, which is less, by twenty-three miles, than the

velocity of sound at zero Fahrenheit; the velocity, in fact, seems to have corresponded to that of sound in air at twenty or thirty degrees below zero. No explanation is given of this deficiency. It is believed, though perhaps not established, that the rate of propagation of sound diminishes with diminishing intensity, and since this air-wave must have become very greatly reduced in its circuit of the earth, we should find that a longer time was occupied in the second and third circuits than in the first. The diminution actually occurred; the rate for the first passage in one direction was  $10\cdot23^\circ$  per hour, for the last passage  $9\cdot77^\circ$  per hour, and in the other direction  $10\cdot47^\circ$  to  $10\cdot27^\circ$  respectively. But, considering the wave as a sonorous vibration of great intensity, it is remarkable that the rate to distances of two or three thousand miles in the tropics, where high temperature would favour rapidity of advance, did not much exceed the rate to much greater distances and to places in higher latitudes. One other factor would tend to increase velocity. Low notes are supposed to travel faster than high notes, and this wave might be considered as of a note far below the range of hearing. Yet its maximum rate was only slightly above that of sound in air at  $0^\circ$  Fahrenheit.

One result revealed by the tables seems especially noteworthy, the difference of the velocities of the waves which travelled with and against the direction of the earth's rotation, amounting to about twenty-eight miles an hour: this is accounted for by the direction of the winds along the paths of the waves which passed over the majority of the stations being on the whole westerly. A current of fourteen miles an hour would, it is stated, cause a corresponding acceleration, or retardation, in the wave, according as the wave were advancing with or against it, resulting in the observed difference of twenty-eight miles. From Krakatoa to Mauritius the rate of the wave was comparatively unaffected; in the opposite direction from east to west round the earth to Loanda on the west coast of Africa it was retarded. Speaking generally, in the extra tropics the wave from west to east was accelerated, that from east to west retarded, while within the tropics the eastward passage was retarded. So far as can be gathered therefore from the data, a general movement of the air within the tropics from east to west may be inferred, and without the tropics from west to east. Those waves which passed near the north and south poles give unaccountable results, for the direct wave from Krakatoa *via* the North Pole does not seem to have been sensibly

retarded by the low temperature, and the velocity of that which passed close to the South Pole was only very decidedly reduced after the first passage, and in the next circuit was greatly increased. The barometer curves of forty stations, mostly European, are given on a much reduced scale, and copies of barograms from eight selected stations show the character of the first four oscillations; elaborate tables showing the intervals between successive waves are appended.

The pressure-gauge from the Batavia gasworks supplies an interesting narrative of the various air-waves passing over the town on August 26 and 27; this is reproduced both in M. Verbeek's and in the English Report. Very strong outbursts appear to have taken place about 5 P.M. on August 26, and from midnight to 10 A.M. on the 27th, the hour of the culminating explosion which so far exceeded all the rest and drove the pencil against the stops of the scale. The differences of pressure within a short space of time exceeded 0.4 in. of mercury, if we correctly read the diagram. But the accompanying detonation does not seem to have corresponded in excessive intensity with the amplitude of the wave on which it was borne.

The immediate consequences of the great explosion were that a wave 50 feet high and of great breadth swept along the strait and with diminishing height traversed the Southern Ocean; the sea for hundreds of miles was covered with masses of pumice descended from the darkened sky, an air-wave of unexampled grandeur was circling round the globe, impenetrable darkness extended for scores of miles in many directions, ashes and dust fell in great quantities on ships hundreds of miles distant, and within a circle of 2,000 miles people of many nations and languages were unsuccessfully puzzling at the riddle of strange noises. This was not all. Not only were earth and sea disturbed and the air darkened near the Sunda Strait, but on the same day the blue sky was almost covered with a thin white mantle a thousand miles and more westwards, and the sun himself was almost extinguished, struggling through the mist either like a dull red lamp or a ball of fire, or like a weak moon, or, as at Batavia, emerging from the dust-cloud transformed to green. The rapidity of these events is surprising. Within twenty-four hours of the explosion strangely coloured suns were seen at enormous distances, up to 2,000 miles, at such widely sundered places as Labuan, Ceylon, and Diego Garcia. The Ceylon observation indeed is open to question, being a



native report from the northern part of the island, and referring to sunrise of the 27th, that is before the major eruption occurred, and unsupported\* by further testimony from Ceylon and India. It appears certain that already on the 26th vessels 1,000 miles westwards of Java experienced some very singular phenomena, showing the passage overhead of a broad stream of dust from the eruptions of that day, and we may fairly infer that some of the heavier matter composing that dust-cloud fell into a strong southerly wind blowing towards the coast of Ceylon and traversed the distance of about 1,100 miles in about twenty hours. Thus the Ceylon observation, and perhaps Captain Vereker's near Labuan as well, would refer to cloud-streams of dust and steam, of no great magnitude, the one filtered out from a current going rapidly westwards, and the other carried by the S.W. monsoon towards Japan. The early arrival (28th) in Japan of matter causing a coppery sun would be similarly due to the S.W. monsoon bearing the products of the 26th.

The mass of the powdery matter thrown out by the explosion of the 27th seems to have spread out at such an enormous altitude that the finer particles were forthwith conveyed by a full fair easterly gale steadily and without pause on a great circle of the globe. This lofty unresting hurricane has been hitherto unsuspected. No means of ascertaining the winds of inaccessible altitudes in the tropics had been devised by human ingenuity. Nothing but a great natural experiment such as Jules Verne would have hardly dared to dream of would have disclosed the circulation of the upper atmosphere over the greater part of the world, and the disclosure has been made by particles on which, till lately, the 'eternal hills' reposed or floated.

The principal celestial phenomena in the Indian Ocean from August 27 to 30 were, a peculiar lofty haze, a very strange appearance of the sun, and a wonderful red glow long before sunrise and after sunset. The general list or first appearances gives, as far as possible, the words of observers used at the time, and we thus get a very interesting impression both of the various features of the phenomena and of the way in which they struck various minds. The captain of the '*Barbarossa*,' nearly 1,000 miles from Krakatoa, saw the 'whole sky of a peculiar red, like bright 'polished copper,' and this colour suddenly changed to uniform grey. This appearance was followed by 'frequent, but strikingly 'short, thunder,' in reality, the noise of the eruptions of the night of the 26th. The same evening, still further west, the

sky was 'all of a flare.' On the 28th, at 1,200 miles due west of the volcano, 'the sky was very hazy, and a fine white powder fell in a constant shower like snow, covering the whole ship.' Many other ships had similar experiences. The sun was nearly obscured by a pale yellowish haze on the 29th and 30th. At about 1,800 miles west a quantity of light dust, like Portland cement, fell at the same time. So late as September 8 a deposit of sand occurred on board the 'Scotia' in  $10^{\circ}$  N.  $53^{\circ}$  E.; at the same time a partial halo formed round the sun, and the moon was green before setting; on the following morning the sun was green, and the sky for several days was covered with haze. In the Atlantic, at St. Helena, on August 30, a red light like a distant fire surprised one of the inhabitants at 4 A.M., and on the same day a remarkable glare and leaden sky were noticed in other parts of the Atlantic within the tropics. On the following day, so far as  $13^{\circ} 30'$  N.  $31^{\circ} 20'$  W., a 'curious electric light appearance' and other phenomena were noted; and near the equator the sun was like copper, with a metallic haze over the sky. On September 2, at  $10^{\circ}$  S. of the equator, the sun was like polished lead, and the whole sky grey, and on the same day the whole of the northern part of South America was astonished with blue suns, or red skies. These phenomena continued their rapid course westwards, and by September 7 seem to have covered nearly the whole of the Pacific within the same latitudes. On September 9 and 10 green and blue suns were observed over nearly the whole of India; the dust cloud was already well advanced on its second circuit of the globe. On the 22nd the green suns returned in force to India; the stream of matter was now on its third circuit, and can be traced to the Western Atlantic on September 28; after this, its increasing tenuity prevented further observations definite enough to be used in the tables of velocity. During the whole of its rapid and wonderfully even revolution round the earth, the great cloud was extending itself less conspicuously towards the north and south, and many scattered observations in the temperate zones afford evidence that the sifting out of heavier particles continued without interruption, and that these, in sufficient quantity to produce moderate afterglow, were carried by the anti-trades and other elevated currents to great distances. During October the spread of the immense stratum of particles of extreme tenuity which gave rise to most of the phenomena was slow and gradual. There are many indications, and the authors conclude that they repre-

sent the fact, that while a continuous current, with a speed of between seventy-two and eighty-three miles an hour, prevails between  $16^{\circ}$  N. and  $16^{\circ}$  S., and probably somewhat beyond these limits, the circulation becomes less rapid towards north and south, and at some latitudes not very far from  $35^{\circ}$  becomes converted into a flow from S.W. and N.W., and, in still higher latitudes, to a direction from nearly W. These directions are understood to apply to altitudes of about 100,000 feet at the equator, and 60,000 to 90,000 feet in the temperate zones. The arguments by which the height of the glow stratum has been calculated are most elaborate, and, from an exhaustive analysis of many observations, it is stated that the altitude progressively diminished from 121,000 feet in August to about 64,000 feet in the following January. The width of the particles which caused the corona known as Bishop's Ring, after its first observer, is found to be about  $\frac{1}{16333}$  of an inch in average diameter, and since most of the particles were probably thin plates, their thickness would be very much less. From a formula given in 1851 by Professor Stokes, relating to the viscosity of the air, we find that such particles would take more than two years to fall 50,000 feet, so that at the end of that time they would still be above the ordinary level of cirrus. This estimate applies to the smaller particles; those which were most effective in the sunset glows may have been larger, and may have reached the lower atmosphere within a year. It is surprising to find that, theoretically, the rarity of the atmosphere at such a height as twenty miles would little affect the rate of fall of very small particles, such as those of which smoke consists.

The twilight skies in northern latitudes in November and December 1883 were grand in the extreme, and in the southern hemisphere they were similar in every detail. From New Caledonia we hear of a western sky after sunset

'like white hot steel with an exquisite green eastward. At 7 p.m., or a little after, nearly the entire western half of the horizon has changed to a fiery crimson; as time goes on, the northern and southern arcs lose their glory, and the greys of night contract from the northern end first most rapidly; the east is of the normal grey. The south now closes in, and presently, about 8 p.m., there is only a glare in the sky, just over the sun's path, as of a distant conflagration, till the fire in the west dies out. I have been attempting to describe one of our cloudless evenings, of which we have had only too many, having just come through a fearful drought that has lasted all this while; but who shall paint the glory of the heavens when flecked with clouds?

burnished gold, copper, brass, silver, such as Turner in his wildest dreams never saw, and of such fantastic forms !'

At Worcester in England the twilight scenery was remarked on as follows in December :—

'On the 5th inst. the southern heavens were resplendent with the richest and most brilliant colours, to attempt the description of which would be somewhat puzzling. It seems as if of late the grandest displays occur before sunrise. The afternoon effects were remarkable less for richness of coloration than for the lustre of the light which arose in the west after sunset, and for the predominance over the whole sky of opalescent white colours. The reflection of the light on church towers and buildings brought the architecture in strong and startling relief; there was, however, at 1.15 a colourless display, and on this occasion the moon for a short time was again changed to a hue of emerald green. On December 15 the sunrise was of a most impressive character. . . . The room in which the observations were made had two windows, one facing east and the other south, and the marvellous spectacle was witnessed of a flood of crimson glare filling the east window, while through the south window poured a volume of green light.'

At half-past five in the morning of November 30, that is, two hours before sunrise, persons crossing London Bridge were startled by a red glare in the eastern sky, and attributed it to a great fire in the City. Three days earlier the fire engines had been called out in the morning at Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, and in the evening at Newhaven, Connecticut; and on November 28 in Austria the red glow in the darkness was also attributed to a conflagration. These alarms fixed very well the time of the first appearance of the grand displays. On November 30 a correspondent telegraphed from Rome :—

'Yesterday evening the population of Rome was struck with admiration, mingled with awe, at the sight of a splendid phenomenon. From fifteen minutes after sunset until more than an hour later the north-western hemisphere was tinged with crimson, gradually increasing in intensity until it had the appearance of the reflection of an extensive conflagration in front of which the tower of the castle of St. Angelo, the cupola of St. Peter's, and the outline of Monte Mario, as seen from the Pincio, stood out in prominent relief. Immediately above the horizon there was a broad belt of orange red, and above that another of green, surmounted by the crimson glare of the aurora. The sky of the eastern hemisphere presented a uniform sea-green tint. The phenomenon was repeated again this morning and again this evening.'

Professor Riccò describes the sunset on December 3 at Palermo :—

'The sky is bright yellowish pink and bronze colour at 4.45 P.M.; higher up it is rose colour, dividing into shafts of an intense purple, separated by spaces of violet; this very brilliant light extended to the zenith and strongly illuminated the city and environs, which assumed a new and strange aspect; the crescent moon appeared greenish blue by contrast. At 5.28 the whole sky was invaded by another light, uniform purple, and rather intense, especially towards W.; at 6.4 the purple light was low down, at 6.29 only a trace of reddish haze remained.'

Professor Riccò supplies tables of the weather conditions during the eruption of Graham's Island in 1831, and from these it appears that there was a dense mist for several days from July 23, that red twilights, unusually prolonged, occurred from August 4 to October, and that the sun was dim and bluish-white on August 8. Excellent plates are given illustrating the various phenomena. He is inclined to attribute the blue coloration of the sun in 1883 to vapours produced from the volcano, and the red twilights to the rapid precipitation of vapour on small dust, if it is admitted that the dust could be projected to an adequate height, and could remain suspended for so long as three years.

The comparison to the glare of a fire was made in almost every country where the fore-glows and after-glows appeared. At London, in Canada, for instance, the following language was used: On November 22 'most extraordinary sunset, 'pitch dark in east and zenith, a blaze of red lurid fire in west;' at Baltimore there was 'an appearance of a tremendous fire 'along the horizon, and at an altitude of 40°;' at Victoria, British Columbia, the glows were most magnificent on November 23, 'as if the country were ablaze with flame,' and their duration was two hours. But in many places, and especially in France, the red skies were attributed to aurora; indeed, the theory of aurora was held very persistently. On board the 'Sunbeam,' near the Canary Islands, Lady Brassey noted 'an indescribably splendid sunset, sky coloured purple, 'orange, yellow, green, and blue.' The colours were not only indescribable, but apparently incapable of being depicted on paper, for no artist, so far as we know, succeeded in representing an after-glow in a sky free from clouds. Many of the displays, if correctly represented, would have appeared too theatrical, metallic, and unearthly; the effect was of too lurid and awful a nature, too much wanting in repose. But many, on the other hand, were at once too delicate and too magnificent for imitation. We may here remark, as a matter of experience, that the neglect by the public of those grand natural spectacles, presented gratis, is quite astonishing, and

that during one of the most striking of all the evening displays not one inhabitant of a large town on the south coast ventured on the beach\* to behold it. Everywhere shutters were closed at the customary hour, before the developement of a scene which, if artificial, would have attracted thousands from distant nations, and which could not be expected to occur twice in a lifetime.

It is said that in some parts of the world the sunsets are habitually beautiful. In Italy and Egypt the rosy after-glow of the western sky in certain seasons is well known, but the coast of Peru and the ocean westward seem to surpass all other localities in their celestial scenery. Stewart Ellis in his voyage to the Sandwich Islands describes them as follows :-

‘We are now (15° S. 96° W.) off the coast of Peru, and have been delighted with the beauty of the sky and clouds, which is here very peculiar, and I should think unrivalled in any part of the world. Towards evening and in the morning I have seen at the same time clouds of almost every colour in different parts of the heavens, and of hues I never beheld there before; for instance, a rich and perfect green, amber, and carmine, while the hemisphere around the rising or setting sun has been one blaze of glory. Last night the tinge on the ocean was of a perfect blood colour, occasioned by the reflection of a fleecy veil of crimson clouds stretched over the greater part of the heavens; the appearance was so singular as to cause us almost to shrink from it, as from something supernatural.’

Proximity to the volcanoes of the Andes, which are always to some degree active, gives this pre-eminence to the Peruvian twilights.

As the rainbow appearing after a storm arises from the refractive power of raindrops, being different for different waves of light, so the grand procession of rainbow colours in the twilight displays of 1883 has been attributed by some, notably by Professor Kiessling, to the diffraction of light by very minute particles. The authors of the optical portion of the English Report hold another view. They believe that although diffraction through both the stratum of foreign matter, which was composed mainly of microscopic or ultra-microscopic pumice particles, and through the lower atmosphere, had much to do with the phenomena, the chief part in the brilliant glows was played by reflection. It is shown that small transparent glassy particles are competent powerfully to reflect the sun's rays, and that the height of the stratum would cause the reflection of the beams of the setting sun to take place when the intervening air, including

the greater part of what we call the blue sky, had been darkened by the shadow of the earth. The colours reflected by the particles would be those which had traversed with least loss the length of the stratum through which the sun shone, and later in the evening, in the case of the afterglow, those which had traversed the lower air—that is, the red and orange parts of the spectrum. The secondary glow, in their opinion, was caused by reflection of the rays of the first glow, as it sank, viewed from the high level, on the horizon. It is shown that an extremely small quantity of matter is sufficient to produce striking effects; for instance, the tails of comets have been calculated to be of so great a tenuity, that the matter contained in a tail of 100,000,000 miles in length, and 50,000 miles in diameter, would, if compressed, scarcely amount to a cartload.

Professor Kiessling has succeeded in experimentally producing, by means of the formation of a cloud of sulphate of ammonia and other fine powders chemically produced, in air, absorptive or rather diffractive effects on the sun's rays, which may be compared to the blue and green suns of 1883. The colour of the sun's rays changed rapidly in passing through this cloud, from dark copper colour, through violet and crimson, to a brilliant azure blue. By experimenting under a variety of conditions a number of interesting changes of colour were produced, and a very fair imitation of the remarkable coloured rings, which were observed for nearly three years after the Krakatoa eruption. These rings, or coronæ, both in their extent and persistence, seem to have been new to meteorology, and it is from their size that we derive the best approximation to the average size of the particles which composed them. The coronæ, like the haze canopy and twilight glows, were little, if at all, affected by weather conditions near the surface of the earth, and only required a clear atmosphere in order to become visible. It is interesting to observe that the visibility of the coronæ increased as the wonderful sunsets decreased. This was owing to the gradual descent of the larger particles and the increasing homogeneity of the constituents of the remaining cloud.

Professor Kiessling, like the authors of the Royal Society Report, gives maps of the progress of the dust cloud from August 26 to September 30, and his general conclusions are similar with regard to its velocity and character.

The year 1831 was very remarkable for the number of its eruptions and for concurrent phenomena, such as blue and

green suns, dry fogs, light sufficient for reading at midnight, and very fine red twilights. A volcano had formed a new island in the Mediterranean in July, and the height of the column of dust was found, by the measurements of Professor Hoffmann and Dr. Schultz, to be about thirteen miles. Arago explained the prolonged twilights of 1831 by the great height of the dry fog and the multiple reflections of the sun's rays.

Incidentally, an eclipse of the moon in 1885, in which the earth's shadow was very much darker than usual, has been explained by the absorption, or reflection, by the layer of dust enveloping the earth, of the red rays which are usually refracted and reach the moon's surface. The amount of extra matter in the air was undoubtedly sufficient to interfere seriously with astronomical definition for one or two years.

By a very complete chain of evidence, due in great part to the observations which happened to have been undertaken by the captains of ships for the Meteorological Office in 1883, and to the excellent observations of the captains of German vessels, the connexion between the phenomena which were observed in all parts of the world, viz. the haze in the sky, the coloured sun, the coronæ, and the twilight illuminations, and the derivation of all these from Krakatoa, is established. To corroborate the conclusion and extend its application, the authors bring forward evidence of the production of persistent dry fogs, and red twilights, in former years distinguished by great eruptions, and of blue suns, observed not only through volcanic dust clouds, but through the dusty atmosphere of the Loess in China, of the Sahara Desert, and of the neighbourhood of stone works at Eastbourne, where large quantities of scabach are crushed by machinery. The coronæ, as we have seen, have been artificially produced by particles corresponding in size to those of the pumice cloud. From the conclusions reached by Professor Archibald and Mr. Russell in the optical sections, we learn that a cloud of fine dust may remain suspended at a height of from twenty-four down to thirteen miles without being sensibly affected by the weather of the lower atmosphere; that such a cloud in the tropics revolves round the earth from east to west in thirteen days; that it does not apparently condense vapour upon itself; that it interrupts the red more than the blue solar rays; that, like Tyndall's actinic cloud produced in the laboratory, it may strikingly reflect rays falling upon it without sensible hindrance to transparency, and, like it, may consist of an almost incredibly small quantity of matter.



It is remarkable, bearing in mind the strong electric effects occurring at such altitudes as the summit of Mount Washington, that the elevated dust cloud exhibited no forms suggesting electric arrangement, as in the case of cirrus. It was either uniform and featureless, or covered the sky with parallel streaks resembling the long rollers of an unruffled ocean.

A study of the dates and particulars furnished in the English and German Reports should lead to a knowledge of atmospheric movements above the cirrus region which has hitherto been inaccessible. According to theoretic views stated by Mr. Archibald, the system of circulation indicated by the dust-stratum might have been, and to some extent was, though rather heretically, anticipated. No opportunity seems to exist at present of testing the validity of the theory enunciated, for balloons have never reached a height exceeding one-third of that of the stratum, and clouds are not formed above a comparatively moderate altitude. The motion of the highest cirrus, moreover, can only be learnt in the somewhat disturbed condition which their presence betokens. If small test-balloons could be constructed to remain for a definite time at heights from 70,000 to 100,000 feet, and to be brought down at will, interesting information would be gained respecting the eternally unclouded region within twenty miles of the habitable surface, and its system of regular currents of high velocity. In the distant future, when ballooning has attained a much higher stage of developement, such knowledge may possibly be of practical value.

The section of the English Report dealing with opinions and hypotheses expressed is very instructive, and shows extraordinary differences among scientific men on their first acquaintance with the facts. In America the meteoric dust theory was much in favour, and in all countries the Krakatoa origin of the phenomena was widely discredited. The tendency of the observer everywhere was to connect them with the particular branch or twig of science with which he was best acquainted. Only the minute investigation of the whole range of sensible consequences of this great natural experiment could have led to the establishment of the truth respecting their origin and their relation to one another. More than one conclusion which has been arrived at will be the starting-point for fresh discovery, and, we may hope, the means of practical advantage to mankind.

- ART. VII.—1. *The Long White Mountain; or, A Journey in Manchuria.* With some Account of the History, People, Administration, and Religion of that Country. By H. E. M. JAMES. With Illustrations and a Map. London: 1888.
2. *Life in Corea.* By W. R. CARLES, formerly H.M. Vice-Consul in Corea. With Illustrations and Map. London: 1888.
3. *Through the Yang-tse Gorges; or, Travel and Trade in Western China.* By ARCHIBALD JOHN LITTLE. London: 1888.
4. *A Tour in China.* By Lieut. D. A. MILL, R.F. From the 'Royal Engineer's Journal' of March 1, 1888.

ORIENTAL statecraft has always been the despair of European observers. Its tortuous courses, its apparent inconsistencies, and its diversities of operations, have presented it to the unpractised eyes as nothing more than a tangled web of eccentricities. But if rightly understood it is, when matched against European diplomacy, but as the cuts and thrusts of an untutored fencer opposed to the passes of a practised swordsman. Those, however, who have not found this clue, and who consider that, because the diplomatic acts of oriental politicians do not harmonise with the traditions with which they are familiar, they can only be the outcome of whims and the effect of intrigues, must necessarily see the whole conduct of Asiatic governments in a false light. But when we recollect that they are designed to deal as occasions arise with those unexpected incidents, common both in the domestic and foreign concerns of eastern states, and that the men at the head of affairs have so to shape their policy as not to outrage the prejudices of their fellow-countrymen, and at the same time to meet the requirements of their European allies, we are forced to admit that an unconventional line of policy may after all be best suited to the needs it is intended to serve. But of all oriental policies, that pursued by China is popularly regarded as the most inexplicable. To the uninitiated no puzzle is more difficult to solve than the one presented by the apparently ever-varying conduct of the Chinese Government. Thus, as we shall presently see, at the same time that persistent opposition was offered to the establishment of European enterprises in the interior of the country, a vassal state was compelled to establish international relations with

foreign countries by orders from Peking; and while European travellers to the provinces were being persecuted even unto death, their fellow-countrymen were basking in the sunshine of imperial office and emoluments in the capital.

These and other phases of Chinese policy are instructively illustrated in the books of travel placed at the head of this article. In them we have described the defensive attitude assumed by the Chinese Government against Russia in Manchuria, the progressive policy inaugurated in Corea, and the obstructive tactics pursued towards Mr. Little on the Yangtzü-kiang. These lines of action, though apparently inconsistent, are all, as we shall show, directed towards one main object—the prevention of foreign interference in the concerns of China. And, to return to our simile of the fencing school, they are but the counterparts of the guard, thrust, and parry of a skilful, though possibly an unconventional, swordsman.

The gradual growth of international relations has of late years brought China face to face with unexpected problems, which she has been called upon to solve unaided, and without delay. That she has successfully managed her affairs, while possessing only a very imperfect knowledge of the power, aims, and ambitions of European nations, is strong evidence of the wisdom and clear-headedness of her leading statesmen. The war of 1860 found her still in a contemptuous mood towards foreigners, whom she had always been accustomed to despise, and whom she had not then learned seriously to fear. In her eyes they were still ‘outer barbarians,’ who possessed a certain devilish power for mischief while on board ship, but who, when once on shore, were as helpless as dodos. The disillusion which followed was sudden and complete. The Chinese troops were scattered like sheep in every encounter, and the climax was put to the disaster when the flags of England and France floated over the ‘Gate of Peaceful Rest’ in Peking. But while China was thus wrestling with acknowledged foreign foes, another power with simulated friendship was watching to seize on China’s necessity as her opportunity. When the allies were marching on Peking, the Russian ambassador, the well-known General Ignatieff, proposed to supply the Chinese Government with guns in exchange for a slice of territory embracing seven hundred miles of coast, from the mouth of the Amour southwards. In their extremity the Chinese agreed to the demand—it cannot be called an exchange—and in return for a few old-fashioned guns, which

arrived after the war was over, presented Russia with a strip of maritime territory, which has since become the province of Primorsk.

So soon, however, as the empire had recovered from the immediate effects of the war, and the Taiping rebellion had, with the assistance of Gordon, been suppressed, the Chinese turned their attention to the doings of their northern neighbour. During the years of prostration which followed on the troublous times of 1860-65 the Russians had made silent and constant encroachments on Chinese territory. No doubt there was some reason in their complaint that in proportion as the central power became weakened and disorganised the frontier tribes became restless and unmanageable. It would be plainly unreasonable to expect that Russia could submit to the constant raids committed by roving bands of Calmucks, Kirghiz, and other trespassers of the marches on the flocks and farms of her subject settlers. And unquestionably she did well to be angry. But the Chinese complain that though, when the border was barren and inhospitable, the Russians contented themselves with inflicting sharp punishments on the marauders by means of flying columns, the same flying columns showed a remarkable tendency to drop their wings when they found themselves in the fertile valleys which descend from the southern face of some of the frontier ranges.

By elective processes of this nature Russia gradually occupied the province of Kuldja, and when the Chinese had so far recovered themselves as to be in a position again to administer it, Russia was disinclined to restore to them a land which she had discovered literally to flow with milk and honey. During the course of negotiations on the subject the relations between the two Governments became so strained that war appeared to be inevitable; and, with that steady eye to the future which characterises Muscovite policy, the Russians made arrangements for seizing the Manchurian frontier towns of Ninguta and Sausing so soon as hostilities should break out. Happily war was averted by the diplomatic skill of the Marquis Tseng, and the threatened towns remained peacefully in the possession of the Chinese.

But the danger which the Chinese on this occasion escaped accentuated the fears which they had long had of the aggressive designs of their Russian neighbours. A cruel fate seems to have decreed that ready access to the sea shall be denied to the Russians in all parts of the world. In Southern Europe and Western Asia treaty conditions and intervening

empires forbid the possibility of maritime outlets, while in the Northern Pacific, as in the Baltic, a barrier of ice keeps her fleet imprisoned during a great portion of each year. Vladivostock, the most southern port of Russian Manchuria, is icebound for six months out of every twelve, and hence the absorbing desire of the authorities to advance so far southward as to secure a good and open harbour. This might be obtained in two directions—either in Southern Manchuria or in Corea. Port Arthur, at the extremity of the Liao-tung peninsula, is already well known as a safe and commodious harbour, while on the Korean coasts there are several land-locked bays which would meet all the requirements of the Russian admiralty. As matters at present stand Russian commerce in time of peace and Russian strength in time of war are seriously crippled by the rigour of the northern climate. What the possession of a port on the Persian Gulf or the ownership of Constantinople would be to the commercial and military prestige of Russia in the western world, the command of Port Arthur or of a harbour in Corea would be to her position on the Northern Pacific coast. No wonder, then, that the Muscovite commanders in Eastern Siberia turn their eyes southward with a longing gaze, and that they embrace every opportunity of advancing towards their wished-for goal.

Bounded on the north and east by Russia, on the west by Mongolia, and on the south by Corea and the sea, Manchuria, with the command over Corea which its possession gives, forms a tempting geographical finish to the Russian possessions in Eastern Asia. Although in winter the climate is cold, it is mild and temperate in comparison with the rigours of Eastern Siberia, and the soil of the valleys, which is generally a rich black loam, is exceedingly fertile. In extent it surpasses the size of Austria-Hungary, having an area of about 280,000 square miles, with a population of from 20,000,000 to 23,000,000. It is for the most part a highland country—a land of mountains and rivers, interspersed with rich valleys, which are rapidly becoming like the gardens of China under the careful tillage of immigrants from the south. Crops of millet, wheat, maize, barley, indigo, tobacco, rice, beans, vegetables, and the almost universal poppy, grow abundantly and yield a valuable return to the farmer; while the teeming animal population of the mountains and forests supplies the hunters with furs which are readily exchangeable for the necessities and luxuries of Manchurian life.

Such is the country through which the Russians are sus-

pected of desiring to find a road to the sea, and such is the country to which the Chinese cling with a double share of that stubborn patriotism which belongs to their nature. No offence which a commander can commit equals in the eyes of his countrymen that of losing territory committed to his care, and no difficulties are allowed to stand in the way of the recovery of a province when it has chanced to fall into an enemy's power. The extraordinarily arduous and deliberate campaign undertaken against Yakub Beg, the usurping ruler of Eastern Turkistan, in 1876, the recovery of Yunnan from the Panthay rebels, and the obstinate and triumphant negotiations with Russia for the recovery of Kuldja, are instances which may be multiplied a hundredfold of the dogged determination of the Chinese to regain their own. But there is another reason which makes the possession of Manchuria especially valuable to the present rulers of China. It is the cradle of their race, and every high mountain and wide river within its borders are associated with the traditions and history of their forefathers.

The bare suspicion, therefore, that the Russian eagle was hovering over it, waiting only for a convenient opportunity to pounce down, aroused anxiety and alarm at the Court of Peking. The boasted faith of the mandarins in the invincibility of their troops had been rudely shaken by the war of 1860, and the foreigners whom they had been accustomed to disdain they had been forced to regard with respect and fear. The physical and political conditions of Manchuria were such as to hold out but a slight chance of more than a formal opposition being offered to the forces which Russia could bring against it. Roads there were none, nor at the present moment are there any worthy of the name, and the bridges are in such a state of disrepair that the slightest deviation from the beaten track is attended with imminent peril. As an instance of the difficulty of transport, Mr. James mentions that he found the big Krupp guns destined for the Hunch'un forts lying at a village on the road, to which place they had been brought the previous winter; 'but the thaw coming on prematurely, they had to lie for a year till the marshes and streams should be frozen once more.'

But another and even more important cause of weakness was to be found in the military administration of the country. At no time and in no province, not even in the capital itself, do the mandarins bear a good character for honour and honesty; and though the emperor's arm is long, it loses much of its restraining power among the

mountains and forests of Manchuria. There, as elsewhere, the officials were notoriously underpaid, and the Government was not therefore extreme to mark the means by which they eked out their incomes. The consequence was that colonels drew pay for regiments which appeared only on paper or existed as the merest skeletons, and charged the public exchequer for the purchase of arms and munitions which never reached the arsenals at all. To the few men who actually served under the standards obsolete weapons, and uniforms which would have disgraced Falstaff's ragged regiment, were sparingly served out, and discipline there was none. All the conditions, therefore, calculated to make the conquest of the country by a European power a mere military promenade were abundantly present, and it required but a touch to make the ripe fruit fall into the lap of an invading force.

The position was thus one of danger, and if it had been left to be dealt with in the usual Chinese manner there can be little doubt that a catastrophe would have been brought about. But fortunately there was one man in the empire who was capable of coping with such a crisis, and whose position was sufficiently assured to enable him to act with decision.

Li Hung-chang, the Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province and Superintendent of the Northern Ports, had held high office in the state from the time when, with the help of Gordon, he crushed the Taiping rebellion. His knowledge of Europeans and of their modes of thought was very considerable, and in all emergencies, where foreigners and foreign interests were concerned, the Government had therefore been accustomed to look to him for advice and help. The experience he had gained of western skill and appliances during the rebellion had taught him that these were weapons to conjure with, and in all difficulties, whether arising from warlike operations, the silting up of river beds, or the bursting of river embankments, he had wit enough to call them to his aid. Like all Chinese officials, however, he was so far suspicious of foreigners as to be chary of employing them to undertake works, but his faith in their machinery and mechanical methods was unbounded. When, therefore, he was called upon to deal with the crisis in Manchuria, he at once determined to arm the forts with Krupp guns, to establish an arsenal at Kirin, to introduce foreign drill among the troops, and to exchange their gingalls and bows and arrows for Winchester and Remington repeating rifles.

A new departure of this kind has always to overcome a certain resistance at starting, but Li is not a man to be daunted by opposition, and in a surprisingly short time he has succeeded in putting the defences of the country into a tolerable state of preparedness. At the present time there is a garrison army of from 60,000 to 80,000 men, 15,000 of whom have learned foreign drill and are armed with good foreign weapons. There are several batteries of foreign guns, and the fortresses are all armed, or are in course of being armed, with Krupp guns. The arsenal at Kirin is in full working order, and Mr. James informs us that it is

‘under the management of a gentleman named Sung, who received his training under foreigners in the arsenals of Tientsin and Shanghai. He was exceedingly courteous and friendly, and showed us over the place. It was very interesting to see a large establishment filled with foreign machinery, some German and some English, with boilers and engines and steam hammers, just such as one might see at Woolwich or Elswick, all erected and managed by Chinese, without foreign assistance of any kind. It would open the eyes of those Europeans who think that western nations have a monopoly of mechanical and administrative ability. Most of the artisans were from Ningpo, and had also practical experience before they came. They can turn out anything, from a gingall to a repeating-rifle. The Chinese verdict on English compared with German machinery was that the latter worked more quickly and did delicate work better, but that the English was more solid, and could always be depended upon for accuracy. Amongst other curiosities, Mr. Sung showed us a machine-gun invented by one of his foremen perhaps it would be more correct to say adapted—from a western model. It was so portable that two men could carry it and the tripod on which it worked with the greatest ease. We saw it at work, and it could fire eighty shots a minute, smoothly and without any symptom of obstruction. On the opposite side of the river to the arsenal a powder-mill has also been put up, just what one might see at Erith or Kirkee, in which gunpowder is manufactured on approved scientific principles.’

From its central position Kirin is admirably suited for the site of the arsenal, and from it warlike stores of all kinds are constantly sent to Tsitsihar and Hulan on the north, and to Sansing, Ninguta, and Hun-ch’un on the eastern frontier. It is a significant fact that these three towns, which are in the direction of the nearest Russian boundary, are more than usually heavily armed, and are garrisoned with the *élite* of the national forces. In them more especially the remodelling of the army is being carried on eagerly and indefatigably; and though Mr. James was not allowed to be present at any review of the garrison, he saw enough to show that the officers were working in earnest. As a



military adjunct, telegraphs have been constructed between the fortresses throughout Manchuria, and, like the machinery at the arsenal, are entirely worked by Chinese. At Ninguta Mr. James met a telegraph clerk, of whom he says—

‘A card was brought in to me bearing, in English, the well-known name of Gladstone. When the owner was shown in, we were astonished to see a Chinese telegraph signaller, who informed us that he had been given this appellation by his European instructor at Tientsin. He was a gentleman of various accomplishments, including the Chinese violin, on which he was good enough to play us a tune. I regret to say that on our return we learned that “Mr. Gladstone” had been found wanting in his duty to his country: he had forgotten the distinction between his own and his country’s cash, I believe, and he had been sent away under guard, with a heavy wooden collar round his neck.’

These and other military reforms and preparations, of which Mr. James gives a graphic description, are enough to show that any future invasion of Manchuria will be made under difficulties which have been the creation of the last few years. No doubt a great deal yet remains to be done, and in one matter which remains undone—that of roads—the Chinese may be said to be at an advantage, since the absence of thoroughfares would make the advance of an invading force extremely difficult and the transport of heavy guns an impossibility, except during that portion of the year when the country is frost-bound.

It is, however, time that we turned to the consideration of other portions of Mr. James’s very interesting work. Professedly it is a book of travel, but the author is evidently one of those who think that a book of travel should be something more than an itinerary, and his previous experiences of Indian life and institutions have enabled him to take a comparative view of all he saw in Manchuria and thus to impart a special value to his remarks. His chapters on ‘The People,’ ‘The Administration,’ and ‘The Religion,’ are admirable essays—at the same time lucid and comprehensive. We are inclined to think that the chapter on the history might either have been omitted altogether or have been considerably shortened. A brief sketch of the establishment of the present Manchu dynasty was all that was required; and though Mr. James has managed his materials with skill, and has imparted an interest to them which makes us feel ungrateful in taking objection to this part of his work, yet we cannot but feel that his book would have been more symmetrically proportioned had this chapter been omitted.

Mr. James tells us that, having determined to spend a long Indian leave in eastern travel, he was tempted to explore Manchuria from the fact that so very little was known about it. Fortunately, it is always easy for an adventurous Englishman to find fellow-countrymen ready to join with him in any undertaking, however wearisome and hazardous, and Mr. James had no difficulty in persuading two kindred spirits—Lieutenant Younghusband, of the King's Dragoon Guards, whose admirable paper on the subject of his travels, read before the Royal Geographical Society, is full of interest; and Mr. Fulford, of the China Consular Service—to be his companions. In May, 1886, the travellers landed at New-chwang, a treaty port on the Gulf of Liaotung, and having there provided themselves with carts and equipments necessary for a six months' journey into the interior, they started for the capital, Moukden (4 days). Thence they went eastward (Mr. James says 'westward' by mistake) to Maoerhsan (16 days) and the Long White Mountain (13 days). After having explored the mountain, they proceeded in a north-westerly direction to Kirin (23 days) and Tsitsihar (18 days). This was their most northerly point, and thence they turned south-eastwards to Hulan (7 days) and Sansing (12 days) on the Sungari. Facing southwards from this city, they visited Ninguta (10 days) and Hun-ch'un (9 days), and thence returned *via* Kirin and Moukden to New-chwang. Subsequently they made an expedition to Port Arthur, and thus completed a journey of 3,113 miles.

If Mr. James had sought to find the most complete contrast to the sybaritic life and manner of travelling enjoyed by civilians in India, he could not have discovered a better country for his purpose than Manchuria. From first to last the journey was made under the most extreme discomfort. Roads, as we have already mentioned, have not advanced beyond the embryonic stage of tracks; and the shelter afforded by the inns was not better than that meted out to cattle in more favoured lands. This is the description of one of the best of their kind:—

'Imagine a little thatched house about forty feet long, the roof open to the rafters and the windows only bare frames, the paper panes having disappeared. The door is in the centre, and a k'ang, as usual, runs along the wall, covered with dirty matting, on which are piled rolls of foul old bedding, sheepskin coats, wadded cotton garments, pedlars' packs and travellers' gear of all kinds, while a dozen or two of the roughest labourers and farmers are squatting about, or eating or drinking or sleeping. On each side of the door as you enter is a cauldron,

in which vast masses of pork, soup, and vegetables are being cooked for travellers, and the pungent savour of these, mingled with stale tobacco fumes, incessantly pervades the building; for everyone smokes, from the old woman of seventy to the boy or girl of ten. In the middle of the room stands a primitive kitchen-range, an oblong mass of brick about three feet high, hollow in the centre, with an arched cover in which holes have been pierced for the fire to heat the cooking-pots. In one corner stands the large stone mill for grinding bean-curd, and in others huge earthen jars, or water-tight wooden boxes, in which pickled cabbages and turnips are kept, and which emit a horrible smell. The end of the building is boarded off, so as to form a little room about eighteen feet by ten, which is usually occupied by the landlord's family, but on this occasion 'has been made over to us. One side of it is occupied by a k'ung, which we use, like the Chinese, both for sitting, eating, and sleeping.'

Other inns in which the travellers were occasionally housed were many degrees less habitable than this one. At Kirin the only lodging they could get was a little room, sixteen feet by eleven, to which almost every possible insanitary condition was attached. 'In this detestable prison' they were detained three weeks in the month of August by incessant rain. A Catholic priest at Yingtzü had warned them that where they found themselves at the beginning of August there they would remain to the end. 'And never came 'prophecy more disagreeably true.' To the other discomforts were added the plague of midges and gadflies, which abound in the Manchurian forests, and from which there is no escape except by hermetically sealing up the doors and windows at sundown, and by picketing the mules to the leeward of the fires, so that they may gain the protection of the smoke. Fortunately for travellers, the gadflies direct their attention entirely to animals, but the misery they inflict on their dumb victims is incalculable.

'The rapidity with which they can pierce a mule's tough hide is inconceivable. In a few moments,' writes Mr. James, 'before one can go to its assistance, I have seen a wretched beast streaming with blood. Fortunately the gadflies are very stupid and slow, and easily killed. Once, when a mule had tumbled several times downhill, and was quite exhausted, Fulford and I had to stand over it, smashing the gadflies as they settled with slabs of wood until night came on. I have no idea how many hundreds we killed, but we saved the mule's life.'

But occasionally fortune showed the other side of the shield, and displayed such lavish beauties of nature that all else was forgotten. As the travellers ascended the Mecca of their pilgrimage, the Long White Mountain, they were astonished at the profusion and loveliness of the flowers

which grew on its sides, and at the varied and brilliant plumage of the birds and colours of the butterflies which hovered around it. It was as though in stepping out of the forest they had entered upon enchanted ground.

‘The forests had certainly not been devoid of flowers, and some fine turn-cap lilies and orchids and bluebells had lit up the gloom; but now we came upon rich open meadows, bright with flowers of every imaginable colour, where sheets of blue iris, great scarlet tiger-lilies, sweet-scented yellow day-lilies, huge orange buttercups, or purple monkshood, delighted the eye. And beyond were bits of park-like country, with groups of spruce and fir beautifully dotted about, the soil covered with short mossy grass and spangled with great masses of deep-blue gentian, columbines of every shade of mauve or buff, orchids white and red, and many other flowers.’

But the most striking scene was witnessed at the summit. After a somewhat toilsome ascent they reached the edge of a crater, and looking down they saw a beautiful lake of about six or seven miles in circumference, lying peacefully in the hollow of the mountain below them. Though the wind was high and tempestuous where they stood, the waters of the lake, which were of a strangely pellucid blue, remained unruffled, while on the surface were reflected, as in a looking-glass, the fantastic peaks which adorned the rugged tops of the mountain. The blending of grandeur and beauty in the scene suggests a picture which might haunt an artist, and inspire a poet. No wonder legend-mongers delight to people the waters of the lake with nymphs and its craggy cliffs with the demons of the air. According to one account, it was in this lake that in bygone days three heavenly maidens were bathing when a passing magpie dropped a large ripe plum into the lap of the youngest. Unconscious of the miraculous properties of the fruit, the maiden ate it, and in consequence conceived and bare a son, who displayed such supernatural gifts of mind and body that he was unanimously proclaimed ruler of the country, and from his loins the present rulers of China claim their descent.

No book on any part of the Chinese Empire would be complete without references to the vexed questions of missionaries and opium. Unfortunately both questions have been made the war-cries of contending parties, and consequently it is as rare to get the expression of a judicial opinion upon them as it is to get an unbiassed judgement on Home Rule for Ireland or on the consistency of Mr. Gladstone. We rejoice the more, therefore, to find that Mr. James is one of those few who are able to weigh the pros and cons without prejudice

and without passion. Unlike so many writers on China, who never trouble themselves to investigate on the spot the work being done by the missionaries, Mr. James on all occasions mixed freely with them, followed them in their labours, gauged their difficulties, and has thus been able to appreciate their successes. With no grudging praise, he commends the deep and unselfish devotion of both Protestants and Roman Catholics; and though in both systems there may be points of procedure and administration which might be amended with advantage, he yet points out that the work being done is of the highest possible value, and that through the instrumentality of schools and hospitals, the leaven of Christianity is gradually and surely leavening the whole country.

In the same truth-searching spirit he approaches the opium question. But in this matter the materials for forming a judgement do not lie so ready to his hand. He saw opium smokers who looked as strong and hearty as other men, whose natural force was not abated, and who were apparently as capable of enduring fatigue as their non-smoking neighbours. And, except on one occasion, he never saw any of those victims of the drug whose craving for its fumes equals the craving of Tantalus for the water which flowed up to, but never into, his parched lips. This one man was a commercial traveller, 'and smoked all night long, and part of the day besides. His frame was like a living skeleton, attenuated and cadaverous; he scarcely ever ate, and only occasionally drank cups of tea. He was truly a miserable 'spectacle.' The rarity of the sight of such degradation appears to have satisfied Mr. James that the victims to the pipe were few in number. But the circumstances connected with the indulgence of the vice naturally entail seclusion, and it would be as unreasonable to estimate the extent of gambling in London by the amount of sixpenny whist played in the clubhouses in Pall Mall as it is to compute the prevalence of excessive opium smoking in China by the innocuous form of the habit common in public resorts. It is, however, safe to assume that the people themselves know more of the evils arising from opium smoking than even such a conscientious observer as Mr. James could gather in a six months' journey in the country. And it is instructive to find that 'when the native Presbyterian community at Moukden were recently framing rules for their church, of their own accord they resolved that no opium smoker should be a member, and it was the missionary himself who got them to make an exception in favour of elderly converts.'

It is at least plain that these people are not of Mr. James's opinion, that opium is one of 'God's good gifts.'

No two countries could, geographically speaking, be in greater contrast than Manchuria and Corea. The one is an inland territory, access to which is to be obtained only over mountain ranges and barren plains, except on its narrow southern sea front, which is hard bound by ice every winter; while the other is a peninsula, accessible on its eastern, southern, and western coasts to every seafarer whom the winds of heaven may carry at any season of the year into the neighbourhood of its coasts. This geographical contrast has produced a corresponding diversity in the political fates of the two countries; for while, until one of its chieftains succeeded in conquering China in the seventeenth century, the history of Manchuria was made up of the records of tribal strifes and combinations unaffected by foreign wars and relations, the annals of Corea bear constant testimony to frequent invasions by the forces of China and Japan. For many centuries the exposed nature of her coast drove her to adopt a policy of complete isolation as a protection against foreign foes; and although from time to time victorious Chinese and Japanese armies swept over the country, the tide of invasion was no sooner turned than her coasts were again left uncontaminated by the least trace of the flood which had but lately overwhelmed them. Whether from the difficulty which the invaders found of establishing themselves in the country in opposition to a brave and hostile people, or whether they found that the country was not of a nature to repay annexation, certain it is that when they retired as conquerors they submitted with good grace to the conditions imposed by the conquered. So stringent were the regulations enforced by the Coreans concerning foreigners, that even Chinamen, the subjects of the suzerain power, were, until within the last few years, forbidden under pain of death to cross the frontier from Manchuria. And, more than this, a neutral zone was delimited on the border, within which no Chinaman was to settle, or even to trespass. On the other hand, the only counterbalancing advantage claimed by China was that Corea should acknowledge herself to be a vassal of the sovereign state, and perpetuate the token of her submission by sending annual tribute-bearing missions to Peking.

Undoubtedly the policy which cut Corea off from her neighbours was an evil. But a choice between evils was all that was left to her unguided wisdom; and the policy, which

we in these days are disposed to condemn, may, under the then existing circumstances, have been the best available means of self-defence. On the other hand, it unquestionably had its advantages, for in the peaceful and quiet times which it fostered the people had leisure and opportunity to cultivate the arts and sciences in a way which their subsequent experiences showed was impossible in time of war.

Fortunately for the people, the laws regarding foreigners were incapable of being enforced in all their harshness, and secret or semi-secret communications were constantly kept up between the people on the Chinese frontier. Not a few political refugees, whose lives were threatened in China, found from time to time a safe refuge in the 'Land of the Morning Calm,' and with them came a knowledge of those arts and sciences for which even then the Chinese were famous. Thus it came about that the Koreans were the first participators in the Chinese art of printing, and were the first disciples of the great masters of painting, as well as of the great manufacturers of porcelain. To them belongs the credit of having imparted to the Japanese the artistic and scientific secrets which that gifted people have turned to such excellent account; and it is a lamentable instance of the destructive influences of war that the Koreans, who in the early ages played much the same part as the handmaids of knowledge that the Italian scholars did at the time of the Renaissance, should in these latter days be reduced to the state of ignorance and artistic poverty in which we now find them.

But though Korea had succeeded, in a way, in maintaining her isolation, it was not to be expected that, after the China war of 1860 and the opening up of Japan, she would be allowed to preserve her inviolability. As we have already pointed out, Russia viewed with envious eyes the commodious harbours and land-locked bays which surround her coasts, and it took, therefore, the Koreans alone by surprise when, in 1866, some Russian war-vessels appeared off the coast and demanded a right to trade, intimating at the same time that if their demand was refused troops would cross the northern frontier to enforce the request. To this peremptory summons the king replied that, being a vassal of the Emperor of China, he must refer the matter to him. This device succeeded. The emperor raised difficulties and objections, and the Russian ships sailed away. In the same year a French expedition landed on the coast with the ostensible object of protecting the Roman Catholic missionaries.

Puffed up by their recent experiences in China, they expected to scatter the Coreans with the same ease that they had routed the Chinese at Palikiao. But they found to their cost that the Coreans are made of sterner stuff, and in an engagement, which proved disastrous to the French, the Coreans gained a complete victory. Two other expeditions, one of which was led by American adventurers and the other by a German Jew, and neither of which was deserving of sympathy, reached the shores of Corea about the same time. Not one of the ill-fated American shipload ever returned to tell the tale of their destruction; and though M. Oppert and his friends escaped with their lives, they failed to possess themselves of the rumoured buried treasure which was the object of their quest.

The diplomatic grievance which the murder of the American subjects unfortunately furnished, prompted the despatch to Corea of two expeditions consisting of ships of the United States navy. The first returned, having accomplished nothing; and the second, after some slight successes, was somewhat hastily withdrawn. But the position was fast becoming dangerous. It was obvious that the European powers would not long submit to be diplomatically excluded from the country, or to see their subjects murdered if they ventured by chance to trespass on her shores. It was time, therefore, for the Chinese Government to take such steps as they might deem to be best calculated to keep the peace. Fortunately, as in the case of the Manchurian imbroglio, the emperor put the matter into the hands of Li Hung-chang, and that statesman promptly acted with his usual wisdom. To have sent troops into the country in support of the king's forces would have been to incur a direct responsibility for the safety of the kingdom, while to stand aside and do nothing would be to allow the king to court certain disaster. He therefore took a middle course, and placed a considerable force on the Corean frontier in such a position that in any emergency they might be readily available, while being so stationed they could neither hurt the susceptibility of the king nor involve China in difficulties with European countries. This was in 1875, and the effect of his influence thus acquired was shortly demonstrated by the negotiation, at his instigation, of the Japanese treaty of that year. Four years later the Russians made another attempt to open up commercial relations with Corea, but were again frustrated; nor did the Duke of Genoa succeed any better on behalf of his countrymen. But events had



marched rapidly since 1875, and Li Hung-chang now saw plainly that the only way to prevent the country from falling into the hands of Russia was to throw it open to all the powers, and he therefore urged the king to make treaties of commerce with such countries as were in a position to demand such a privilege. Thus we have the strange spectacle of a Chinese statesman compelling a vassal state to pursue a line of policy which his own countrymen recently resisted tooth and nail, and which, though they have now adopted, they persistently keep within the very narrowest limits which are compatible with treaty obligations. But though this measure unquestionably affords a support to Chinese interests in Corea, it by no means forms a complete safeguard to them. This the recent report of the existence of a secret treaty between Russia and Corea is enough to show. It is probable that this rumour arose from the signature of a convention with reference to trade on the Tumen river, since a document of the importance of such a secret treaty could hardly have been arranged at Seoul without the knowledge of the resident foreign ministers and of the Chinese Government. But the currency of the rumour points to the fact that Russian intrigues are still rife in Corea, and in these circumstances it behoves the Chinese Government to take some decided step to put an end to the somewhat equivocal negotiations which have of late suggested doubts as to the reality of its suzerainty over that country.

But it was not without many murmurs that the Korean people assented to the new order of things, and even after the treaties had been concluded there was still a strong party in the country which considered that the king had sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. These malcontents were not long in giving violent expression to their opinions. On the evening of December 4, 1884, an outbreak occurred in the capital, in course of which the Japanese legation was burnt to the ground, some members of the staff were murdered, and the remainder fought their way with difficulty to the coast. One curious incident of the affray was the supposed murder of the queen, whose life was really saved by the self-sacrifice of a lady of the court who, so soon as the revolution broke out, volunteered to personate her mistress and so to facilitate her escape. The ruse was, on the main point, successful, and it was not until the Chinese troops had restored order that the queen reappeared, and that the rebels learned that they had mistaken their intended victim. That, though it has since

smouldered, the fire of discontent still exists, has been unfortunately evidenced during the last few weeks, when we have seen another and an even fiercer demonstration against the progressive policy of the Government. But these outbreaks are but the natural ebullition of the discontent which must inevitably accompany a direct change of policy in a despotic country when that change is in opposition to the traditions of the people. We have witnessed similar upheavals, provoked by the same cause, in China and Japan. And in Corea, as in those countries, they will cease to occur when the people understand that their self-interest is on the side of the innovation.

It was shortly after the conclusion of the treaties that Mr. Carles made the two visits to Corea which he has described in the present volume. In many respects his work is a disappointing one. The subject is of great interest, and very little is known about either the country or the people. He had, therefore, a great opportunity, and he has missed it. If it be taken as being merely an account of a sporting tour, it might be allowed to pass, but if we are asked to regard it as a description of Corea we are obliged to pronounce against it. The contents are somewhat disjointed, and are too minutely personal to be of general interest. Incidentally, however, he throws some side lights on the political and social condition of the country, and we will attempt to draw these into focus for the benefit of our readers.

That the government of the country should be based on the Chinese model is only what might be expected when the influence that China has exercised in Corea in the past is borne in mind. We find the same system of despotism tempered by democracy in the two countries. We find the king absolutely supreme so long as he governs in harmony with the national aspirations; and we find the people submitting, up to a certain point, to a tyranny which appears inconceivable. Punishment by death is enforced for crimes which in western lands would be regarded as worthy of a few months' imprisonment, and barbarous chastisement is often inflicted for no crime whatever. Mr. Carles relates an incident in point. On one occasion, when travelling, he thought that his midday halt seemed to be unnecessarily prolonged, and he went out into the road to seek the cause.

'There,' he writes, 'we found two of the pony drivers stretched on the ground, and some soldiers beating them on their bare buttocks with flat rods. Naturally we inquired the reason, and, pending an answer, the flogging stopped. It turned out that the soldiers who

formed our escort should have been relieved at this village, as it lay in a new jurisdiction, but no men had turned up, and the official who accompanied us laid the blame for the men's non-appearance on the pony drivers. We interceded on their behalf. The official protested, urging that it was good for Koreans to be flogged. The soldiers stood awaiting orders, the drivers lay shivering on the ground, and the crowd gathered round to examine us. At length the official gave way, and the men were allowed to depart.'

The general condition of the people is one of squalid misery, and even the king's palace compares unfavourably with the residences of Chinese officials of high rank. But though surrounded by everything that is mean and dirty, it is remarkable that the most notable features in the outward appearance of the men are the imperturbable mildness of their manners and the pure whiteness of their long robes. Experience has abundantly shown that their mildness of manner may very easily be exchanged for ferocity and deeds of daring, but their white robes appear to be never sullied or disturbed. Sentimentalists may possibly be inclined to consider this white outer clothing emblematic of the singular love of decency which belongs to the people. But we should be sorry to credit their prudery with the superficiality which this would imply. No whitened sepulchre ever showed a fairer front and contained a relatively fouler interior than these white-coated gentry. But their prudery is beyond question. Not only are the women of the better classes preserved generally, as in some other eastern countries, from the public gaze, but during certain hours of the evening the streets and thoroughfares are sacred to them, and men are forbidden to walk abroad during those arcane seasons. If by chance a lady is compelled to go out in the daytime, the sight of man is held fully to justify her in seeking protection in any house she may be near. To western ideas the only possible excuse for such excessive bashfulness would be the excessive beauty of the bashful ones. But Mr. Carles's description of their personal appearance robs them of this apology. 'Their faces,' he writes, speaking of those he encountered, 'bore the signs of small-pox, hard work, and hard fare. A short bodice worn over the shoulders left the breasts exposed, and the dirt of their clothes, the lack of beauty of any kind, and the squalor in which they lived, gave a most unpleasant impression of Korean women in general.' But even if this were not so, the dress which they wear renders it quite immaterial whether their features resemble those of

Miranda or Sycorax. Not even the most beautiful of her sex could look anything but unsightly habited in the Corean fashion, with a green mantle thrown over the head and drawn round the face, leaving only the eyes exposed; while loose baggy trousers, bunched up at the hips, white socks, and straw sandals complete an attire which would conceal the beauties of Venus.

Fortunately, however, for Corea, the infusion of people of other Asiatic races has produced a variety of facial types in the country. Among those distinguished by Mr. Carles were Manchus—men with straight-cut features and bushy whiskers; others with round ruddy faces; some with distinctly Jewish features; and some few with blue eyes. The effect of this mixture of races has been that in some parts of the country the pure Corean type remains in abeyance, and in one out-of-the-way district Mr. Carles was introduced at a mandarin's house to some ladies whose features completely belied their Corean origin. These fair damsels were in attendance on the mandarin, and stood with unveiled faces among the retainers. To Mr. Carles's astonishment, the mandarin asked his opinion of their beauty. 'And,' he adds, 'the girls seemed as anxious for my verdict as the magistrate himself.'

But among the genuine Coreans excessive prudery is not confined to the female sex. Unlike almost all Asiatics, the Corean men are to Europeans in this respect what Europeans are to most of the peoples of Asia. They have a rooted abhorrence of allowing any part of the person to appear undraped. And the only communication which the Duke of Genoa succeeded, during his visit in 1880, in getting from the shore was a remonstrance against the impropriety of allowing the sailors to bathe, and of thus preventing the villagers in the neighbourhood from leaving their homes!

The country, which contains an area of 90,000 square miles and a population of 10,000,000, consists of a central mountain system with a margin of lowlands along the coasts. It is not productive, but both hill and dale contribute certain quantities to the national wealth. From the mountains a considerable supply of gold is procured every year—in 1886 400,000*l.* worth was exported—and if European machinery were employed the supply might probably be increased a hundredfold. But, like the Chinese Government, the Corean authorities fear to sanction mining lest the congregations of violent men, who would be likely to be attracted by the sight of gold, should cause riots and confusion. This is

their true reason; but as to confess to it would be to acknowledge weakness and incapacity, they substitute for it the high-sounding Chinese maxim that to dig into the bowels of the earth is to insult the great mother of mankind.

Ginseng is the next most valuable export. The root of this plant—the *Aralia ginseng*—is believed by the Chinese and the neighbouring peoples to be possessed of extraordinary tonic and recuperative qualities. Old men are said to regain by its use the vigour and attributes of youth, and young *roués* are known to restore their strength and faculties by means of its almost magical powers. The plant grows wild in both Manchuria and Corea, and the search for the roots is a recognised and remunerative trade among the people. The fortunate finder of a root four or five inches long may hope to realise 10*l.* for it in the market; while those plants which are fine enough to be chosen for the use of the Emperor of China are paid for at the rate of half as much again. The cultivated species is much less valuable, but the right to grow it is deemed a sufficient privilege to justify the farmers in paying high license-fees to the royal exchequer. Beans, also, are grown in large quantities, and form the third principal article of export. According to consular reports, the trade of the country is increasing, as indeed the figures show. The total value of the foreign import and export trade in 1885 was 571,002*l.*, and in 1886 728,925*l.* On the other hand, it is reported that the Japanese merchants, who were the first foreign settlers on the coast, are gradually being starved out; and when the most roscate view of the mercantile position is taken, it cannot be hoped that Corea will ever assume more than a very subordinate place in the eastern commercial world.

Unlike Corea, both in its present and prospective conditions, the great western province of China, Sze-ch'uen, already possesses a large and flourishing trade, and shows a capacity for an almost boundless developement of its commerce. Its marts are crowded with eager buyers and sellers, its rivers are alive with trading junks, and the villages are the substantial homes of well-to-do farmers and a contented peasantry. In extent it equals France, with as good a climate and a far larger population. Its soil produces every food crop in abundance, and the opium and tobacco grown within its borders have earned a well-deserved reputation for flavour and substance. Minerals, also, exist in the mountains, and, in fact, everything calculated to increase the prosperity of the province is found in this highly favoured

region. One very needful thing is, however, withheld from it. It has tolerably easy trade routes into Yunnan on the south, and into Shensi on the north; but the markets so reached are as nothing compared with the rich and busy marts of Eastern China. From these commercial centres Szech'uen is almost entirely cut off. The great river, the Yangtzu-kiang, is there, but the same rugged and mountainous features which make the roads which traverse the country between Sze-ch'uen and the cities of the eastern plain impassable, except by men on foot or by lightly laden mules, have created in the river's bed such whirling rapids and eddying currents that the passage by boat is always attended with danger, and often with loss and shipwreck.

Rising in the Min mountains of Tibet, the river, which in its early course is known as the River of Golden Sand, takes a south-easterly course, and enters the Chinese province of Yunnan at the Pass of Imperial Victory. Thence it runs to the north-east through Sze-ch'uen, and, after forcing its way through the mountain barriers of that province, rushes over a succession of rapids which boil and foam at the foot of lofty and perpendicular cliffs, on to the great plain which stretches from Hupeh to the sea. Until of late years no foreign keel ever advanced further up the river than Nanking, but now the 1,000 miles which separate Shanghai and Ichang in Hupeh are as familiar to the captains of the regular steamers as the Thames up to Richmond is to the masters of the river boats. But beyond this point Nature seems to have decided that no advance is to be made, and impious men who fly in the face of her decree do so at infinite peril to life and goods. Even if fortune should so far befriend them as to enable them to land their junk-borne goods at the wharves of Chungking, they are to be congratulated if they have not consumed more than five or six weeks in traversing the intervening 400 miles. In one week goods can be carried by steamer over the 1,000 miles from Shanghai to Ichang, and were one such steamer to turn back from that point, and sail for England direct, she might reach the London docks before the junks into which she would have transferred her cargo could arrive, under the most favourable conditions, at Chungking. And the downward voyage, although it is naturally much quicker, is attended with great danger and with constant loss.

It is only necessary to state these facts to show under what grievous physical disabilities the Sze-ch'uen trade labours. But there is another heavy disability which the

Government lays on the traffic. As though still further to aggravate the difficulty occasioned by the rapids, a dozen customs-house stations line the banks of the river between Ichang and Chungking, each of which exacts a toll on passing merchandise. Under the Transit Pass system goods can be carried from Shanghai to Ichang by making a single payment at the port of shipment; and so well has this worked in the interests of foreign trade that, when the Chefoo Convention was under consideration in 1876, it was proposed that the system should be allowed to extend to Chungking, and that that town should be constituted a treaty port.

To this proposal the Chinese were opposed on principle. We have seen the courses of action they adopted in Manchuria and Corea to protect themselves against forcible invasion, and although in this case they had no fear of active aggression, they at all times cherish a dread of the insidious advent of foreigners in the interior with their steamers, their railways, and their new ideas. They recognise the danger of putting the new wine of western ideas into the old bottles of Chinese polity; and though frankly admitting that the time must come when it will be necessary to provide the new wine, they desire to wait until they shall be able gradually to exchange the old bottles for new ones.

Unquestionably there is much to be said for this view. We most of us know men of vigorous minds who, having been brought up in narrow creeds and contracted ideas, have suddenly been deluged with advanced speculations. For a time the result is deplorable. The old moralities which have served for their practical guidance are thrown to the winds, and they are quite unfit to steer their courses by the new lights. What is true of individuals is true also of nations, and the sudden infusion of western ideas into Chinese life would doubtless cause every joint of the national framework to creak and strain. The ties which now bind together the social relationships would be loosened, the political faith of the people would be shaken, and for a time there would be general confusion and impotence.

This is the secret motive which underlies the opposition of the Government to the residence of foreigners in the interior. But it is obviously one which is not calculated to enlist the sympathies of the people, who, with the instinct for forbidden fruit common to humanity, might desire to taste the apple of knowledge should it be offered to them. To them, therefore, it was necessary to appeal through the tender

channel of self-interest; and the officials and gentry have successfully led them into the popular error that the adoption of steamers, railways, and the other time-saving appliances of the 'foreign devils,' would involve the ruin of boatmen, carters, and all those who now earn their living by attending to the wants of travellers. By this manœuvre the people have been brought into line with the officials; and it was no easy matter, therefore, for Sir Thomas Wade to induce Li Hung-chang, who acted as the Plenipotentiary of China in the matter of the Chefoo Convention, to agree even to a conditional clause opening Chungking to foreign trade, and the upper waters of the Yangtzu to steamer traffic. That the consent was given grudgingly may be judged from the terms of the clause which set out that arrangements for the opening of the port of Chungking to foreign trade may be taken into consideration so soon as steamers have succeeded in ascending the river thus far.

It is possible that Li Hung-chang may have thought that this condition would have the effect of postponing the fulfilment of the obligation to the Greek Kalends. And it is possible that he may be right. Mr. Little, however, thinks differently, and has been now for some time prepared to attempt to carry a steamer over the stormy waters between Ichang and Chungking as soon as he can gain the requisite permission from Peking. That, in the interests of foreign merchants and of the people of Szech'uen, this would be a desirable thing to do, there can be no doubt; and Mr. Little professes the most profound belief in the possibility of making the passage in a steel steamer which he has had constructed for the purpose. If, however, any reader of his book should doubt the practicability of the attempt, it will be the author's own fault; for so vivid is his description of the dangers and difficulties of the rapids, that it will doubtless raise in many minds misgivings as to the result of his effort. In order to make a preliminary survey of the route, he made the voyage in a light native boat; and he thus describes his ascent of one of the many rapids:—

'A fleet of big junks—fifty or sixty—being moored under the point on the left bank, waiting their turn to tow up, our Laota (captain) selected the right, or south bank, and thus hoped to avoid a delay of possibly two days. But the south bank forming the outer edge of the sweep, the current is more violent and the bank precipitous. A gigantic whirlpool immediately below the rapid has hollowed out a bay in the rocks on the south bank, and where the eddy meets the downward rush a sharp point projects which is a ticklish place for a



boat in the hands of trackers to round in safety. Our Laota having decided to take this course, we crossed the river, paddled up the eddy, which was running with unusual force, landed our trackers, and drove the boat's nose into the broken torrent while the eddy was still acting on her stem. The rudder ceased to act; our boat on entering the down current suddenly shot out towards the middle of the stream. The trackers were thrown down, and two badly hurt by being dragged over the rocks, while the boat heeled over, threatening to capsize on the instant. Fortunately our trackers promptly cast off the tow-line in the nick of time, and we incurred no other danger than being swept violently down stream in the eight-knot current. Fortunately the up-river breeze still held, and the two men left on board were able to set the sail in time to get steerage way upon the boat before she drifted on the rocks below, and the Laota succeeded in steering her into the eddy on the safer left bank, with nothing lost but the result of the morning's toil. As we suddenly bronched to and lay over for a minute in the boiling surf, a cry of "Ta chang" rose from the crowds on the shore, this being the technical term for this often disastrous accident. Our Laota now decided to wait his turn on the left bank, which we got up successfully, the water being shallow, and with no more harm than a few bumps on the rounded boulders along the shore.

Unpleasant as these experiences of Mr. Little were, other passengers constantly fare even worse than he did. Not long ago Mr. Consul Gardner and two friends were upset in a neighbouring rapid, when they lost all their baggage, and owed the preservation of their lives entirely to the lifeboat which is stationed at the foot of the raging water. A few months previously, also, the junk carrying the commander-in-chief of the province of Hupoh was capsized, and the general's two sons with several of his suite were drowned. On several occasions when *en route* Mr. Little saw boatmen drying in the sun the merchandise recovered from wrecked boats, and he reckons that 'the loss of junks and merchandise in the rapids between Ichang and Chungking amounts to about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the value of the traffic.' In ordinary circumstances a junk of 150 tons carries a crew of over a hundred men, of whom some seventy or eighty are trackers, who, at infinite risk to life and limb, drag the boat through the surging waters. It is in such a current, one in which fish which are too large to hide in the crannies in the rocks cannot live, that Mr. Little expects his steamer will survive. It possibly may do so; but even then one small steamer, which will have to be kept, like the Salaminian galley, for great occasions, will not vitally affect the trade on the river; and much as Mr. Little's courage and perseverance are to be admired, it may be doubted whether any practical

result will be obtained until a channel is made by clearing away some of the rocks from the bed of the river.

The tone of Mr. Little's remarks on subjects unconnected with his venture are not such as to encourage us to put implicit faith in his judgement. There is an unpleasant air of intolerance about his criticisms on those who may happen to differ from him, and on Chinamen generally. Notably this is the case with regard to missionaries, at whose successes he sneers, and on whose converts he throws doubt and derision.

We have added Lieutenant Mill's short account of his journey from Peking to the Yangtzu to the list of books at the head of this article, in order to point the contrast between Mr. Little's views on subjects of international interest and those of this traveller. In the charming account Mr. Mill gives of his journey there breathes the spirit of kindly tolerance and wide sympathy, which made him a welcome guest, whether at Chinese inns, Roman Catholic stations, or Protestant missions. By him every attempt to raise men to a higher level is recognised as a distinct good; and in his charitable view of the labours of others he finds no room for carping criticism and unkindly innuendoes. His attitude towards the Chinese also is that of a sympathetic and honest observer; and it is by the presence of such men in the country that the prejudices and misapprehensions of the Chinese with regard to foreigners and their intentions will best be combated.

In reviewing the political position at the present time, it cannot but be gratifying to the national feeling to see how the straightforward and considerate policy of the British Government, as reflected by the Legation in Peking, has gained the confidence and good-will of the Chinese cabinet. The several questions which have of late years arisen in dispute between the two countries—such for instance as the murder of Margery, the annexation of Upper Burma, and the invasion of Sikkim, and which, if handled in a narrow or dictatorial spirit, may have created ill-will and lasting resentment—have happily confirmed the Chinese in their belief in the strict honesty of our intentions and the absence of any desire on our part to encroach upon their borders. Unfortunately their relations with Russia on the north, and France on the south, have produced an opposite effect. The unremitting efforts of Russia to advance southwards, which have been but half concealed by preliminary diplomatic assurances, and stand wholly confessed by her

course of subsequent action, have created a profound feeling of distrust in the minds of Chinese statesmen; while the policy of aggrandisement pursued by France in Tonquin has aroused a feeling of hostility towards that power to which the uncompromising protectorate she has been in the habit of exercising over the Roman Catholic missionaries of all nationalities has added force and bitterness.

As we have already pointed out, it is impossible not to feel some sympathy with the Russians in their desire to secure a port in the Pacific where free ingress and egress may be secured for their ships at any time of the year. But it is equally impossible to feel anything but amazement at the folly, and wonder at the recklessness, of the French aggressions in Tonquin. 'You come to China,' said a French official once to an English consul, 'with your merchandise; we with our ideas.' And this is true not only of China, but also of Tonquin. Having wasted vast sums of money and poured out streams of blood, they have overrun the country—it cannot be said that they have conquered or subdued it—and with what result? The foreign trade is almost entirely in the hands of the English, Chinese, and Germans, while the French inhabitants, under the demoralising influence of Eastern life, which appears to have a particularly pernicious effect on the French character, are rapidly lowering their own ideas to those of the surrounding nations. Fortunately we are free from the temptations which have proved too much for the virtue of Russia and the self-restraint of France. We have given abundant proofs of our friendly feeling towards China, and of our desire to fall in with her wishes; and we have every confidence that a continuance of the same wise and considerate policy will still further unite the two empires in the bonds of peace and goodwill.

ART. VIII.—*The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, K.G., G.C.B., &c.* From his Memoirs and Private and Official Papers. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1888.

THE life of such a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe could scarcely fail to be interesting, even if written with a much smaller amount of literary skill than Mr. Lane-Poole has at his disposal. As it is, the author, or rather the editor, has accomplished his task with great industry and ability. He is, indeed, occasionally guilty of somewhat ambitious writing; and in some of his comments on the course of events we find ourselves in disagreement with his conclusions; but he has been for the most part satisfied with leaving his hero to tell his own story and to explain his own conduct, sometimes, indeed, at a length which might have been curtailed with advantage. This result is mainly due to the author's very natural desire to let Lord Stratford speak for himself, and to the immense mass of materials placed at his disposal.

When approaching his 80th year Lord Stratford commenced writing his memoirs, and continued the task at intervals till within a few days of his death, at the age of 94. These memoirs, we are told, are fairly consecutive down to 1829. After that date they become fragmentary, though still 'full of interest.' Such as they are, they form the backbone of the present work, but are largely extended from Lord Stratford's official despatches, of which about 15,000 have passed through Mr. Lane-Poole's hands, and from his private letters and correspondence with not only his personal friends and relations, but also successive secretaries of state, ambassadors, and naval or military commanders-in-chief. Mr. Lane-Poole has also drawn largely from a special class of papers, to which he gives the name of 'local communications.' These are the instructions written for the dragomans when sent on a message to the ministers of the Porte, with the replies as noted by the dragomans, which have been preserved to the number of many thousands, now forming a most valuable, as strictly contemporary, record of opinion and of daily work. The mere reading through such a pile of manuscript must have been exceedingly laborious; the more so, as much, perhaps most of it, had little biographical or permanent interest; and if, in the end, the author has passed some pages which might better have

been omitted or abstracted, those will most readily excuse the error who have themselves gone through similar drudgery and been subjected to a similar temptation.

The interest of Lord Stratford's career is due not alone to the importance of his services, but, in an almost equal degree, to the number of them, ranging over a period of fifty-two years. His long life and sustained intellectual power are in themselves phenomenal: his reminiscences, extending back over three generations, reach into the fourth; and events long ranked in the history of the past are now brought before us as things of the living present. It is with a feeling akin to awe that we find a man writing but a few years ago of his recollections of a schoolboy holiday in celebration of Lord Howe's victory; of his listening to a speech 'delivered by William Pitt;' or of his seeing the 'grand procession of king, lords, and commons, which went to St. Paul's to return thanks for the great naval victories.' This thanksgiving was on December 19, 1797, when Stratford Canning was eleven years old. He was born on November 4, 1786.

After a more than respectable, but not exceptionally brilliant, term at Eton, he went up to Cambridge in 1806 as a scholar of King's College. His stay there was short. In the following spring he was appointed by his cousin, George Canning, who then became Foreign Secretary, to a junior post in the Foreign Office; and in the autumn of 1807 he was attached to the special and fruitless embassy to Copenhagen. He does not seem, however, to have vacated his scholarship till 1808, when he was appointed secretary of the embassy sent to negotiate peace at Constantinople. Even then he understood that the arrangement was merely temporary, that he was to retain his post in the Foreign Office, 'though without receiving the salary,' and might look forward to completing his residence at Cambridge. Fate had decreed it otherwise. Diplomacy he was forced into, and in diplomacy he remained for the rest of his life.

The circumstances of Mr. Adair's embassy have long been matter of history. The Turks had been coquetting with the French alliance and the Berlin decree, although, alone of all the continental Powers, they had not yet accepted it. They wished to remain neutral, but were dazzled and intimidated by the French successes. In the preceding year Admiral Duckworth had been sent to lend material support to the English ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot; but, after forcing his way through the Dardanelles, he failed in his attempt to bring pressure on the Porte, and had been glad to effect

a safe retreat into the Mediterranean, Mr. Arbuthnot accompanying him. It was now, after more than eighteen months of doubtful hostilities, believed that the Porte was more peaceably inclined, or was at any rate disposed to negotiate. Mr. Adair accordingly arrived in the Dardanelles on November 11, 1808, but he was not permitted to pass. A plenipotentiary was sent to confer with him. The Turks, fearful of offending Napoleon, were bent on delay; and 'no stone was left unturned by the French in order to dissuade or to deter the Porte from accepting our terms.' Between Adair in the Dardanelles and the French chargé d'affaires at Constantinople it was a match of intrigue and bluster. The Frenchman appealed to Austerlitz or Jena, and threatened the Emperor's wrath; the Englishman spoke of Vimeiro and the convention of Cintra, taking care that the incidents lost nothing in the telling; and the news of the war between England and Russia probably turned the scale. Notwithstanding the recent hostilities, the Turks felt instinctively that the enemy of Russia must be their friend, and that the ally of Russia was not to be trusted; thus, after two weary months had dragged along, the Treaty of the Dardanelles was signed on January 5, 1809. This treaty was, strangely enough, the turning point of young Canning's career, and he has himself told how it came to pass.

'Late one evening,' he says, 'almost immediately after the conclusion of peace, as I was pacing the deck with Mr. Adair, he suddenly turned round to me and said that, after the exchange of ratifications, he was to be the king's ambassador at Constantinople; but that, instead of remaining there, he was to go on to Vienna in the same character, as soon as our relations with Austria would admit of it. He then inquired whether I should like to have the appointment of secretary to the Turkish embassy, which, on his departure, might lead to my having for a time the direction of its affairs as minister plenipotentiary. After expressing my thanks for his kindness, I assured him that I had no wish but to resume my office in England, and that the proposed opening in diplomacy, if realised in my favour, would only take me away from a line which I preferred. There, to the best of my recollection, our conversation dropped; but I presume that he persisted in his idea, as in due time my commission, agreeably to what he had suggested, came out together with his letters of credence.'

And with the commission came a private letter from his cousin, the Foreign Secretary:—

'I have great pleasure in sending you your appointment of minister plenipotentiary, although I hope you may not soon have occasion to make use of it. Mr. Adair's reports of you, and yours of him, lead me to wish that he may continue where he is, and you with him; at

the same time that I feel myself justified on public grounds in doing what, on private grounds *alone*, you know me well enough to know I would *not* do, in your favour, in the event of his coming away.'

The course of affairs at Vienna, the French victories, and the treaty of Schönbrunn, necessarily modified Mr. Adair's programme. He did not leave Turkey till July 1810, and then only to return to England; Canning, by virtue of the dormant commission, becoming minister plenipotentiary. He was not yet twenty-four when the responsibilities of the post fell on him, increased in an extraordinary degree by the entire want of instructions from home.

'The instructions,' he says, 'under which I had to act were simply those addressed to the late ambassador, in so far as they remained in vigour. They could not of course be followed without due attention to fresh experience and change of circumstances. No provision had been made in them for my particular guidance when left alone, and it is remarkable that during the whole term of my independent service I received no further directions on any but the most ordinary matters. This is the more strange, as our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Wellesley, enjoyed so high a reputation for talent and activity. To the best of my remembrance, the most important despatch addressed to me by him related to some manuscript copies of classical works supposed to have been stored away in the Seraglio. I concluded that the great man overlooked so insignificant a youth as myself, until it came to my knowledge that his brother at Cadiz fared no better. . . . In one instance no official communication reached me in the space of fifteen weeks.'

He was thus thrown entirely on his own resources; and though at first the business was not of a high political character, it was important, and proved embarrassing. The Archipelago was swarming with French privateers, which were permitted to carry their prizes into Turkish ports and there sell them. Repeated instances of this violation of neutrality called forth indignant protests from Canning; but the English force in those waters was very small. Sir Charles Cotton wrote that it was impossible to spare more ships; and Sir Edward Pellew, who succeeded to the command in 1811, declined to do so without definite instructions from the Admiralty. The Porte, indeed, readily enough promised firmans forbidding the sheltering of privateers; but French influence was very strong; French prestige was overwhelming; and the firmans were either not sent out, or were ignored at the several ports. Under these circumstances Canning decided to accept the responsibility, and called on the senior naval officer in the Archipelago to ~~take~~ take the law into his own hands, although, by the Treaty of

the Dardanelles, the 'three mile' rule had been extended to Turkey. The senior officer at that time was Commander Hope, of the 'Espoir,' known a few years later, when in command of the 'Endymion,' by his capture of the United States frigate 'President.' He now, on the receipt of Canning's letter, 'entered the port of Napoli di Romania, and 'demanded the restitution of the prizes detained piratically 'by a French privateer under the guns of that fortress. The 'privateer ran his prizes ashore and burned them; several 'shots were fired by our corvette; the fortress remained 'mute.' The Porte, of course, complained; but Canning justified his action on the ground of the Turks having first violated their own neutrality by sheltering the privateers and prizes. 'I had never reason,' he writes, 'to suppose that 'the Government at home blamed my conduct. The desired 'impression was made, and its eventual result left nothing 'to be wished.'

But before this troublesome business was settled, one of greater political importance gave Canning the opportunity to exhibit his strength and tact in a measure that he never excelled in the whole course of his long career. Since the Treaty of Tilsit, Russia had been apparently bound to the interests of France: she had declared war against England, and had found matter of quarrel with Turkey, where she was free to seek her own advantage. Russian troops had occupied the Principalities; and through the summers of 1809 and 1810 there had been severe fighting on the Danube, with no very unequal result. As long as Russia continued hostile to England and friendly to France, her war with Turkey was not, in itself, hurtful to English interests; nor could England interfere, save so far as the presence of her fleet in the Baltic could divert part of the Russian forces. In the autumn of 1810, however, the fortune of war seemed to declare against the Turks, who, after some encouraging successes, sustained a severe defeat, followed by the loss of Rustchuk and Giurgevo. The Sultan's ministers were alarmed, and requested the active intervention of England: something, they thought, might be done in the Baltic; and, 'either by arms or negotiation,' Russia could be forced to make a peace 'by which the integrity of 'the Ottoman empire should be secured.' The difficulty was that, whilst the Russians would expect to reap the reward of their success, the Turks positively refused 'to treat 'on any basis involving a cession of territory.'

It was just at this time that Canning had hints of a pos-



sible rupture between France and Russia; in that case peace would be concluded between Russia and England, and peace between Russia and Turkey would be desirable. It became, therefore, his immediate object to bring the Porte into a more conciliatory frame of mind, so as to render negotiations possible. But the Turkish ministers were obstinate and suspicious; they refused all concession, and spoke of their resources, of their ability to defend themselves. Canning expressed his gratification at hearing this; he looked forward, he said, 'with hope and impatience to the moment 'when these resources should be employed against the 'enemy, so that Russia, if not forced to renounce all her 'pretensions, might at least be defied with impunity.' England might, indeed, be willing to act in the best interests of Turkey, with a view to concluding a peace; but 'if Russia 'was determined to insist on some cession, and the Porte 'equally determined to make none, it could not be effected 'by negotiation; the only hope would lie in a vigorous 'exercise of force.' To this end, therefore, must the co-operation of England be directed, and 'an English fleet in 'the Black Sea would be most likely to bring the Russians 'to the terms desired.' It had been already offered and refused; but the Porte might perhaps be now of another opinion.

No ships, however, could then be spared for this service; but week by week the probability of war between France and Russia grew stronger, and with it increased the advisability of bringing about a peace between Russia and Turkey. The interest of France, on the other hand, called for a continuance of the war, and the French chargé d'affaires exerted himself to undermine the endeavours of Canning. Both Russians and Turks would seem to have been honestly desirous of peace: the Russians, that they might have their hands free for their prospective and more dangerous enemy; the Turks, because their resources were well nigh exhausted. But the activity of the French chargé d'affaires, the great name of Napoleon, and the extraordinary prestige of the French arms, kept alive the natural obstinacy of the Turks; they would yield nothing; and it was not till they had sustained further severe loss, in October 1811, that the Grand Vizier submitted to the clamour of his soldiers, and an armistice was agreed on 'on the basis of a territorial cession 'by Turkey up to the river Sereth.' Plenipotentiaries had already met at Rustchuk, but the negotiations seemed to be at a dead lock. The Russians, influenced by their decided

successes, were persistent; the Turks, persuaded and threatened by France and Austria, refused to ratify the preliminaries, and requested Canning to write on their behalf to Italinski, the Russian plenipotentiary.

The position was one of great difficulty and delicacy, for we were still at war with Russia, and Canning had no authority to correspond with a Russian official. His masterful readiness to undertake a responsibility stood him in good stead; and on February 19, 1812, he wrote to Italinski, in cautious terms, indeed, but urging that 'the conclusion of peace between Russia and the Porte would be one obstacle the less to peace between Russia and England, and, consequently, to that peace which alone can assure the true repose of the universe.' At the same time he wrote to the Turkish plenipotentiary to the effect that 'peace between Russia and Turkey would remove the last chance of a reconciliation between Russia and France, and that nothing could be more agreeable for the Porte than to be a tranquil spectator while her two most dangerous foes mutually exhausted each other.' As far as the Russians were concerned, the advances were well received, and Italinski was ordered to continue the correspondence. But, meanwhile, Canning had obtained knowledge of a proposal which had been submitted to the Porte for Turkey to join Austria and France in war against Russia, and was able to send a copy of it to Italinski, whose last scruples it went far to remove: he was anxious to set free the troops occupied on the Turkish frontier, and still more to prevent any such alliance as that now threatened. On the other hand, the Porte, quite understanding that England's efforts for peace mainly arose out of her desire to form a strong coalition against France, was not unnaturally suspicious that Turkey's interests might be sacrificed. No doubt Canning's first object was to secure the peace; but he seems to have honestly endeavoured to gain the best possible terms for Turkey, and may be justly accredited with inducing Russia to withdraw some of her pretensions; though his inducements might have fallen on but barren ground had it not been that, towards the end of the negotiation, the Russians were almost as anxious for peace as Canning himself.

'The Turks,' Mr. Lane-Poole says, 'were wrong in their suspicions, . . . but some excuse may be made for them when it is remembered that they had already had more than enough of French, Russian, and Austrian intrigue; and it was but natural to suppose that now it was the turn of England. The situation was certainly peculiar. When

England and Russia were still formally at war, Admiral Tchitchagoff wrote to Canning, "by the express order of the Emperor," to inform him that Italinski was ordered to proceed to Constantinople to arrange an alliance with the Porte in concert with the British ambassador.'

After many delays and much angry correspondence between Canning and the suspicious Turks, the treaty was signed at Bucharest, on May 28, 1812, the Russians accepting the boundary of the Pruth, and abandoning most of their claims in Asia. Moderate as were the cessions under the circumstances, the Turks did not relish them, and to the very last contended against them. The contention would have been more to the purpose if it could have been made in the field with a well-disciplined army, supported by a well-filled treasury: a nation that will not, in peace, provide for war, has no right to expect favourable results. Eight days after the ratification Canning was relieved by Mr. Liston, to whom he 'joyfully delivered the charge of the mission,' and left for England. He was not yet twenty-six, but he had taken rank as a consummate diplomatist. The Government expressed their entire approval of his conduct, and

'the Emperor of Russia instructed Count Nesselrode to convey to Lord Castlereagh his sense of the effectual manner in which "M. de Canning" had contributed to accelerate the last peace with Turkey, "cet événement si important par les conséquences qu'il devait avoir," and supplemented this communication with the present of a snuff-box, with the Czar's portrait set in diamonds.'

A memorandum by the Duke of Wellington, written some years later and in misconception of the circumstances of the negotiation, bore unwitting testimony in his favour which Canning prized more highly than all others put together. The Duke was commenting on the effective resistance offered by the Russian army of the Danube to the French in their retreat from Moscow, and added:—

'In respect to the Porte, the British Government seized the earliest opportunity of exerting their influence, and succeeded in inducing the Porte to make peace with Russia, thus relieving his imperial majesty from the contest with the Porte, and from the necessity of defending himself on his south-east frontier. If the great statesman who at that period conducted the foreign affairs of Great Britain had never rendered to his own country or the world any other service than those above noticed, his name would have gone down to posterity as the man who had foreseen and had afterwards seized the opportunity of rendering to the world the most important service that ever fell to the lot of any individual to perform.'

The Duke of Wellington did not know that the man to

whom his encomium applied was Stratford Canning, and that the Marquis Wellesley had absolutely no share in the transaction he was praising.

During the next two years Canning lived in London, entering into society in a sedate sort of way, and frequently attending the debates in the House of Commons. He would fain have taken part in these; but the terms of his pension in the diplomatic service, on which he was dependent, barred him from parliamentary life. Thus the months slipped away till, in April 1814, on the downfall of Napoleon, he crossed over to Paris; compared the France he saw with the France he had read of; was presented to the king and to the Emperor of Russia; and then too, he says, 'at a fête given by Prince Schwarzenberg, at St. Cloud, I saw, and never saw again, the handsome youth who was destined to hold the reins of empire in Russia, to keep all Europe in alarm for thirty years, and to close a proud career under the pressure of a disastrous war.' He met also Lord Castlereagh, who offered him the post of 'Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary' to Switzerland, which he accepted. The very kind and flattering way in which Castlereagh made the offer won Canning's good opinion. He had previously considered him merely as the antagonist of his cousin and patron, and seems to have been surprised to find him 'a good-natured, high-minded, generous man,' 'possessing much good feeling and kindly manner.'

It was about this time that Canning published a poem of some 250 lines, in heroic verse, under the title of 'Buonaparte.' It achieved no great success with the public at the time, and is certainly not likely to do so now, though Mr. Lane-Poole has reproduced it at full length. It would have been wiser to leave it in the limbo of forgotten verses; its republication can answer no useful end except to call attention to the fact that Canning could write verse like a gentleman, but not like a poet. In fact, the only interest attaching to it is the exaggerated praise it drew from Byron, who wrote to Murray, the publisher: 'I have no guess at your author, but it is a noble poem, and worth a thousand odes of anybody's. . . . After reading it, I really regret having written my own; I say this very sincerely, albeit unused to think humbly of myself.' And in a subsequent note he added: 'I do not think less highly of "Buonaparte" for knowing the author. I was aware that he was a man of talent, but did not suspect him of possessing *all* the family talents in such perfection.'

From Switzerland, whither Canning went almost immediately on his appointment, he was called in October to Vienna, where he was joined, as an additional member, to a committee formed for the consideration of Swiss questions. These did not prove very engrossing, and left him with plenty of leisure to look about him at a time when, as he wrote afterwards, 'Vienna was crowded with strangers of every description. . . . Sovereigns, ministers, and ambassadors were to be met with at every turn. The theatres overflowed, and the Prater was enlivened with long lines of brilliant equipages.' Such a company provided both study and amusement to a young diplomatist; and his familiar letters at this time are full of interest. Talleyrand was one of the many acquaintances he made, and of him he writes:—

'He is the professor and protector of all that is sound in principle, pure in virtue, and venerable in establishment. He can't bear Jacobins, and wonders what people can mean by talking of anything but the indefeasible prerogatives of kings and the inalienable rights of nations. . . . Some little time ago he was inveighing with great vehemence against Jacobinism and Jacobins, when I took the liberty of saying to him, "Votre Altesse en a connu quelques uns." "Oui," said he, "je les ai tous connus—il n'y avait entre eux que l'égoïsme et l'intérêt personnel—pas le moindre sentiment pour la patrie." . . . His manner is pleasing and gentlemanlike. His voice is low and monotonous. His address is awkward from his lameness, but not embarrassed. His countenance is almost always the same—impassive, yet by no means wanting intelligence. . . . It puts me in mind of a rapid stream, frozen over smoothly and transparently enough to show the current without discovering its bottom. . . . His appearance is quizzical. Besides his spindle legs and twisted ankles, which oblige him to walk in semicircles, not unlike a bad skater, he wears a monstrous coat, and a wig of natural hair in proportion, frizzed with great care, discovering, rather coquettishly, a part of his forehead, descending solemnly and profusely over his ears, and terminating, I think, in a pigtail behind.'

He describes at great length his interviews and conversations with the Duke of Wellington, of whom, from first to last, he was an enthusiastic admirer, and of whom, many years afterwards, he wrote in his memoirs: 'On his first appearance in public I happened to be with him. He was recognised by the people and cheered. He drew himself up in a stately manner and received their cheers with the glasses of his carriage down. The scene went to my heart, and for once in my life I kissed a man's hand.'

On the news of Bonaparte's escape from Elba, the con-

gress broke up, and Canning returned to Switzerland, whence, in the following spring, he went home on leave. At this time he married, and in August his bride accompanied him to his post. Her presence gave a new charm both to the scenery and the society. Unfortunately, she died within the year; and Canning, taking a disgust at both diplomacy and Switzerland, resolved, at any rate, on a change. It was, however, two years before he was relieved, and then only to be sent, in a similar capacity, to the United States. His life at Washington passed pleasantly enough, but was uneventful, and might have been adequately described in much less space than his biographer has devoted to it. In the life of a man who did so much, it was scarcely necessary to fill forty pages with social reminiscences or anecdotes of primitive simplicity or barbarism, which might easily be capped, and which serve little purpose except to illustrate Canning's singular want of humour. One of his personal adventures is thus described. It was at an evening party of a more or less formal kind—presidential or diplomatic—that

‘a trifling incident threatened to destroy his peace of mind. A young lady gave him a flower, and he accepted it, and thought it a very pretty proceeding. To his dismay, one of his friends informed him that this was the recognised form of betrothal at Washington. His Excellency, in a terrible state of consternation, rushed to his room, and addressed a despatch to the girl, disclaiming any particular signification that might be attached to the simple operation of placing a flower, given by her fair hands, in his button-hole, and requesting her to reply in similar terms. A regular convention was signed, and Canning got out of the scrape like a good diplomatist, without cession or indemnity.’

One letter written during this period—on September 29, 1821, is interesting, not from its American, but its Eastern reference, contrasting, as it seems to do, with his later opinions. He says:—

‘The only very pressing subject of speculation that we enjoy is the interchange of massacres between the Turks and the Greeks. . . . To me, as an ancient sojourner at Constantinople, the struggle is full of interest; but I have not yet succeeded in persuading myself that the Greeks have a chance of recovering their freedom. . . . I speak of probabilities: as a matter of humanity, I wish with all my soul that the Greeks were put in possession of their whole patrimony, and that the Sultan were driven, bag and baggage, into the heart of Asia, or, as a provisional measure, that the divided empire which existed four centuries ago could be restored.’

Greece was, in fact, the focus of the Eastern Question for

the next ten or twelve years; and so far as England was concerned, the difficulty was increased by the sentimental policy of Lord Strangford, the minister at Constantinople, who, whilst his Government was anxious to guard against Russia using the Greek revolt as a pretext for aggression, had preferred endeavouring to obtain material support for the insurgents; and, in direct opposition to his instructions, had recommended to Count Nesselrode that 'a collective menace of the Powers should be addressed to Turkey.' Shortly after Canning's return from America, in the autumn of 1823, it was arranged that he should again go out to Constantinople; but before he could start, it was determined that he should first represent this country at a conference which the Czar had invited to assemble at St. Petersburg, and discuss a plan for 'the pacification and reconstruction of Greece,' retaining the sovereignty of the Porte. The proposal, however, became known; and in August 1824 the so-called Provisional Government of the Greeks sent an indignant remonstrance to the English Foreign Secretary, 'protesting against the Russian proposals as cruel and oppressive, and calling upon England to protect the Greeks in their struggle for liberty against this uninvited and tyrannical intervention of the Powers.' This altered the views of the English Government. As both the belligerents—Turks and Greeks—protested against the conference, it seemed to George Canning useless to hold it, and he signified to the Russian minister that England could not take part in it. Out of deference to the Czar, however, it was resolved that Canning should still go to St. Petersburg, but not to enter the conference. The policy of England, he was instructed, was—to prevent the breaking out of new quarrels; by friendly mediation to compose existing differences, or, where that was hopeless, to narrow their range as much as possible; and, for herself, to maintain 'an imperturbable neutrality' in all cases where nothing occurred to affect injuriously her interests or honour. In the present instance the clause of more immediate import was that as to narrowing the range of existing hostilities; and Mr. Canning instructed his cousin that 'to forcible intervention England could not be a party, nor, by consequence, to councils that might lead to it;' and, to put this on a clear footing, 'a previous and public disavowal of force' by all the Powers was a necessary preliminary to England's intervention.

Nothing has ever been published as to Mr. Canning's detailed views regarding the pacification of Greece. Mr.

Lane-Poole, with wider opportunities of knowing, now says that 'so far as written documents, public or private, are concerned, his plans were vague.' He considered the creation of an independent Greek kingdom as impracticable, and the restoration of the old Turkish tyranny as out of the question. But we have no knowledge of what he proposed to settle between the two. Of Stratford Canning's opinions, both private and official, Mr. Lane-Poole is better able to speak. His early letter from America, already referred to, gives no uncertain sound; and about the same time he wrote to one of his most intimate friends:—

'The poor Greeks! . . . I wish to God it were possible to wring a cession of territory for their separate and independent establishment out of the Porte. There are plenty of rogues among them, but they are entitled to our compassion, and I wish to heaven that the interests of Europe would allow of letting the Russians loose *tout bonnement* on the Sultan and his hordes.'

This, or something like it, was unquestionably the general expression of educated feeling rather than opinion; but Canning, when writing officially, was a little more moderate, though even then he said:—

'To induce the Porte to recede in any degree from the contest in which she is now engaged, an apprehension of something worse than the continuance of that contest . . . must be presented to her imagination. War . . . with some of the principal Powers of Europe . . . must be made to appear the probable consequence of protracted hostilities between the Porte and her Greek subjects.'

Of Canning's visit to Vienna and St. Petersburg in 1825 it is unnecessary to speak at any length. Austria and Russia held very different, and, in some sense, antagonistic views; and Canning was instructed not to enter the conference without an explicit declaration of the allies among themselves not to use force or menace. No such declaration would they make; and the practical result of Canning's mission, so far as Greece was concerned, was *nil*, though Mr. Lane-Poole thinks that it 'cleared the way for the later 'agreement,' which, however, seems very doubtful. But one thing accomplished by it was the settlement of the Anglo-Russian boundary in North-West America, by a treaty in which Russia tacitly relinquished an extravagant claim, which she had put forward in 1821, to 'exclusive maritime 'rights in the Pacific.'

On Canning's return to England he married for a second time, and, with his wife, started for Constantinople in



October. The work immediately before him was, of course, the Greek question. Like volcanic dust, it penetrated everywhere; in Western Europe it was recognised that the settlement of it was no easy matter; at Constantinople the difficulties seemed intensified. Canning was in his heart as warm a phil-hellene as any in England; but he could see, as his brother phil-hellenes in England could not, that the Greeks were not in a condition to achieve their independence, and that the Turks were quite aware of it. To them, and—had they only not been Turks—to all Europe, the Greeks were rebels whose sanguinary uprisings had provoked as sanguinary suppressions, and who had not shown any capability of sustaining their revolt. Nearly two years before the Porte had protested to Lord Stratford against the assumed right of the Christian Powers to prepare a scheme for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and against the assistance given to the rebels in ‘arms and money and ‘counsel and succours of every description.’ Without that assistance the rebellion would have been speedily put down; and the delay in doing so, in face of these disadvantages, gave the Powers no right to parcel out the empire into independent states.

Throughout his narrative of these troubled years Mr. Lane-Poole seems to be perplexed by his desire to show the Cannings as practical statesmen and his consciousness that in this matter they were largely guided by the same sentiment that ruled public opinion.

‘Europe,’ he says, ‘had resolved to free the Greeks. The statesmen, indeed, were not so much moved as the poets and enthusiasts, and Greece owed much to the circumstance that both the Cannings belonged to the second as well as the first category. It is true that George Canning was on his guard against laying too much stress upon the heroic past of Hellas; he dreaded sentimental statecraft, and wished to find something which “had nothing to do with Epaminondas” as a ground for mediation. But let the reason be what it might, Greece must never again be under the Turkish yoke. Stratford was sent out to secure that end; and, although from the first he saw that the odds were heavily against him, he took up the cause *con amore*.’

It was, however, extremely difficult to see on what ground diplomacy could base its intervention. Menace was forbidden; philanthropy the Turks could not understand; and when charged with the atrocities committed in the Morea or elsewhere, they had the valid defence that the Greeks were at least as bad as themselves.

‘This,’ says Mr. Lane-Poole, ‘was unhappily true enough, as the

full of Navarino and Tripolitza had shown.\* The rebels took their full share of treachery and murder, and Canning himself was obliged to admit that, wishing well, as he must, to the Greeks, "there is no denying that, with few exceptions, they are a most rascally set."

In this difficulty the prevalence of piracy in the Archipelago seemed a grievance of which something might be made. 'Take up the commercial grievances and press them hard,' wrote George Canning to the ambassador; 'if we are to have a quarrel, we must have the mercantile interest with us.' It was only courting a rebuff; for it was as patent to the Turks as to the Franks that the pirates of the Archipelago were Greeks, and the reply followed as a matter of course: 'Let us put down our rebellious rayas in Greece without any more of this foreign meddling and disavowed support to the rebels, and you will soon hear no more of piracy.' It is unnecessary, and would be tedious, to dwell on the details of the attempt to disentangle, by diplomacy, a knot with which diplomacy had really nothing to do. The problem was curiously complicated by the revolt of the Janissaries in June 1826, and the suppression of the revolt by the wholesale butchery of the mutineers. They had proved themselves untrustworthy against the enemy, and a danger to the empire, and their suppression had become a state necessity, though civilisation stands aghast at the way in which it was carried out. But at the time their fate passed almost unnoticed; it did not touch Occidental sympathies or sentiment, which dwelt on the memories of Marathon, Thermopylæ, or Salamis, of Homer, of Æschylus, of Plato; whilst thousands to whom these were mere names yet felt their hearts aglow with the reflected fire of Byron's song. But the glamour of the old Greek names was such that even practical men like Canning and Codrington could see clearly the atrocities on one side only. Stratford Canning's desire from the first was to give the Greeks material support. His official language was moderate perforce; his private letters breathed fire and flame, broadsides and blockades. In September 1827 he received news of the

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\* See Finlay's 'History of the Greek Revolution,' vol. i. pp. 263, 268. Mr. Finlay was an ardent phil-hellene, and his evidence is conclusive that the Greeks first struck the keynote of this terrible war of massacre. His account of the outbreak of the revolt is headed 'Extermination of the Turks in Greece,' and records how, in April and May 1821, a Mussulman population of 20,000 souls, employed in agriculture, men, women, and children, was murdered without mercy or remorse. *Ibid.* p. 172.

Treaty of London, concluded on July 6, by which England, France, and Russia agreed to carry out the terms of the protocol of St. Petersburg (April 4, 1826). He wrote forthwith to Lord Dudley, the then Foreign Secretary :—

‘Put your shoulder to the Greek treaty and enable us to carry it through with acclamation. If not, good my lord, pray let me go. I have been leading a dog’s life here for some time, but I do not wish to be treated like a dog. . . . You will not go to war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer dares not; the Archbishop of Canterbury might, but Lord Stowell will not let him. War, then, will perhaps go to you.’

His comment on the treaty was : ‘It is good, but it should ‘have come sooner;’ and many years afterwards he thus explained his view of its meaning :—

‘The spirit of that agreement was peaceful interference recommended by a friendly demonstration of force. *Pacem bello miscuit*. Three squadrons sent by the allies were to shelter Greece from invasion by sea. The three ambassadors at Constantinople were to press their offers of mediation on the Porte. The instructions were identical, and the squadrons were to receive their ulterior directions from the respective embassies.’

In his memoirs, Canning credits Sir Edward Codrington with a warlike zeal which does not appear in Codrington’s own correspondence: he seems, at this later date, to have thought that Codrington’s enthusiasm was at least equal to his own; and refers to the time-honoured but altogether mythical ‘Go it, Ned,’ as a matter of authentic history. At the same time he says that Codrington ‘no sooner reached his station ‘off the Morea than he wrote privately to me professing an ‘uncomfortable uncertainty as to what he was to do, and ‘requesting some information which might help him to see ‘his way more clearly.’ But as Codrington’s instructions referred him to the ambassador for ‘ulterior directions,’ it is difficult to see what else he could do, or how, without a full sense of the grave responsibility he was incurring, Canning could answer :—

‘I have considered and talked over with my colleagues the several questions mentioned in your letters. . . . On the subject of collision, we agree that, although the measures to be executed by you are not adopted in a hostile spirit, and although it is clearly the intention of the allied Governments to avoid, if possible, anything that may bring on war, yet the prevention of supplies is ultimately to be enforced, if necessary, and when all other means are exhausted, by cannon-shot.’

Long years afterwards, when age had sobered Lord Stratford’s enthusiasm, and experience had taught him that the Turk, with his bag and baggage, was of some use where the

course of mediæval history had placed him, he appears to have persuaded himself that the weight of the responsibility of Navarino rested on the admiral. 'The situation,' he wrote in his memoirs, 'was brimful of embarrassment, and 'Sir Edward Codrington may be excused for taking a step 'which, however unforeseen and unauthorised, was well 'calculated to meet both causes of anxiety;' and again: 'I 'should have avoided the expression of "cannon-shot," and 'used—though writing privately—the more diplomatic phrase 'of coercion or forcible measures, had I received the slightest 'intimation of Sir Edward's fiery and enterprising spirit;' and again: 'One thing is certain, that, whatever justification the 'admirals might derive from local circumstances, neither the 'letter nor the spirit of their instructions could be cited to 'warrant their hazardous but effective decision;' for, Mr. Lane-Poole urges, 'the recommendation of cannon-shot 'applied only to the stoppage of warlike supplies.' Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, writing nearly fifty years after date, would seem to have forgotten that he had, in fact, written to the admiral in terms different from, if not stronger than, those here quoted, and without any reference to supplies.

'The true meaning of the second instruction under the treaty is that we mean to enforce, by cannon-shot if necessary, the armistice which is the object of the treaty; the object being to interpose the allied forces and to keep the peace by the speaking-trumpet if possible, but in case of necessity by force.\*

With such letters from the ambassador, his official counsellor and guide, it is scarcely necessary to refer to 'Sir 'Edward's fiery and enterprising spirit' for the explanation of the 'untoward event' of October 20. Codrington read the treaty and the ambassador's gloss on it, and forthwith did what the sense of the one and the literal words of the other told him to do. Had George Canning lived, probably no voice but one of praise and congratulation would have been heard; but the prime minister died in August, and his successors, wanting his poetry or enthusiasm, had perhaps a clearer view of the danger which might follow the destruction of the Turkish fleet. Under the circumstances, it was impossible to censure Codrington, but advantage was taken of the first misunderstanding to recall him.

Meanwhile, at Constantinople, on the first news of the battle, the position was extremely serious. According to Canning's own account,

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\* Lady Bouchier's 'Life of Sir Edward Codrington,' vol. i. p. 417.

'the Sultan was furious, and his first impulse, as we were afterwards informed, was to hold the ambassadors responsible for what had occurred. . . . Our persons were respected, but at night our houses were surrounded by military patrols. Our dragomen were summoned to attend at the Porte. . . . They returned with a message that the ambassadors had violated the law of nations. Not knowing what was to follow, I burnt that same night a number of papers, which, although there was not a syllable in them at variance with what we had declared in previous communications, might have been misinterpreted by angry examiners, and perverted to our prejudice. Fortunately, the Sultan was brought into milder counsels. . . . It was also fortunate that the Mussulman population viewed with indifference an event which in earlier times might have roused them to acts of sanguinary vengeance. This, I conceived, was owing to the recent destruction of the Janissaries, who were part of the people, and formidable only to the Government.'

As, however, the Porte positively refused to accept any terms of pacification other than the absolute submission of the Greeks, further negotiation was held to be useless. The ambassadors thought that the threat of breaking off diplomatic relations might suffice; but it proved of no avail. They then demanded their passports, which were refused, on the ground that they were acting without orders from their courts; and, not to be beaten, Canning and the French ambassador slipped away on the night of December 8, embarked on board a couple of country vessels, and passed the Dardanelles without hindrance. Russia declared war, and Canning believed that England and France ought to have done the same, or at any rate have sent a joint expedition into the Morea and compelled the Porte to grant the demands of the allies. Some such plan, he implies in his memoirs, was the only way of saving Turkey from her overpowering enemy. In part, at least, this must have been an afterthought; in 1828 Canning had little care for the Turks, though even then he did not wish the question to be solved by Russian victories, and 'the whole issue of the business 'left to turn exclusively on the moderation and self-denial 'of the Emperor Nicholas.' The Duke of Wellington would not assent to Canning's views, though eventually a French expeditionary force, some 20,000 strong, was sent to the Morea, the ambassadors being nevertheless directed to return to the East, with the principal object of reporting on the boundaries that should be proposed for Greece as an independent State. Canning had, however, scarcely arrived on the station before it appeared that his views on every point of detail were essentially different from those of Lord

Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary; and after some unpleasant correspondence, he was superseded, and returned to England, the Grand Cross of the Bath being conferred on him, at once as a reward for past labours and a salve to wounded feelings. Three years later he was again sent out as the representative of England in the settlement of the Greek question. The independence of Greece had been acknowledged, but the details of the frontier had been left open; and much tedious negotiation had to be gone through before they could be agreed on. A final meeting was then appointed for signing the convention; but this meeting lasted from shortly after ten o'clock one forenoon till near three o'clock the next morning, with only a short interval for dinner.

'The sixteen hours,' wrote Lord Stratford in his memoirs, 'passed away on wings laden with cavil, expostulation, and complaint. Our Mussulman antagonist began by opening a fire of small shot upon our lines. From mere politeness we gave way on matters of no essential consequence; he took courage, and endeavoured to wring more serious concessions from us. Our refusals provoked him: he was reminded that we had met to sign and not to dispute. He declared that he would rather cut off his right hand than put his signature to such a convention. We took the liberty of telling him that if he cut off one hand, he would still have to sign with the other. At last it became necessary to threaten him with the Sultan's indignation. Even the fear of that peril did not immediately subdue him. Weariness and despair at length came to our aid, and the hateful convention received his signature before the light of another sun had fully risen upon its pages (July 22, 1832). . . . Six-and-forty years have closed over that memorable transaction; so long have the Greeks enjoyed the fertile territory which was then shaken out of the Sultan's grasp for their benefit, and so long have they left the price of that cession a dead weight on the resources of their confiding benefactors.'

A few months later Canning returned to England, after a farewell interview with the Sultan, who received him 'for the first time, on his legs,' and invested him with his grand order, 'the insignia being his portrait in miniature, attached to a gold chain and set in diamonds.'

For the next ten years Canning's interest was mainly centred in the House of Commons. He had already represented Old Sarum in the last Parliament of George IV., and in April 1831 had been returned for Stockbridge, consequent on a little arrangement in which 1,000*l.* played a prominent part. On the passing of the Reform Bill, Stockbridge was disfranchised, and Canning, on his return from Constantinople, found himself without a seat. He was, however, almost immediately nominated and gazetted ambassador to

St. Petersburg, and was on the point of setting out when he was astonished by an intimation from Prince Lieven, the Russian Minister in England, that the Czar would not receive him. Attempts were made to overcome the objections, but it was impossible to argue on them, as the reasons were unknown. On March 7, 1833, Lord Palmerston wrote:—

‘The question between us and Nesselrode about your appointment remains where it was. I have repeatedly been told by Lieven and Bligh that the Emperor persisted in declining to receive you, though no reason could be assigned except the old one, “I do not like you,” “Dr. Fell,” and I have as often replied that we looked upon this refusal as a piece of intolerable arrogance, and as an interference with the right of the King of England to choose his own servants, which we never can submit to, and that therefore they must receive you, or have a *chargé d’affaires*; and Lieven the other day said that Nesselrode had no objection to our having a *chargé d’affaires*. I have written Nesselrode some most useful letters, and told him many wholesome truths, hitherto strangers to his ears, by means of private letters to Bligh, sent to him by the common post, and which, of course, Nesselrode has had the advantage of reading; but it is still possible that the Tartar may be stiff-necked, and in that case we cannot send you to be affronted by an offensive reception or by a refusal to receive you at all.’

Meanwhile, pending the solution of this difficulty, Canning was sent on a special mission to Madrid; but on his return in May the question remained where it was. It was not till July 20 that he wrote to Planta, one of his most intimate friends:—

‘We do *not* go to Russia, nor is anyone else to go instead of us; but it remains to be seen whether the Lievens will have to make a back somersault over the Baltic. I am indignant, and so, I understand, are the King and the Government; but the affair is still a mystery, if you please, and not to be talked about. Seriously, the less it is known the better, until the course to be adopted is actually decided upon. Palmerston is ready to do anything for the protection of my *character* and *interests*, which are no doubt exposed in an unpleasant manner. The conduct of Russia throughout the business is as offensive as possible, and only just not worth quarrelling about.’

The reasons of this extraordinary decision of the Czar were and remain a mystery, but there was possibly some truth in the suspicion that the influence of Mme. Lieven, with whom Canning was no favourite, had something to do with it; probably also in the suggestion of Planta that the Emperor ‘did not wish to have as ambassador from this country ‘one who was thoroughly acquainted with the whole policy of ‘Russia towards Turkey, and who best knew the remaining

‘resources of the Porte, if she had any.’ And there the matter ended. Lord Palmerston proposed that Canning should be made a peer, as an official testimony of his Majesty’s approval; but the peculiar position of the Government after passing the Reform Bill rendered it impossible for Earl Grey to arrange it, and nothing further was done. In 1835 he was offered the post of Governor General of Canada, but declined it, partly because he was not in sympathy with the Melbourne administration, and partly because he preferred to sit in Parliament, to which he had just been returned by King’s Lynn. He continued to represent that borough for the next seven years, but during that time he rarely spoke, though his vote was always to be counted on. Although Stratford Canning owed all his success and reputation to diplomacy, in which he stood in the first rank, it is a remarkable circumstance that the grand object of his ambition (which he never obtained) was to throw diplomacy aside, and to hold high political office in this country. He seems to have been unconscious of the obstacles which stood in his way. He was not a party man, and had never formed in England those close party and personal ties which commonly lead to office. Though universally respected, it was not supposed that his character would promote the union of a cabinet; and his highly nervous temperament disqualified him from taking any effective part in parliamentary debate. It seems extraordinary that a man of his power of mind, force of character, and masterful temper should have felt shy and nervous in public, to such an extent that merely walking up the House was a severe trial, and speaking was always painful. ‘I wish,’ he wrote to his wife after one of his attempts—‘I wish I had not a nerve in my body, or that they were all made of cart ropes. *Vive l’impudence!*’ When Sir Robert Peel formed his ministry in 1841, he hoped to have some part in it. Instead of that, he was again offered Canada, which he again declined; finally, he accepted the familiar post of ambassador at Constantinople, for which he was eminently fitted; and there for the next twenty years, with the exception of some short holidays in England, Canning remained. His strength of character and will gave him a pre-eminence not only among the ambassadors, but even among the ministers of the Porte, of whom he was virtually one; and his name and fame, spreading through Europe, identified him, even in the popular mind, with the Eastern Question. During the greater part of the time his work was not diplomacy, strictly so



called, but an active interference in the internal affairs of Turkey, an energetic attempt to bring about such reforms in the constitution and the administration as might render the empire independent in the best and truest sense, able to stand alone, no longer inviting aggression, no longer the prey of the first aggressor. That his manner was not always unobjectionable cannot, we think, be maintained. The task he had undertaken was distinctly outside his province as ambassador, and his diplomatic character gave him but little support. But, having thrown over the wish for the Turks to be driven out 'bag and baggage,' having accepted the Turkish empire as the recognised barrier against Russian encroachment; not indeed as intrinsically the best—for he seems to have continually reverted to the idea of a barrier of small independent states—but as the one actually existing and to be made the best of; having therefore determined that the necessary policy of England and the West was to maintain the Ottoman empire in its integrity, he stepped beyond his authorised functions in order to render it more worthy and more powerful. But the ministers of the Porte, with their dense and obstructive conservatism, with their interminable delays, with their bigotry, with their *bakalum*, 'we shall see,' or their *bukru*, 'to-morrow,' threatened to prove a difficult, if not an insurmountable obstacle; and whether by natural intolerance of opposition, or by deliberate and calculated semblance of passion, Canning occasionally bore himself towards the Porte with a heat and violence which was degrading both to him who offered it and to those who endured it. The power which he had, he prominently displayed: he assumed the airs of a master; made and unmade ministers; stormed and threatened and blustered even in the presence of the Sultan, and made an ostentatious display of a predominant influence which was at once offensive to Europe and humiliating to the Porte. Mr. Lane-Poole frequently refers, with marked satisfaction, to passionate outbursts which, if real, showed a want of self-control, and, if feigned, a want of dignity unbecoming in one to whom he assigns the distinguishing title of *Buyuk Eltchi*—the great ambassador. He tells us, for instance, that

'the Turks might respect his honest truthfulness, but when it took the form of plain-spoken, and sometimes very hotly spoken, reprimand, they began to wish for a little polite insincerity. . . . If they were obliged to endure a mentor, they would at least prefer one who was a trifle less dictatorial. . . . The ministers lived in terror of a personal

visit from the ambassador. When Pisani or even Alison made his appearance at the Porte, it was possible to shuffle and evade, . . . but when the set face of the Eltchi himself penetrated the Sublime Porte, panic seized upon every official; and the Grand Vizier himself would condescend to hasten in a tremor of anxiety to meet his inexorable visitor and learn his behests.'

And he adopts a sentence from Mr. Kinglake, which is meant as praise, but appears to us rather the reverse: 'His fierce temper,' it runs, 'being always under control when purposes of State so required, was far from being an infirmity, and was rather a weapon of exceeding sharpness, for it was so wielded by him as to have more tendency to cause dread and surrender than to generate resistance.' To which Mr. Lane-Poole adds: 'In private, his wrath was less vigilantly guarded, but it is only fair to say that in most cases it was rather the fiery indignation against wrong and falsehood, the fierce scorn of baseness, than the petty irritability of small men;' and he goes on to illustrate this remark by narrating that on one occasion at dinner, presumably 'after a long and exasperating conference with a dilatory minister,' 'dish after dish was sent away in disgust, and finally down came the Eltchi's fist on the too fragile table, and plates and glasses went crashing on the floor with the *disjecta membra* of the unoffending article of furniture.' That Lord Stratford, with what we must call this infirmity of temper, was still a great man, and made himself respected, admired, and loved, as well as feared, is one of the strongest proofs of his real ability and goodness; and it may very well be that occasional displays of violence did produce an effect on the ministers of the Porte which a more measured bearing would have failed to do. It is at least certain that during the early years of his ministry numerous constitutional reforms were adopted; and under his influence vast strides were made towards an approach to the standard and customs of civilised Europe. The official adoption of the European mode of dress—trousers and frock-coat—was one of these; another, Canning thus describes in a familiar letter, February 5, 1843:—

'E. [*sc.* Lady Canning] gave a children's ball some days ago, and we succeeded in getting (for the first time in history) a dozen of Turkish boys and girls of good family to dance with the little Christians. I was glad to hear that the Sultan's prime favourite, who was present, regretted that he had not sent his children too. It is a small matter to read of in this scrawl of mine, but a great and a good deed was done in that hour, and the seed there sown shall be a tree when I am in my grave.'

In 1851 ' he noted as a good sign the novel circumstance ' that the Sultan assisted in person at a Greek wedding, . . . ' positively eating Christian food cooked by Christian hands ; ' and the climax was, perhaps, attained in February 1856, when the Sultan was present at a *bal costumé* given by Lady Stratford.

' Never at Pera was a more gorgeous sight witnessed. The dress uniforms of the English, French, and Sardinian officers were matched and outshone by the rich costumes and jewelled arms of the Armenians, Persians, Kurds, Greeks, Turks, and Albanians who crowded the rooms, by the robes of the Greek patriarch, the Armenian archbishop, and the Jewish high priest. . . . The Sultan was delighted with his "first ball ;" and it must have been a proud moment for Lord Stratford when, in the presence of all his colleagues, he walked hand in hand with the Grand Signior through the files of British soldiers, to the amazement of all beholders. Whose was the triumph that day, when the bars which fenced about the seclusion of the greatest Mussulman sovereign were loosed, and Christian and Turk met on equal terms? . . . Whatever still remained to be done, the great Eltchi knew that this was certain : the distinctions of class and race and creed had been publicly done away with in Turkey, and it was he who had worked the miracle.'

Changes such as these were, however, but the visible signs of changes as great and still more important in the laws and administration. They may be briefly summed up thus, as far as possible, in Canning's own words: 'The ' complete abolition of torture, by means of a special decree ' applied to the whole empire ; ' ' the abolition of the ' *iktisab*, an onerous excise tax, which produced a revenue of ' forty million piastres,' or approximately 350,000*l.*, the collection of which pressed so heavily on some classes as to be practically 'torture ;' the exclusion from the code of ' summary inflictions of corporal punishment,' such as ' applying the bastinado without discrimination to persons ' of any class or rank whatever ; ' ' a recognised position for ' Protestants as such ; ' the establishment of a Protestant church at Jerusalem ; and ' the right of converts to be protected by the civil authorities from vexation on the part of ' their relinquished churches.' Writing to his brother on December 2, 1845, after speaking in a familiar manner of the enormous mass of papers and correspondence with which he had to deal, he goes on to account for it by a half-jesting description of his varied functions:—

' I assist in turning wicked functionaries into good ones, griping extortioners into pleasing collectors, bigoted Mussulmans into easy latitudinarians, decapitated renegades into smiling church-goers, highway robbers into domestic attendants, and the whole tribe of torturers

and executioners into so many obliging sinecurists. . . . And if it were not for an occasional massacre by the troops and the wholesale system of plunder in the provinces, there would be nothing to remind us of the good old times, when Turks did as they liked, and Christians were grateful for the use of their skins. . . . Then war was to be prevented and friendship established along 700 miles of Turco-Kurdo-Persian frontier. I won't answer for the *friendship*, but war is prevented, and the foundation of a great work of peace and improvement among the barbarous tribes is laid in the mutual, though somewhat reluctant, consent of the growling parties. . . . I will not trouble you with commercial matters, but we have had some tough questions to manage in that department, and I am happy to say that they are all either settled or on the eve of settlement, or so arranged as to give us all we require till the conclusive agreements shall be made.'

And whilst so labouring for the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire, Lord Stratford was able also to assist, or rather to be the chief mover, in the very remarkable archæological work which, under the immediate direction of Layard at Mosul, and Newton in the Levant, produced such magnificent results. The story of these discoveries has long been classed among our household words; but in the brilliancy of the actual achievement we are apt to lose sight of the fact that it was through the ambassador's intelligent interest and support that they were rendered possible; that it was by his urgency that the necessary firman was procured, and that it was from his purse that the funds were provided, at any rate in the first instance.

In the summer of 1848, when he returned to Constantinople after an absence of nearly two years, he found that the revolutionary wave which had swept over Europe had reached even to the far East, and that the day of internal reform was to be succeeded by one of international entanglement and diplomatic activity. On June 23 an insurrection broke out in Bucharest, and the troops refused to act. Under the Treaty of Adrianople, Russia claimed a right to maintain order in the Danubian principalities, and proposed a joint occupation. Canning advised the Porte to treat the Wallachians not as rebels, but as constitutional reformers; to send a commission to inquire into the alleged grievances, but on no account to send any troops. The Porte took half his advice: it sent a commissioner, but it also sent troops. Russia at once imitated the movement by marching 4,000 men into Moldavia, rapidly increasing the number, till by the beginning of October she had some 30,000 men in the provinces. The Porte remonstrated, promising civil measures and reform. Russia urged vigorous concerted action. Turkey

replied that she could manage her own subjects, and meantime begged Canning to stand by her. The Foreign Minister told him that 'the Porte desired to draw more closely than ever those ties of confidence and cordiality which subsisted between the Sultan's Government and that of her Majesty;' that 'the Porte was exposed to much danger, and that he trusted the British Government would be prepared to countenance, uphold, and assist her in the hour of need.' Canning's answer was necessarily vague; Lord Palmerston's was friendly, but inconclusive; and the embarrassment of the Porte was very great. The Czar assumed that in matters relating to the principalities he had at least equal rights; and though by January 1849 tranquillity was restored, he proposed a seven years' occupation. The difficulty was increased when he demanded permission for the Russian troops to pass through the Principalities to act against the Hungarians; and still more when they did pass, in spite of the Turkish prohibition. Canning fully expected war, and wrote home that

'the time has come for adopting a definite and decisive course of policy with respect to this country viewed as to its relations with Russia. . . . A timely and effective demonstration of support, especially if it were concerted with France, might be expected to deter the Russian Cabinet from proceeding to extreme measures, or, should it fall short in that respect, to save the Porte from being overwhelmed in a single and unequal struggle.'

He urged, therefore, that the fleet should be sent to the Dardanelles, and that 'general understandings, general representations, and general assurances' should now be 'followed up with distinct agreements, positive declarations, and pledges, not to be mistaken, of sympathy and eventual support.' Lord Palmerston, however, was not prepared to go so far; and to a remonstrance which he addressed to Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador in London, no practical attention was paid. A special Russian envoy was sent to Constantinople; and the Turks, putting more faith in the scarcely veiled threats of Russian aggression than in the vague promises of English support, yielded all the points at issue as to the administration of the principalities, and agreed to a joint occupation, May 1, 1849. After that the Russians had no scruple in using the provinces as a base of operations against the Hungarians, and made Moldavia 'the principal highway for their advance.' The Hungarians of course retaliated, and attacked the Russian reserve in Moldavia, thus bringing the horrors of war on a neutral and

unoffending country. Submission was sure to invite further aggression, and when the vanquished Hungarians took refuge in Turkish territory, their extradition was insolently and overbearingly demanded in the names of the Emperors of Austria and Russia; 'the escape of a single Hungarian or Pole would be regarded as a declaration of war.' Canning urged the Porte to refuse, and wrote, with the concurrence of the French minister, that England and France would not leave her unassisted. For such an assurance he had no authority whatever, but he did not hesitate to take the responsibility, leaving his Government to throw him over if it chose.

'If I had suspended,' he wrote to Lord Palmerston, 'my support for a moment, the Porte, I have no doubt, would have given way; and on almost any question but one involving such obvious considerations of humanity, honour, and permanent policy, I might have been inclined, while left to myself, to counsel a less dangerous course, in spite of reason and right. As it is, I felt that there was no alternative unattended with loss of credit and character, to say nothing of the unfortunate and highly distinguished men awaiting their doom at Widin. The dishonour would have been ours. . . . I am sure that you will feel the importance of coming to the rescue as far and as fast as you can.'

At the same time he wrote to Sir William Parker, the naval commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, who promptly replied by bringing the fleet into the Archipelago to be ready for any eventuality. The tension of Canning's nerves was extreme, and his relief was proportionally great when a frigate brought him news of Parker's being at hand.

Lord Palmerston on his side was equally prompt in assuring Canning of approval and support. A Queen's messenger, sent off on October 2, reached Constantinople on the 18th, and brought him this letter:—

'As it is of importance to relieve you as soon as possible from anxiety in regard to the responsibility which you may think you have incurred by the advice which you have given the Porte, and as it is also essential not to lose an hour unnecessarily in relieving the Porte from its doubts as to whether it will find aid and support from its friends, I send you this private letter by a special messenger to say that the Cabinet has to-day decided to give an affirmative answer to the application for moral and material support which the Turkish ambassador by order of his government has presented to us.'

And to this straightforward announcement there followed a sketch of what the Government proposed to do, and suggestions for Canning's future guidance. A few days later, October 11, Palmerston wrote again:—

‘There never was, I think, in this country so strong and unanimous a burst of generous feeling as this demand of the two imperial and imperious governments has called forth. All men, of all parties and opinions, politicians, soldiers, sailors, clergymen, and quakers; all newspapers, Tory, Whig, and Radical, have joined in chorus; and this outpouring of indignation must, I think, have a salutary effect at Petersburg and Vienna, and must raise our national character in the esteem of the world, and show that we are not quite so incapable of being roused to manly action as some speeches in Parliament and at our peace meetings and congresses might have led people to suppose.’

Accordingly, on November 7 Canning was able to write to Lord Palmerston that ‘Austria and Russia had withdrawn ‘their demand for extradition, in deference’—as he was told by the Russian envoy—‘to the pronounced expression ‘of public feeling in England.’ Russia, in fact, retired altogether from the business, leaving it to be settled by Austria, whom it primarily concerned. The greater number of the refugees accepted the Austrian amnesty; and the leaders, who were excluded from it, were, in the course of two years, released from Turkish surveillance, and the world of politics knew them no more. Most of them went to the United States. The one best known among them, Kossuth, afterwards settled in England; and, later on, in Italy, where he is still living.

It was during this time that Lord Stanley, who presently became Earl of Derby, wrote to Canning, March 8, 1851, proposing that, in the event of his being called on to form a ministry, he should join him as Foreign Secretary; and this offer Canning had provisionally accepted. A year later the expected contingency happened, but the Earl of Malmesbury was appointed to the Foreign Office; Lord Derby, in a letter of March 5, 1852, explaining that

‘the suddenness of the call made upon me, and the advantage, not to say the necessity, of allowing neither hesitation nor delay, compelled me to apply at once to those upon the spot. . . . In addition to this, in the present state of Europe, the Foreign Office was, of all others, that which could least bear to be left in abeyance for a period of three or four weeks, and within that period I could hardly have hoped to have received your answer.’

After which he went on to say that he had submitted to the Queen the propriety of raising him to the rank of viscount, as ‘a public recognition of his long and able public service.’ Canning was, no doubt, sorely disappointed; perhaps the more so by reason of a conviction he may very well have entertained, that the real reason of his being passed over

was not so much his being absent from England as his being distasteful to the Emperor of Russia; for Brunnow said openly that Canning's appointment would be not only 'une plaisanterie,' but 'une mauvaise plaisanterie.' He recognised, however, the validity of both the alleged and the secret reason, and accepted the peerage with the proviso that it was not to be considered 'as a substitute for effective office, or as an honourable consignment to the shelf.'

At this time Lord Stratford took a short holiday in England; but in January, 1853, on account of the very threatening aspect of affairs in the East, he was requested to return to his post as soon as possible. By the beginning of April he was again at Constantinople. It is unnecessary here to repeat the often told story of the rival claims of the Latin and Greek churches to the custody and charge of the Holy Places at Jerusalem. Frivolous as they have appeared to some, they appealed to a very real sentiment, and threatened to assume an importance which was prevented only by the tact and ability of the English ambassador. Through his mediation, the dispute, such as it was, was happily settled, and all might have gone well, had not the Emperor of Russia conceived that, in the strength of his own empire and the sickness of Turkey, in the assumed apathy of England under the friendly ministry of Lord Aberdeen or the noisy dictation of the Peace Society, and in the revolutionary changes in France, the hour was come for an onward step towards the goal of Russian aspirations. It was thus that Prince Menschikoff, a soldier, unversed in the arts of diplomacy, whose selection as a special ambassador seemed in itself suspicious, had presented the celebrated 'Note verbale,' not as a proposition to be discussed, but as a demand to be ceded, and at once. The Porte and Lord Stratford, to whom it was unwillingly disclosed, concurred in judging the clauses inadmissible, as giving the Emperor of Russia authority to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. Lord Stratford wrote in a private memorandum: 'The effect of such a convention would infallibly be the surrender to Russian influence, management, and authority, of the Greek churches and clergy throughout Turkey, and eventually, therefore, of the whole Greek population dependent on the priests.' He then noted certain concessions which might be granted without danger, and perhaps even with advantage, as serving to mollify Russia, and concluded: 'If Russia complains of any breach of treaty or abuse injurious to the Greeks, let Prince Menschikoff be called



‘ upon to specify it precisely, with the view of enabling the Porte to correct the one and remove the other.’

This, however, was not Menschikoff's rôle ; he was there to extract concessions or to force a quarrel, not to explain or to argue. On April 19 he repeated his demand in still stronger form, and in language both offensive and peremptory ; and two days later signified to the Grand Vizier his suspicion ‘ that the Porte was doing a thing, very objectionable in his opinion, which was to consult and act upon the advice of the British ambassador, and that they had better abstain from doing so in future.’ On May 5 he sent in a further note, requiring the decision of the Porte within five days. The Porte, in its perplexity, appealed to Lord Stratford, who advised a policy of conciliation and of compromise almost to the verge of submission, but not to give way on the vital point which involved the national independence of Turkey. From anything calculated to wound the susceptibilities of Russia he was most averse ; and to a question from the Grand Vizier, whether the approach of the English squadron could be relied on, he replied that he ‘ considered the position in its present stage to be one of a moral character, and consequently that its difficulties or hazards should be rather met by acts of a similar description than by demonstrations calculated to increase alarm and provoke resentment.’ Accordingly, on May 10, the Porte replied to Prince Menschikoff's note of the 5th, virtually yielding the points demanded, with the one exception of the guarantee to Russia. But this was just the one point on which Menschikoff was instructed to insist ; and accordingly he sent in an ultimatum, giving the Porte three more days to reflect before he would consider his mission at an end. Further delays led to no satisfactory result, and on the 21st the Russian arms were taken down from the palace of the embassy, and Menschikoff left for Odessa. Four days later Lord Stratford wrote to his wife :—

‘ There is much reason for alarm, and the Porte is preparing for the worst. I cannot make up my mind to believe in a declaration of war, but the Emperor Nicholas may fly out in a rage and order some aggressive act, just short of downright hostilities. Let the responsibility lie on the right shoulders. The Russians have played a double game, and it was impossible for the Porte to accept their ultimatum.’

Through all these trying and difficult negotiations, or rather intrigues, Stratford's part seems to have been consistently limited, on the one hand, to endeavouring to induce Menschikoff to moderate the Russian pretensions, and, on the

other, to advising the Porte, in the interests of peace, to concede everything except the guarantee. But on this point his advice, or even his moral support, was scarcely requisite; the Porte has always shown itself firm, even to obstinacy, against yielding matters which it understands to be of importance, and in this case it wrote to Menschikoff that it held it 'contrary to international rights that one government 'should conclude a treaty with another on a dangerous 'matter, affecting not only those things on which her independence is grounded, but, as is well known, her independence in its very foundations.' But just as the Porte saw clearly that the demand was inadmissible, as subversive of Turkish independence, so, and for the very same reason, did the Russian Government insist on it, believing, it may be, in the isolation and the utter weakness of Turkey. It is impossible to say that this belief was not correct, except in one important particular—the foresight, the character, the will, the ability—in one word, the personality of the British ambassador. He had convinced himself that the existence of Turkey, as an independent nation, was essential to the best interests of England, and that to maintain it as such was the first duty of England's representative. The Porte was feeble and dilatory; it wanted 'backbone,' and that Lord Stratford supplied. It is scarcely too much to say that during the following months he was virtually the director of the Turkish foreign policy: and that it was by his firm and adroit management of the matter that in the several points at issue, and in the several stages of the approach to war, Turkey was always in the right, and appeared before Europe as the object of wanton and unprovoked outrage. Russia, on the other hand, put herself hopelessly in the wrong: rage and vexation seemed to govern her councils and dictate her actions. On July 2 her troops crossed the Pruth, and Lord Stratford's standpoint then, and for the rest of the year, is very clearly expressed in his letter to Lord Clarendon of the 9th, two days after the news had reached Constantinople.

'Whatever may be hoped from negotiations ought, I submit, to be tried at once and brought to a point. Delay will prove most fatal to Turkey if prolonged beyond a very few weeks, and I confess my own impression to be that, if the next attempt at negotiation fails, there will be no room for half measures. If the object be, as I presume, to get the Russians out of the principalities without surrendering the main point in dispute, it is difficult to conceive how that object can have a chance of being accomplished without hard knocks on a large scale, or some counter occupation which will be equivalent to a partial dismem-

berment of the empire. . . . I am as much for peace as any man ; but if the object at stake is to be maintained, as I think it ought, there should be a limit to attempts which can only prove nugatory in the end, and turn to the benefit of uncompromising Russia.'

It would be out of place here to speak at length of the perplexed negotiations of the following summer. Notes and projects from all the courts of Europe filled the political atmosphere, clashing with, contradicting, and choking each other. Mr. Lane-Poole gives a list of ten of these, single or collective. Lord Stratford's contribution, known as the 'Turkish Ultimatum,' was despatched from Constantinople on July 20, but was stopped at Vienna, to give place to the 'Vienna Note,' embodying the wisdom—and ignorance—of the Four Powers. This 'note' was in turn rejected by the Porte, at—it has been commonly believed—the instigation of Lord Stratford. It may very well be that the Turkish ministers read in Stratford's face that the rejection of the 'note' would not be displeasing to him ; but it seems to have been Reshid Pasha, the Foreign Secretary, who pointed out that it conceded to the Russians all, and more than all, they had asked, as was afterwards understood and admitted by its authors. If Lord Stratford had wished it to be accepted, it possibly, but not probably, might have been ; but as his personal opinion coincided with Reshid's he did not urge it beyond the strict line of duty. 'There is an 'old proverb,' he wrote to Lord Westmorland at Vienna, 'about broth suffering from the zeal of too many cooks ; and I hope that we are not about to have a new proof of 'its truth ;' and later in the season the Secretary of the Embassy, Mr. Alison, wrote to Lady Stratford : 'The great 'embarrassment is the number of peacemakers. . . . When 'everyone else is dead I intend to write an Oriental romance, 'to be called "Les Mille et Une Notes."'

Meanwhile the war had become a bloody reality. Whilst Europe was endeavouring to arrange the affairs of Turkey as though Turkey were the last Power to have a voice in the matter, the Turkish people took it into their own hands ; and a display of religious excitement, which threatened to be a sanguinary uprising, convinced the Sultan that the time for armed resistance had arrived. On October 4 the Porte issued a declaration of war, and sent orders to Omar Pasha to begin hostilities if the Russians did not evacuate the principalities 'within fourteen days of the arrival of 'the summons at its destination.' Mr. Lane-Poole appears to conceive that the declaration of war was provisional,

whereas it was, in fact, as explicit as words could make it : 'The state of war is now declared to exist between the two Governments.' But it is not only on this point that we are compelled to differ from him in his interpretation of the State Papers relating to these transactions ; and especially in what we conceive to be an entire misapprehension of both Lord Stratford's share in the proceedings, and also of Lord Clarendon's. He says, for instance :—

'It is amazing to read in his own words that Lord Clarendon, in concert, of course, with Lord Aberdeen, was induced by the representations of a foreign government, based upon a single telegraphic report, to take the serious step of ordering the advance of the squadron through the Dardanelles, without waiting for Lord Stratford's despatches.'

And in the following pages he dwells repeatedly on the fatuity of Lord Clarendon in issuing these positive, untimely, ill-judged orders, and on the embarrassment they caused to Lord Stratford. Assertions and implications such as these, coming from one who, as he wrote, had the original documents before him, we find it truly 'amazing to read.' 'Your Excellency is instructed to send for the British fleet to Constantinople,' is the short sentence which Mr. Lane-Poole quotes from Lord Clarendon's despatch of September 23, in order to insist on its positive nature. But, in fact, the instruction to call up the fleet was as provisional as an instruction could well be.

'Under ordinary circumstances,' it ran, 'and as long as the Sultan does not declare war against Russia, nor demand the presence of the British fleet . . . your Excellency's original instructions on this matter remain in full force. But when it appears that the lives and properties of British subjects are exposed to serious danger, and that the Turkish Government declares itself unable to avert that danger, it is clear that the Treaty has no longer a binding force upon us, and that urgent necessity supersedes its provisions. Your Excellency is therefore instructed to send for the British fleet to Constantinople, and, in conjunction with the admiral, to dispose of it in the manner you deem most expedient for protecting British interests and the personal safety of the Sultan.' (*Eastern Papers*, part ii. p. 116.)

And in case anything more than the words themselves should be needed to show that the instruction was provisional, Lord Clarendon was careful to insert the phrase : 'assuming, of course, that his [the Frenchman's] report is correct.' That Lord Stratford perfectly understood the instruction as having these limitations is evident from his own quotation of its sense in his official reply, in which he

refers to 'that part of these instructions which authorises 'me to consider the presence of her Majesty's squadron here, 'if I thought proper to require it, as intended to embrace 'the protection of the Sultan also in case of need.' \*

Mr. Lane-Poole's impression that on this and other important points at this conjuncture grave differences of opinion had arisen between Lord Stratford and Lord Clarendon, is distinctly contradicted by the documentary evidence and by our own personal knowledge. From the date of the insurrection of the Softas, Lord Stratford was clear that war was inevitable. On October 1 he wrote to his wife, 'We have narrowly escaped a sanguinary revolution, 'and we have only escaped it to go full tilt into war;' and if he had retained any doubt, it was removed by the declaration of October 4. He had then before him the immediate possibility of two most serious dangers: an insurrection of the fanatical party, which was not utterly quelled; and an attack of the Russian fleet, which might any morning sail down the Bosphorus and seize Constantinople. There was absolutely nothing to hinder such a *coup-de-main*, except a Turkish three-decker moored in mid-channel off Therapia. That these contingencies were present to Lord Clarendon's mind when he penned his despatch of September 23 is clear from the despatch itself; that Lord Stratford had the same contingencies before him, that he doubted of the fulness of his powers to summon the fleet and was most anxious to receive instructions concerning it, we know from his own conversation at the time. Mr. Lane-Poole tells us that 'the 'sinister impression created at St. Petersburg by Lord 'Clarendon's ill-starred despatch of September 23 forms an 'important link in the chain of circumstances that made 'towards war.' Of course a protest was made against what the Russians pretended to call a violation of the treaty of 1841; a treaty which had been suspended, as Lord Clarendon pointed out, since the day the Russian troops entered the Principalities; but so little did the Russian Government consider it as making towards war that they professed to consider even the Turkish declaration as purely nominal. On

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\* We have previously had occasion to argue this point in reviewing the first volume of Mr. Kinglake's History (see *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxvii. p. 327), where the whole matter is fully discussed, and from the highest authority; and we are surprised that in this work the erroneous view of the transaction taken by Mr. Kinglake should have been repeated.

October 14, with Lord Clarendon's despatch fresh in his mind, Count Nesselrode made a categorical statement to that effect to Sir Hamilton Seymour.

'We shall in all probability,' he said, 'issue no counter-declaration, nor shall we make any attack upon Turkey. We shall remain with folded arms, only resolved to repel any assault made upon us, whether in the principalities or on our Asiatic frontier. . . . So we shall remain during the winter, ready to receive any peaceful overtures which during that time may be made to us by Turkey.'

The purport of this conversation was embodied in a circular letter of October 31. On the strength of this assurance, the Powers permitted themselves to hope that even yet they might be able to arrange peace without passing through the horrors of war; and on their side, out of deference to the susceptibilities of Russia, they refused to send the fleets into the Black Sea. Mr. Lane-Poole has overlooked or undervalued the meaning of this assurance, and does not perceive that the allied Powers were acting in honest, though, as it turned out, misplaced belief in the truth of the Czar and of his Chancellor, Count Nesselrode. They believed them to be honourable men, and the Turkish shores of the Black Sea to be guarded by their word more efficiently than they could be guarded by the whole strength of the allied fleets. The result was a lesson which it is well should not be forgotten. On November 30, a squadron of Turkish frigates and corvettes lying in the harbour of Sinope, under the safeguard of the allies and the word of Count Nesselrode, was attacked and destroyed by an overwhelming Russian force. This, as between Russians and Turks, was an operation of war legitimate enough; barbarous, brutal, no doubt; but not more so than other operations of war between the same people, in which Englishmen have taken a prominent and, it has even been considered, a creditable part—the wholesale slaughter of the Turks at Chesmé, for instance, in 1770; or in the Liman of the Dniepr, in 1788; but as between the Russians and the Western Powers, it was as gross a piece of treachery and falsehood as any recorded in the history of civilised nations.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Lane-Poole into the history of the war, in which he seems to regard Lord Stratford as if he had been commander-in-chief of the navy and of the army, director of transports, head of the commissariat, and director-general of the medical department. Of course, he was nothing of the sort, and no one knew it better than Lord Stratford himself. He professed, indeed,

his readiness to forward the wishes of the commanders-in-chief in every possible way, and was frequently able to render most valuable assistance, if only by his indomitable energy and his extraordinary influence over Turkish officials; but the extent of these services, in which he was powerfully seconded by others, has been somewhat exaggerated. Of far greater importance and very real interest are Lord Stratford's considerations on the objects to be obtained by the war, as stated in a letter to Lord Clarendon of June 12, 1854.

'To begin with the *ends*: What kind of Russia, what kind of Turkey do we mean to have after the conclusion of peace? Is it the Russia of Catherine, the Russia of Alexander, or the Russia of Nicholas? Is it Russia founded on the *status quo ante*, or Russia separated from Turkey by a cordon of principalities or states no longer dependent upon her; or, finally, Russia such as Russia was before she proclaimed, without shame or disguise, her appetite for territorial extension at the expense of every neighbour in turn, whether friend or foe? . . . The Russia of this day is, more or less, a result of national tendencies and national traditions, ably directed by a government which, partly sympathising and partly affecting to sympathise, employs them for the twofold purpose of dynastic despotism and political aggrandisement. . . . The Power, thus raised on a million of soldiers trained to implicit obedience, and selected from sixty millions of ignorant and fanatical slaves, is an ever-growing and ever-encroaching force - encroaching as much from inherent gravitation as from systematic policy.'

After speaking further of the tendencies, he passed on to sketch the history of Russian aggression, on the side of Turkey alone, during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas; and, assuming that the end to be aimed at is 'an arrangement by which the integrity and independence of Turkey 'would be maintained under such material and diplomatic 'guarantees as are really indispensable for the purpose,' suggested as 'a minimum of effective guarantee,'

'a settlement by which the course of the Danube would be free, the principalities extended to the Black Sea and released from Russian protection, Circassia restored to independence under the *suzeraineté* of the Porte, the Crimea established in a similar manner, the Black Sea opened to foreign ships of war, and Poland restored in the limits recognised by the Congress of Vienna.'

Here, at any rate, he left no doubt as to his meaning. We may or may not accept his conclusions, but we are bound to recognise them as deliberately formulated by a man of extraordinary ability, and with unequalled opportunities for studying the question. A year later, with the warrant of our success in the Crimea, he reverted to the same view, on September 13, 1855, when he wrote: 'Having reduced the

‘Russia of *accumulated power*, we have to guard against the ‘Russia of *prospective growth*. This, I imagine, might be ‘effected by interposing a barrier of independent neutrals along ‘the whole frontier.’ And again, on February 3, 1856 :—

‘Nicholas’s Russia is to all appearance on its knees. The Russia of nature is still in its growth, shorn of its most forward branches, but capable of shooting into greater luxuriance at no distant period. Against this latter Russia I should like to see due precautions taken ; and I know nothing better than a barrier of neutral or independent states prolonged between the two empires in Europe and Asia.’

Holding these opinions, it was natural that Lord Stratford should be profoundly dissatisfied with the treaty concluded at Paris, when, after two years of war, the French Government was resolved on peace, and the English Government, unwilling to continue the struggle independently, consented to such terms as, under the circumstances, could be obtained. Like his old acquaintance of 1832, he said : ‘I would rather have cut ‘off my right hand than have signed that treaty.’ But with the French Government openly determined on finishing off the business, and the French plenipotentiaries playing into Russian hands, so that, as Lord Clarendon wrote (March 22), ‘France has no plenipotentiary in the conference, and Russia ‘has three, and Cowley and I stand alone,’ all that could be done was to snatch as much from the fire as possible. After all, the Treaty of Paris, though far indeed from Stratford’s ideal, must be considered to have answered its purpose fairly well. It gave Turkey rest for twenty-two years, and an opportunity—of which the Porte very imperfectly availed itself—for carrying out the internal reforms inaugurated by Lord Stratford. Had the terms been more stringent, they would scarcely have endured longer than the alliance or the armament which enforced them ; and later experience has in some measure realised the scheme of a barrier of principalities, which are at this moment a subject of anxiety to Europe, and may prove a cause of war.

It was some little time before the close of the war that, in a letter from David Morier, his friend and colleague in his first service at Constantinople, Lord Stratford received news of the death of their old chief, Sir Robert Adair, at the advanced age of 92. He was himself in his 70th year, and the last affectionate expressions of his former unmaster touched him deeply.

‘As he read the words,’ writes Mr. Lane-Poole in his happiest mood, ‘his mind wandered back to those early days at Stamboul, when



life was in its morning glow, and the world lay before him like a country to be explored. He had seen much of that world in the forty-seven years which had passed since then. To use, as he would have done, the words of his favourite author, "*multum ille et terris jactatus et alto.*" On the very spot where he and Adair had held converse together, he could now stand and contemplate the work of a life already long. He remembered the Treaty of Bucharest, his first, and, in his own eyes, always his greatest triumph. He thought of the brilliant throng at Vienna, and the sudden shock, like the boom of a distant gun, when the news came that the "*Enemy of Europe*" was again at large. His thoughts quickly sped from the tidings of Waterloo, which blazed forth like a beacon-fire in the midst of "*rustic diplomacy*" in Switzerland, to that lonely island in the Atlantic where the mighty enemy had breathed his last, while the man who had successfully opposed him in the East was enduring the rude experiences of a mission in the Western world. Then memories of the Greek struggle for liberty crowded upon his mind; he fought his battles o'er again with the Porte, recalled the tragedy of Navarino and the final founding of the state of Greece; and there was sadness in the thought, for the kingdom had not realised his hopes. With the recollection of the War of Independence came memories of the first step in its aid—his mission to Petersburg—and then his rejection by that second "*Enemy of Europe*," whose armies had but lately been worsted in open fields and stubborn forts by the men of the West. Nicholas Paulovitch, Emperor of All the Russias, had fought his long duel with the Eltchi and was dead, and there on the littered table lay one of his last letters, a despatch to Lord Stratford himself, thanking him for his kindness to the Russian prisoners. . . . There was no hardness in his mind as the memory of Nicholas arose. The Czar he had detested, for the man he had no feeling but pity. . . . In his hour of crowning glory, moreover, there was much to make him grave. . . . Turkey had been sustained for a while in her corner of Europe; but if she was to keep her place as Warden of the Marches over against Russia, she must look to herself. . . . The one great aim of his later years in the East had been to raise up a new Turkey, a state worthy to be defended, a moral as well as a material barrier to the encroachments of Russia. . . . Reform after reform had been enacted, and the main difficulty that remained was to insist that they should be rigidly enforced. The Turks as a body were not to be trusted to do this. . . . Effective supervision could only be exerted by the personal influence of a European; and as the great Eltchi meditated on the long years of his work in Turkey, he could not but see reason to distrust the future.'

With the Crimean war the work of Lord Stratford's life came practically to an end, although after his retirement in 1858 he continued for more than twenty years in the full enjoyment of his rare faculties, speaking occasionally in the House of Lords, amusing himself with literature, and taking, to the last, a keen and intelligent interest in the Eastern Question,

Only a fortnight before his death, when approaching the end of his ninety-fourth year, he was visited by Sir Robert Morier, the son of his old friend, who wrote :—

‘ His intellect was as clear, his speech as incisive, his interest in poetry and politics as keen as when I last saw him three years ago. It was a beautiful English afternoon : a warm sun lit up his pale features, which fully retained their splendid outlines, and were entirely wanting in the wrinkles or withered look of extreme old age. I could not help thinking of the line—

“ Slow sinks more lovely ere his race be run.” . . .

He seemed some grand old Titan majestically sinking to his rest in all his glory, as if he knew the Infinite was waiting to receive him with all due honour.’

After a few days of weary restlessness, rather than of illness, he died on August 14, 1880. Four years later, a monument to his memory was placed in Westminster Abbey, side by side with that of his cousin, the Prime Minister, and his cousin’s son, the Governor-General of India, and bearing an inscription by the Laureate :—

‘ Thou third great Canning, stand among our best  
And noblest, now thy long day’s work has ceased :  
Here silent in our Minster of the West  
Who wert the voice of England in the East.’

In writing these pages we have felt it our duty to dissent from some of Mr. Lanc-Poole’s statements and opinions ; but we must express our thanks to him for the pleasure he has given us, in enabling us to revive old memories and receive new impressions of the career of a great, and the life of a good, man. The life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe covers an ample page of history, which his biographer has filled with an authentic record of memorable events ; and the personal qualities of the illustrious ambassador, his lofty patriotism, his high spirit, his romantic and enthusiastic character, entitle him to be ranked amongst the foremost Englishmen of the age. Of such a life these volumes are a fitting memorial.

ART. IX.—*Report of the Committee on the Reorganisation of the Royal Artillery, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.*  
April 27, 1888.

DURING the thirty-three years which have elapsed since the conclusion of the Crimean war, artillery has made greater progress than in the whole of its previous existence. As to that arm in England it had, when in February 1852 Lord Hardinge became Master-General of the Ordnance, sunk very low. The only permanent field artillery consisted of seven troops of horse artillery. There were no permanent field batteries, for, though nominally there were six, these were only for instructional purposes, a company being passed through it in about a year. When a field battery was required for active service the practice was simply to take a company of foot artillery and hand over to it the guns, harness, wagons, and horses, leaving it to the captain to do the best he could towards extemporising a field battery. The men were enlisted as ‘gunners and drivers,’ the latter being found by a process of natural selection. The services of the field battery being no longer needed, it was broken up, and the company which had constituted its *personnel* reverted to garrison duty. In fact, there was still a survival of the old idea that, given a certain number of trained gunners in barracks, and guns and equipment in store, the only thing needed was to bring the two together and add the horses required, in order to create a field artillery. As in those days all movements were slow, and the field gun was only a light garrison gun mounted on a travelling carriage, the system answered sufficiently well, and the necessity of special training for different branches of artillery work did not make itself felt. The term ‘regiment’ was even then obviously a misnomer, composed as the artillery was of seven troops of horse artillery, nine battalions of eight companies each, a riding establishment, an invalid detachment, and a company of cadets. Still it had grown up so gradually, having been a century previously a body of two battalions of twelve companies each, that the size of the corps did not strike anyone as excessive.

Since the Crimea, however, the size of the corps has largely increased, there has been a great developement of power in ordnance, and an extensive application of science, together with, as regards field artillery, what may be termed an expansion of tactics. From these causes, and the military renaissance in the army generally, there sprang up some

fifteen years ago, among certain of the younger and more progressive officers of the Royal Artillery, as well as among a few military journalists, a conviction that the system, organisation, and condition of the arm were not absolutely perfect. The artillery officers could only express their opinions privately, for, had they spoken out, they would have been, so to speak, professionally burnt for their professional heresy, so great was the complacency of the senior officers of the corps. These latter, justly proud of the achievements and reputation of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, were perfectly content with the system under which those achievements had been performed, that reputation obtained, and under which they had risen, and could not tolerate a suggestion that it was not perfect. So perfect, indeed, did they consider it, that they conscientiously believed it to be capable of assimilating all progress in artillery science, all changes in tactics. In fact, its infallibility was an article of faith, and criticism from men who were not 'gunners' was regarded with calm contempt. The artillery also, probably owing to the fact that up to the Crimean war they were under the Board of Ordnance, considered themselves as a body apart from the rest of the army, which in its turn entertained a similar, though less strong, view of the artillery. The Duke of Cambridge was known also to be strongly opposed to any radical change, and this fact of itself deadened, if it did not stifle, the voice of the reformers. As years, however, rolled on, the young artillery officers who had joined the ranks of the reformers became majors or lieutenant-colonels, and were daily reinforced by captains and subalterns, the criticism of the press became more and more severe, and facts came out in Parliament tending to prove that, *pace* the Brahmins of Woolwich, the state of our artillery in more shapes than one was unsatisfactory. Mr. Stanhope, recognising this fact, convened some fifteen months ago a Committee to deal with one, and not the least important, part of the question, viz. that of re-organisation. At the head of this Committee he placed, as Chairman, Lord Harris, Under-Secretary of State for War, while the members were Sir Archibald Alison, an infantry officer, Colonel R. Harrison, Royal Engineers, Mr. R. H. Knox, Accountant-General at the War Office, and the following officers of artillery: Sir R. Biddulph, Major-General H. Brackenbury, Major-General R. Hay, Major-General W. Stirling.

For a committee to be efficient, it is indispensable that they should be men not only of ability and special knowledge

of all or some of the questions to be investigated, but also of broad, impartial, independent minds. In this case, the composition of the Committee was at least open to criticism. Lord Harris's only military experience had been gained as a captain of yeomanry and by a few months' tenure of office as Under-Secretary of State for War. Those, however, who have been energetic enough to wade through the printed proceedings will see that Lord Harris had taken the trouble to study the subject, and that he displayed great acumen in putting questions and in directing the course of the inquiry. The only justification for placing Mr. Knox on the Committee was that questions of finance might possibly come up. As a matter of fact, these only presented themselves in a general way, and this constant civilian member of all committees on military subjects, this representative of unsympathetic officialism, might with advantage have been replaced by some one who had a knowledge of the art of war, a practical experience of the working of the existing organisation of the Royal Artillery. Sir Archibald Alison is a soldier who has graduated in the field, is thoroughly versed in his profession, has held such appointments as entitle him to speak with authority, and is notorious for simple-mindedness and independence of character. Colonel Harrison is an officer who has studied his profession and held high staff appointments at Aldershot and in the field, but is nevertheless scarcely one who would have been selected by the public opinion of the army for a place on the Committee. The artillery generals—viz.: Lieutenant-General Sir R. Biddulph, Major-General H. Brackenbury, Major-General R. Hay, and Major-General W. Stirling—are all officers of distinction and experience, and, with the exception of Major-General Hay, whose only active service was in the China war of 1860, have seen much of war. Major-General Hay, moreover, was only recently Deputy Adjutant-General of Royal Artillery at the War Office, in which post he had ample opportunity of learning how the present system works. On the whole, therefore, there is little fault to be found with the composition of the artillery portion of the committee, though it would have been, in our opinion, an improvement had two of the members been replaced by a couple of lieutenant-colonels or majors of artillery to represent the more advanced school of thought in the corps.

But it is not sufficient to have a judiciously composed committee. Much depends also on the selection of the witnesses. While an undue multiplication of evidence from

persons belonging to the same category is to be deprecated, it is important that the area of information and opinion drawn upon should be as wide as possible. This was especially the case in the present instance; for the movement for the reorganisation of the Royal Artillery originated among the younger officers, and is chiefly supported by them. Out of the thirty-seven witnesses examined, not one was below the rank of major; yet the Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institute and the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution afford conclusive proof that officers below that rank possessing enlarged views on the organisation and tactics of their own arm abound. Extensive reform of any body is rarely advocated by the older men who have grown up under a certain system, have acquired distinction in it, have learnt to love and revere it, and whose minds are not sufficiently plastic to accept freely new ideas. The senior artillery officer was a few years ago notorious for his conservatism, his feeling that he was a soldier apart from the rest of the army, and a conviction that the sun rose and set on Woolwich common.

The combined result of the composition of the Committee, of the exclusion of captains and subalterns from the ranks of the witnesses, and the undisguised, nay, very openly avowed, hostility of the Duke of Cambridge to any radical change in the artillery, is that the Committee have recommended a compromise which will only mitigate, not remove, the defects of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. Indeed, it is creditable to the firmness of the majority of the Committee that the recommendations of the latter have gone as far as they have, for two members of the Committee—viz. Sir Robert Biddulph and Major-General Hay, and especially the latter—dealt with some of the witnesses as if they were under hostile cross-examination in a criminal case. These two members acted as if the object of the Committee had been to defend a system, instead of to examine into its conflicting merits and defects.

The existing system may be briefly described as follows: The Royal Regiment of Artillery numbers altogether about thirty-five thousand men of all ranks. It is divided into—Horse Artillery organised in two brigades, one of eleven and the other of nine batteries, each brigade having in addition a *depôt* battery; Field Artillery in four brigades of twenty-three, twenty, twenty, and eighteen batteries respectively, with a *depôt* battery for each brigade; Garrison Artillery of eleven divisions, of which the first brigade in each division is

composed of regular troops, the remaining brigades being militia artillery. In addition, a certain number of Volunteer artillery corps are affiliated to each division. The first brigades have eight of them, ten service batteries with a *dépôt* battery, while three have nine service batteries with a *dépôt* battery each. There is, in addition to the above, a coast brigade officered by promoted non-commissioned officers, the men being old soldiers. In the Royal Artillery proper the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men are transferable from one branch to the other at the pleasure of the authorities, but the practice is, as a rule, to retain the non-commissioned officers and men during the whole of their service in the branch of the regiment to which they are posted on enlistment. The officers, on the other hand, are promoted or transferred into any branch, with the exception of the Horse Artillery, for which the officers are selected. On promotion—with the exception of the Horse Artillery—officers are posted according to their ‘fall,’ i.e. according to the vacancy which may occur. This unwritten law is almost invariably observed. The regimental lieutenant-colonels are distributed about the world in command of groups of two or three batteries called ‘brigade divisions,’ or in charge of artillery sub-districts, while the officer in command of the Royal Artillery of divisions or districts is a regimental lieutenant-colonel having the brevet rank of colonel; for the rank of regimental colonel has lately been abolished. The brigade organisation is purely administrative, and it is often if not generally the case that a lieutenant-colonel commands an artillery sub-district in which there is not a single battery of his own brigade. Owing to the enormous size of the regiment and the continual change of officers in a battery, there can be but little *esprit de corps*, or rather, the *esprit de corps* being spread over the entire army of artillery, it becomes diluted; while *esprit de brigade*, or *de batterie*, is impossible. In a regiment of infantry or cavalry there is an unbroken chain of tradition and associations. Frequently it happens that two or three generations of officers and men have served together: the sergeant-major has perhaps received his first stripes from the father of the last joined subaltern. In all regiments there are many officers and men who have served continuously together during many years of peace and war. Hence arises a clannish feeling which is not to be found, which in fact is impossible, in the artillery. In the latter branch of the service, indeed, the lieutenant-colonels are but little brought into personal contact with the men under

their command. Batteries are detached from the group to which they belong, and even when three or four batteries are united at one station under a lieutenant-colonel they are constantly being changed. As regards the battery itself, which is practically not only the tactical, but also the administrative unit, the changes among the officers are frequent. Cases might be cited in which in the course of a single year every officer has been changed; but, to confine ourselves to some of the instances given by the officers who gave evidence to the Committee, we find such statements as the following. Major E. O. Hay says:—

‘I myself have done duty with fourteen batteries, and I have belonged to nine in my service, which is not yet twenty-one years. . . . It makes a great deal of difference when you go about with men that you know, and have to face new difficulties and discomforts, whatever they are, with men that you have always been with. Then I do not see myself how you can expect *esprit de corps* under the present system; it is more than human nature can possibly do to maintain an *esprit de corps* for such an enormous thing as the Royal Artillery.’

Colonel Yeatman-Biggs, Brigade-Major R.A. at Aldershot, says:—

‘In many ways, I think, all our men suffer from the continual change of officers. There is a battery at Aldershot, where, speaking from memory, they had two majors, three captains, and seven subalterns in two years. The majors are continually changing. I find that, as staff officer at Aldershot. I do not think myself that the continuity of the system of command and the care of the men can possibly be as well carried out in this state of constant change. The above remarks are from the men’s point of view. From the officers’ point of view I think the same thing obtains, and that you lose a great deal of hold over the young officers. In a regiment, when a young man joins it, it is everybody’s business to bring him up as a good soldier and a perfect gentleman, and to look after him in every possible way. The tendency, I think, in a huge body like the regiment of artillery, is to let a young man more or less grow up by himself.’

The fact that there is no connexion whatever between the peace organisation and the war organisation cannot but be regarded as a great defect in the present system. In peace the group is brought together by chance, and its component parts are being constantly changed. On the outbreak of war, not even the casual groups above mentioned are taken advantage of, but a completely new arrangement is made. For example, the three batteries which constitute the artillery of a division would be taken—save by accident—from as many different stations, and would be commanded,



probably, by a lieutenant-colonel serving at a fourth station, while his adjutant would possibly come from a fifth. Indeed, it is quite on the cards that not only each battery would be strangers to each other and the lieutenant-colonel and his adjutant, but also that all of the three majors had only been appointed to their respective batteries a few weeks previously, perhaps in one of the three cases from the garrison artillery. Now, if there is one principle in the art of war more established than another, it is, that the tactical and administrative units should be identical, and that the groups of units in peace should be identical with the groups of units in war. The importance of the latter requirement being met becomes more and more obvious as the tactics of field artillery develop and the practice of combining the action of several batteries becomes daily more general. It is difficult with our colonial service so to arrange that the groups of either infantry, cavalry, or artillery should be identical in peace and war, but it is quite possible to so arrange that there should be some sort of connexion between the different units stronger than the fact that they each belong to the same arm of the service.

A minor objection to the existing system is that artillery officers who obtain brevet promotion for service in the field derive no advantage therefrom as regards command in their own corps. As long as the fiction is maintained of the artillery being one regiment, commands of artillery must go by regimental seniority. This diminution of the value of brevet promotion as a reward for distinguished conduct in the field would not occur if the army of gunners were broken up into several regiments.

The chief defect of the present system, however, is to be found in the keeping of all the officers on one general list. The result is that not only is an officer on promotion transferred from the horse or field artillery to the garrison artillery, and from the latter to the field artillery, but also that in consequence the garrison artillery, as the least attractive service, is for the most part officered by men wanting either in merit or its equivalent—interest; likewise that those officers who have been transferred from the other two branches to it are discontented, feel humiliated, and strain every nerve to get out of it. One consequence of the feeling is that the *esprit de corps* of the garrison artillery, and therefore its discipline, suffer. *A priori*, the same man cannot be equally suited for each of the three branches; hence the service does not get the best work of the best men in their respec-

tive branches. On this point there is abundant evidence in the Blue Book. Lord Wolseley says:—

‘My idea is that the officers of artillery, and of the army generally, believe that the present system is fatal to the officering of the garrison artillery, and that is very easily proved, because as soon as a man becomes a well-known officer of ability in the garrison artillery, the chances are a very large number to one that he will be transferred, because he is such a good man, either into the field artillery or into the horse artillery; and the common general wish of the young men, as I understand it, is to get into the mounted portions of the artillery. . . . Officers who have been a certain number of years, I may say all their career, in the horse artillery or field artillery, when suddenly turned into our large forts, say at Portsmouth and at Plymouth, where they have to manipulate numerous guns, of which they know nothing whatever, find themselves in a very difficult position. Many of them have told me themselves that they looked upon it as quite beginning their career again, and being put to work of which they absolutely knew nothing. . . . They have to deal with enormous weights, and the movement of enormous weights. In olden days a man who could serve an ordinary 9-pounder field battery gun had really very little more to learn, if you turned him into a heavy battery or a siege battery which was armed with 32-pounders, or even 68-pounders; the manipulation of the guns was exactly the same, although the guns were mounted on different carriages. But now there is the greatest possible difference between field-guns and those 9-inch guns and 10-inch guns and 100-ton guns that are at present in use in our coast defences. . . . I think that the most highly scientific men ought to belong to the garrison artillery. I think that there is not more affinity between the garrison artillery and the horse artillery than there is between the horse artillery and the cavalry. I think that a cavalry officer is quite as capable, after a very short training, of making a good horse artillery officer, as a horse artillery officer is of making a good garrison artilleryman.’

In reply to further questions Lord Wolseley said:—

‘I think that an officer selected for the garrison artillery should be a man who has a very good turn for mathematics and mechanics; and, as I have already said, I think he should be a more highly scientific man by his education, and perhaps, as you say, by his inclination, than a man who may become a horse artilleryman or even a field battery officer.’

Asked by Sir Archibald Alison whether he considered that, as in other professions, progress in science should be regarded as a reason for subdividing the artillery, he said:—

‘That is my idea. As I have already said, an organisation which is good for a small corps of 4,000 or 5,000 men, which was the strength of the artillery in days gone by, is entirely inapplicable to a corps

which now reaches the number of 30,000 or even 40,000. As inventions increase and as science progresses you look for greater proficiency in organisation. In point of fact, the necessary tendency is to subdivide.'

On this Sir Robert Biddulph put a rather insidious question, saying :—

'You said that you thought that the duties of the field artillery were not more difficult than what a cavalry officer might easily learn, if required to take the duties of field artillery. You think, therefore, that what is necessary to be learnt by a field artilleryman is comparatively little.'

Lord Wolseley's answer was conclusive as to his meaning, and in our opinion most convincing. It was as follows :—

'I think what he has to learn in the tactical part of his profession is very considerable, and that the amount of tactical knowledge required is greater than it used to be; but as regards technical knowledge, regarded from a scientific point of view, I do not think it is very much greater than it was in days gone by; whereas with the garrison artillery the amount he has to learn has increased enormously.'

Lord Wolseley's views, as those of one looking at the question from outside the Royal Artillery, receive strong support from officers of the corps itself. Lieut.-General H. A. Smith considers it absolutely necessary that there should be an alteration in the present state of things. 'Heckled' by Sir Robert Biddulph as to whether it was in his opinion important that a field battery officer should be a good artilleryman, he replied :—

'Yes; but I doubt if that is so important as that they should understand the movement of troops. I believe that it does not require much science to serve field-guns, but rather to apply them at the right time and place.'

Later on, to another question he said :—

'I have always supposed that the loss of an acquaintance with the working of heavy artillery is not nearly so important to a field artilleryman as would be the loss of familiarity with the movement of troops in the field.'

Very important was the evidence of Sir Collingwood Dickson, who, prevented by illness from attending the Committee, sent a memorandum, from which we extract the following pregnant passages :—

'I have hitherto considered it to be undesirable to make any change in the existing organisation of the Royal Artillery. . . . The progress of science in gunnery, &c., is so enormous, and the changes in our armaments (particularly in heavy ordnance) are so frequent and varied,

that I confess it must be very difficult for officers and men of the garrison artillery to become perfectly efficient in their multifarious duties. . . . I am of opinion that a separation of the garrison artillery from the field artillery is advisable.'

Colonel C. Brackenbury, an officer of great and varied experience, and Director of the Artillery College, remarked that it was a waste to transfer an officer of the mounted branch, who has had long practical experience in that branch, to the garrison artillery, and equally so to transfer an experienced garrison artillery officer to field or horse artillery. He also expressed an opinion that the constant interchange of officers between different branches was objectionable. He added that the frequent changes which take place are 'terribly bad' for the discipline and instruction of batteries. Most clear and positive was his opinion that, 'taking an average officer, he has very nearly enough to do 'in these days to be a thoroughly good field artillery officer 'or a thoroughly good garrison artillery officer.'

Lieut.-Colonel Hime, well known as one of the cleverest men in the artillery, confessed that on being transferred from a field to a garrison battery he never during the eighteen months which he served in the latter attained the amount of knowledge which he considered necessary. He further remarked that 'in the garrison artillery service 'the whole nature of the duties and the whole spirit of the 'thing is different from that of the field artillery. . . . If 'an officer has been several years in the field artillery, I do 'not think that you will ever make him a good garrison 'artilleryman.' He advocated the separation of the horse, field, and garrison artillery, and attributed the defects in the artillery chiefly to its present organisation.

Colonel Trench, Chief Instructor of Gunnery at Shoeburyness, stated boldly that he saw the disadvantages of the present organisation of the Artillery :—

'The discipline is lower than in many other corps; the *esprit de corps* in the garrison artillery is very low.'

Asked to what he attributed the want of *esprit de corps*, he replied :—

'I think to the constant state of flux which every garrison battery is in, and very many field batteries. . . . Take for instance . . . the North Irish division, where they have had six new majors and eight new captains in twelve months.'

Asked whether he thought that an officer while serving in the garrison artillery could by study fit himself for sub-

sequent service in the field artillery, and whether field artillery officers could fit themselves for the garrison artillery, he answered in the negative. As to the garrison officer, he said :—

‘He may study field tactics, but he would know nothing about horse management at all, or practical tactics in the field. He would have no opportunity of seeing troops moving.’

He unhesitatingly expressed an opinion that the present system does not suit modern requirements; ‘the division of ‘labour in every department is so necessary.’

Major-General Williams stated that a knowledge of field tactics is very limited amongst officers who have been transferred from a garrison to a horse or field battery, and that ‘an officer who has served entirely in the garrison artillery ‘ought not to command a battery of field artillery or a ‘battery of horse artillery.’

Major E. O. Hay, commanding a field battery, declared that on promotion it frequently happens that ‘the square ‘men get into the round holes,’ and mentioned that a brother officer some three months previously had been promoted to the command of a field battery, though he had never ridden a horse since he was a cadet.

Major S. Gardiner, commanding a field battery, said that a horse or field artillery officer had neither time nor opportunity to study garrison artillery. He added that during the three years between October 1884 and October 1887, in eleven horse, twenty field, and thirty-two garrison batteries, every single officer had been changed.

Major G. Martin, commanding a mountain battery, made a very decided and obviously sound reply to a question whether every artillery officer could obtain a competent knowledge of horse, field, mountain, and garrison artillery. He said :—

‘No, I do not think it is at all possible. And not only that, but every man cannot have a bent in every direction. A man may, perhaps, not have the right figure, or he may not have riding power, and he is quite unsuitable for the field or horse artillery. Another man may not have the physical activity required for the work of a mountain battery, which is very hard work indeed, because it means marching in the hills by men where they cannot possibly ride, to keep his battery in efficient order.’

He stated later on that his idea was that the garrison artillery should be a totally distinct corps.

There is a general consensus of opinion, not only in the army generally, but among the artillery, as represented by

the witnesses examined by the Committee, that the garrison artillery is a most important branch of the artillery, that it is more scientific than the other branches, and that daily more scientific and mechanical knowledge is required from officers of the garrison artillery. We have it also stated that a garrison artillery officer should be familiar with the particular tactics which would be required at each fort or battery. On the other hand, witness after witness asserts that neither can a man who has spent some years in the garrison artillery become at once efficient in the field artillery, nor can an officer who has been chiefly employed in the field or horse artillery gain till after some experience the scientific knowledge indispensable in the garrison artillery.

One point was, curiously enough, but lightly touched on by the witnesses, yet it deserved attention. Not only may one man, from being a good or bad horseman, be fitted best respectively for the mounted or dismounted branch, but also experience and knowledge as a 'horsemaster' is indispensable in a major—or the captain who may be occasionally his *locum tenens*—of mounted artillery. A horse or field battery—the horses of which were not in good condition and health, whose ailments were not properly treated, would be comparatively useless, however good officers and men were in every respect. Much of the condition, health, and proper treatment of ailments must at all times fall on the officer commanding the battery; frequently, indeed, he is the only veterinary surgeon available. It must be a matter of certainty that an officer who for a dozen years has had nothing whatever to do with horses and stable management is utterly unfit to take charge of the horses of a field battery; his personal equitation also can seldom be of the highest class.

Another, and perhaps not the least important, result of the present system is that the garrison artillery suffers not only from having transferred to it officers from the horse and field artillery who are, as regards garrison artillery work, either rusty or quite new to it, but also that as a rule all strive to leave it for the mounted branches. Officers transferred to it on promotion are discontented and restless till they are again removed from it, while on appointment from the Academy every effort is strained, every interest made use of, to secure being posted to a field battery. This reluctance to serve in the garrison artillery is admitted by every witness, and is a matter of common notoriety. Indeed, so much is this the case that the senior cadet for theartil-

lery is as a rule considered to have a claim to be posted to a field battery.

The general impression of the officers of the artillery is that officers who have committed some offence not serious enough to entail dismissal from the service are either kept in the garrison artillery, or even, as a punishment, sent to that branch from the horse or field artillery. There is a sort of half denial on the part of the authorities that such a practice exists, but there is little doubt that it does. Again, the garrison artillery is unpopular because, save in India, they have no opportunity of seeing active service, and also because they are often stationed in isolated forts, where they have only one or two visitors, and are cut off from all social pleasures. Major-General Alderson said :—

‘The garrison artillery have always the worst stations ; they are all scattered about, and certainly in not very pleasant localities ; and that, probably, is a reason why officers do not care much to go into the garrison artillery, and try to get out of it as soon as they can.’

Lieut.-Colonel Goodeve said :—

‘Take my own case, and the batteries under me on the Sound, for instance, at Plymouth. There are three batteries there : one is at Picklecombe, and one is at Staddon, and one happens to be at Mount Wise just at present. The batteries at Picklecombe and at Staddon are virtually cut off from the rest of the world. We will say that one subaltern is on leave, and the other subaltern is in the fort. All the winter that subaltern would be by himself. His captain is married, and his major is married, and therefore you cannot expect that he will enjoy himself ; and that one subaltern has to live in this fort by himself continually. . . . The discipline suffers, and everything suffers, in consequence of the present system—the discipline especially of the batteries. The moment you come into headquarters the crime is reduced 50 per cent.’

Major Martin said :—

‘The reason of the garrison artillery being unpopular is that they are often put in lonely forts, and many of them are sent on detachments where they are a long way from any town in which they can get any amusement, and the officers and men do not like it. Perhaps there is one officer, or it may be two officers, in a fort ; they cannot have a mess ; life is exceedingly dull, and they have to go a very long distance before they can take part in social amusements. I think it is those very bad stations, and the continual detachments, that are the great cause of its unpopularity amongst many officers of the garrison artillery. Another reason for the unpopularity would be the fact that the great body of officers as a rule see so very little of their men ; they do not know the men, and the men do not know them. If one is continually working with the men, and can turn them out smart, one feels

a pride in one's work; whereas if one never sees the men, and they are always doing dirty work, and nearly always in shirtsleeves or canvas trousers, as garrison artillery men ought to be to do their work, one cannot take a pride in that sort of thing.'

The scarcity of subalterns in the garrison artillery is a crying evil, proceeding from two causes. One is that till lately, at all events, the field batteries have always been completed in subalterns before the wants of the garrison batteries have been attended to. Another is that the garrison batteries at home have, till this year, only been allowed an establishment of two subalterns each, and that one of these has generally been absent from duty with his battery by being either sick, on leave, going through a course of instruction, or on the journey from another battery. A little while ago the state of the garrison artillery was such that the authorities determined to give the latter its fair share of subalterns, but we learn that as regards captains the field artillery are still completed first. Moreover, there is always, as regards the whole of the artillery, a deficiency of duty subalterns. The establishment is but nominal, for second lieutenants are only gazetted twice a year, and for five or six months after they have received their commissions they are undergoing instruction at the artillery school. Colonel Markham, the Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General Royal Artillery, states that out of an establishment of 1,399 officers below the rank of lieutenant-colonel,

'there is always a deficiency of from thirty to sixty, in addition to which must be taken the last joined batch from the academy (thirty to thirty-five), which remains in a state of instruction until a succeeding batch has been commissioned, when the course is repeated, thus making the actual deficiency for battery duty from sixty to ninety and upwards.'

We are told that certain measures are to be taken to remedy this deficiency of officers. These measures are, doubling the number of commissions in the artillery 'in 'February next,' discontinuing the instruction of officers after being gazetted, thus enabling them to join their batteries at once, and employing a certain number of militia subalterns for six months at a time. These measures are all objectionable makeshifts. The occasional doubling of the commissions given to the Royal Military Academy can only, with the present accommodation of that institution, be accomplished by crowding the work of two of the years or terms into one. The dispensing with a course at the artillery college will have the effect of sending officers to their



batteries insufficiently trained unless the course at the academy be lengthened, whereas the tendency, as we have seen, is to shorten it. The making use of militia subalterns for six months at a time is a vicious arrangement, for if these subalterns are, in the event of war, to be transferred or temporarily attached to the Royal Artillery, the Artillery Militia will be deprived of their best officers just when they are most needed; for we have it in evidence that our home fortresses will, in the event of hostilities, be mainly manned by the auxiliary artillery, there being only one regular gunner for every gun at home. The new system by which Artillery Militia officers can, on passing a certain examination, obtain direct commissions in the artillery is also objectionable, seeing that their professional practical training must be very inferior to that which officers obtaining commissions from the academy receive. The point is this—the supply of officers trained in the manner decided to be the best is insufficient, and from this insufficiency the garrison artillery have in the past, and from the nature of things will in the future, suffer most. Also, the normal peace establishment of the garrison batteries has been, as regards subalterns for batteries out of India, too small, and there is no proper reserve of officers for the artillery, for the existing system resembles the one described as robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Not an unimportant cause of the comparative unpopularity and inefficiency of the garrison artillery is that an enormous amount of time is wasted on infantry drill and musketry. This practice not only absorbs time and energy which should be devoted to the proper duties of garrison gunners, but also lowers them in their own estimation. Colonel Richardson's evidence on this subject is as follows:—

‘Taking them away to do infantry work, and showing them off as bad infantrymen, has had a most deterrent effect upon the garrison artillery. . . . I was sent out on Southsea beach to skirmish against our own ironclad forts.’

Practising ‘marching past’ and ‘the attack formation’ cannot be viewed as other than a waste of time, seeing that one officer testified that out of his garrison battery it was with the greatest difficulty that he could get together twice a week enough men to man one gun. Then there is the manual exercise and the musketry practice with the carbine, which cannot be of much use to men whose proper weapon is a piece of artillery. Indeed, there seems considerable force in the suggestion that the carbine should be altogether abolished for the artillery.

So much for the unpopularity of the garrison artillery necessarily resulting in comparative inefficiency. But there are other causes of inefficiency which have not yet been mentioned. One of those causes is the great variety of guns and mountings—so great, indeed, that an officer or man on being transferred from one garrison to another finds frequently that he has as it were to begin to learn the mechanical part of his profession ; yet there is not a sufficiency of appliances at the various stations to enable them to acquire or rub up that knowledge. Even at Shoeburyness there are not sufficient ranges for the garrison artillery, and in the yearly course at Lydd only six out of thirty-eight service batteries at home take part. A similar want of appliances and opportunities of target and field practice is felt by the field artillery : while the number of officers of all branches who can go through a course at Shoeburyness is restricted. With regard to the horse artillery, we have a remarkable statement. Major-General Stirling asked Major Ritchie, employed on the staff of the artillery at the Horse Guards, whether subalterns of the horse artillery serving in this country were debarred from going through the long course at Shoeburyness, and received the following answer :—

‘ Yes, they have been debarred unless they resigned ; and that has arisen owing to the difficulty of foraging their horses. The Surveyor-General’s department some years back refused forage for the horses of those officers, as they were not using them for the public service, and they were not required to be left at certain stations for the public service ; they could not be used at Shoeburyness because there were no mounted duties for them, and it was considered a very great hardship to call upon these officers to sell their horses for a year and then repurchase them or replace them by others ; so that the rule has grown up that they are not called upon to find officers for Shoeburyness for the long course.’

From the evidence which we have extracted it will, we think, be evident that not only an improvement in administration is needed, but also a somewhat radical reorganisation. Of the thirty-four artillery officers whose opinions were elicited by the Committee nineteen were in favour of a greater or less amount of subdivision of the artillery arm into distinct branches, while fifteen were opposed to it, though all agreed that changes in administration were called for. Lord Wolseley was in favour of separation, while the Duke of Cambridge was opposed to it. Of the separatists, as we may style them, three were generals, five were

colonels, two were lieutenant-colonels, and nine were majors. The non-separatists were composed of seven generals, four colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, and two majors. Had captains been examined, we have reason to believe that they would have been quite as much in favour of separation as the majors appear to be.

In justice to the non-separatists we propose to state and deal with some of their principal arguments. These are few, and may be summed up as follows. Under the present system one part of the regiment serves as a reserve for the other; the garrison artillery benefit in smartness and discipline by containing a large number of officers who have served in the horse or field artillery; while the two latter gain by the artillery knowledge of the garrison artillery officers transferred to them; the fact that a division into separate branches would create possible administrative difficulties. Really, however, with the non-separatists among the artillery witnesses sentiment biassed their minds to a certain extent, and led them to believe that all existing defects could be removed by an improved administration. As to the Duke of Cambridge, it is notorious that the conservative turn of his mind is such that he resists all organic changes as long as possible, and his evidence really comes to this: 'Matters go on very well under the present system. It is an admirable system. The Royal Artillery is a splendid corps. Why change? Well, I admit that there are certain little defects, but really all that is wanted is an increase of men, material, and expenditure.' Asked if an officer going from a field battery is competent to do duty with the big guns at Malta and Gibraltar, he replied, 'Certainly; it is only a matter of study and drill.' Study without practice would, however, hardly suffice, and drill—i.e. practice—is precisely what a field battery officer would be wanting in. Questioned as to whether he considered that the corps as organised as at present compared favourably with other branches, he replied in the affirmative.

The Duke, in answer to a question put by Sir Robert Biddulph as to whether the separation of the mounted and dismounted artillery into two branches would be a source of difficulty in preparing for the field in any emergency, replied:—

'I am sure it would. We can do what we like now. We might have ten more batteries of garrison artillery, or ten more batteries of field artillery at the shortest notice. There is nothing to do but to have horses given to them and field equipment in order to convert a

garrison into a field battery, and in like manner field batteries could be rapidly converted into garrison batteries.'

His Royal Highness does not say where the trained horses and trained drivers are to be obtained, and he ignores the fact, admitted by every witness questioned on the subject, that field artillerymen require a certain amount of drill before they become efficient garrison artillerymen, and the converse. Asked whether the separation above referred to would prove injurious to the horse and field artillery, he gave it as his opinion that it would make the officers of the mounted branches less scientific; yet he admitted that science was less needed in the horse than in the garrison artillery. He also ignored the fact that a garrison artillery officer on being transferred to the mounted branch would need considerable training and practice and tactics, assuming, as most of the non-separatists did, that the cry for separation comes only from young officers. The Commander-in-Chief said, in a somewhat pedagogical style, 'What do these young gentlemen know about it? Nothing.' A young gentleman likes to mount a horse, that is all he cares about, and therefore he says, 'I wish to have the corps divided.' The Blue Book shows that a large majority of the field officers of the artillery advocate separation; but even if the advocates of that measure were chiefly subalterns it is surely a bad compliment to pay them to suppose that they desire to break up the corps simply because *some of them* would be able to ride a horse when on duty. The Duke enlogises highly the officers of the artillery, yet apparently he considers them selfish, frivolous, and devoid of a feeling of responsibility. As a matter of fact, the majority of the Royal Artillery officers, from the rank of colonel down to the rank of major, both included, gave evidence in favour of separation, and field officers can scarcely be styled 'young gentlemen,' or be supposed to be influenced very much by the desire of riding. The spirit in which he approached the subject was especially shown on two occasions. It had been proposed by the Committee, when he was first examined, that printed questions should be sent round, to be answered by all artillery officers. The Duke objected, saying, 'Do not do it. What do these young gentlemen know about it?'—evidently being unable to get the idea out of his head that those who were not examined were all 'young gentlemen,' and being afraid of their opinions. Asked again at his second examination, he said, 'I think you should not, because they cannot be conversant with the intricate details of our requirements.'

This explanation was scarcely relevant, seeing that it was not plans of reorganisation, but views on a broad principle, and details as to the working of the present system which the Committee needed. Again, Lord Harris asked if the Deputy-Adjutant-General's office could work out one or more schemes of reorganisation. The Duke refused, saying, 'I disapprove of the change proposed, and therefore it is the business of the other side to show how they propose the change to be effected.' Lord Harris, persisting, said: 'Then your Royal Highness thinks that certainly from the office we should obtain no scheme or detail involving separation.' The reply to this was, 'If you can get it from the office, you can of course do so; but I am no party to it, because I think it ought not to be done.'

The weakness of the Commander-in-Chief's argument and the inconsistency of his statements are apparent at the first glance. He lays stress on the fact that the opinions of those in favour of reorganisation are worthless because they are not acquainted with the details of our requirements; yet he sneers at them because they have not produced a scheme regularly worked out. Being ignorant of details only known at the War Office, they could not work out a regular scheme; besides, they were no doubt aware that if they made the attempt they would be marked men. The Duke may have disapproved of any reorganisation, but it surely was disrespectful to the Committee to refuse their very reasonable request that on certain data one or two schemes should be worked out by the only office capable of doing it, in order that they might see what would be the results of this or that mode of carrying out reorganisation.

Colonel Markham, who, though decided, was temperate in his opposition to reorganisation, grounds his objections on the following arguments. Owing to the artillery being one corps the authorities are enabled to reinforce in case of emergency one part of the corps from another. All-round officers are preferable to specialists. The garrison artillery benefit by the smartness of the field and horse artillery officers promoted into it, while the latter profit by the artillery knowledge of the garrison artillery officers promoted into or transferred to them. With regard to the first argument, with a proper reserve, which the artillery is now beginning to acquire, this reinforcing will be unnecessary. Besides, in the event of a European war it is impossible to tell from day to day on which branch the chief stress will fall. With respect to argument number two, the

evidence given to the Committee establishes the fact that the duties of the horse, the field, and the garrison artillery demand all the study and practice that can be given, and that on going for the first time after a long absence to a new branch the officers are for an appreciable time less efficient than they should be, less efficient than they would be if their attention were confined to one branch. This is especially the case with regard to field or horse artillery officers transferred to garrison batteries. Besides, as has been pointed out, different officers have different aptitudes. As to argument number three, the garrison artillery would under a proper system, and if treated as one important branch, not need extraneous aid for smartening up; while the artillery knowledge can certainly with a reasonable amount of practice and instruction come up to a sufficient standard of artillery acquirements.

Sir John Adye, whose obstinacy retarded for many years the adoption of the breech-loading system, uses the false analogy of the navy—an analogy so false that it would be waste of time to expose it. He, like the Duke of Cambridge and Colonel Markham, argues that it is an advantage to be able to reinforce one branch at the expense of another. He specially refers to the importance, in the Crimea, of having been able to reinforce the siege artillery by drawing on the field batteries. He forgets that there was no substantial difference during the Crimean war between the field pieces and the siege guns. Moreover, even if the present corps were broken up into several branches it would still be possible on an emergency to reinforce one branch by drafts temporarily transferred. He also prefers all-round officers to specialists, notwithstanding the special nature of the work performed by the different branches. So determined is he to see nothing but good in the present system, that he had actually the effrontery to say, in reply to a question whether the frequent changing of officers in batteries was good for discipline, ‘I do not think it hurts the discipline at all, and the officers and men are very much attached to each other.’ From all the evidence given it would appear that the officers and men have not afforded them much time in which to acquire an attachment to each other.

Lieutenant-General Radcliffe, formerly Deputy-Adjutant-General of Artillery at the Horse Guards, and subsequently Director of Artillery, objects to reorganisation, but really only brings forward two arguments to support his view:—

‘Without this interchange I firmly believe that the officers of each

branch would become slack and would lose interest. Those in the horse artillery, feeling the safety of their position, would not have the incentive to show their zeal and capacity, as they have at present, when looking for reappointment. The officers of field and garrison artillery would not have the hope of appointment to horse artillery to look forward to, and would consequently lose much of their interest in the service. Officers employed in one branch only would, on obtaining high rank, be less fitted for a general command of these three branches of artillery than if they had served or obtained experience generally as an artillery officer.'

It can scarcely be considered that a system is sound in which the best reward for zeal and proficiency as a garrison artillery officer is removal to another branch. As to General Radcliffe's second argument, the simple answer is that a field artillery general would command artillery in the field, and a garrison artillery officer artillery in a garrison or at a siege, better in each case than one whose experience had been divided between the two branches.

General D'Aguilar considers that there are advantages in having one corps, but his answers rather tend to prove the contrary. General Alderson, Director of Artillery, is a non-separatist, but of a mild type. He does not see why separation should be injurious, 'but I object to it as the 'regiment is constituted. I think it would be bad for the 'regiment now;' yet he candidly admits that artillery officers have not a general knowledge of all the various appliances of the service.

Major-General Sir W. Hamilton is as mild a non-separatist as General Alderson, as is shown by the following extract from his evidence:--

'It would tend to greater efficiency if officers of Royal Artillery were generally kept in one branch; but I would not entirely close the door to transfer by a division of the regiment into two field and one garrison artillery.'

Nevertheless he admitted that when field artillery officers were transferred to garrison batteries it took some little time to make them efficient. Also, in answer to a question whether the constant changing of officers from one battery to another was injurious to discipline, he replied, 'Most certainly.' Being further asked whether it was also injurious to teaching power, he said, 'Yes, in some degree, from officers 'having less interest in the battery and in the men in- 'dividually.'

General Williams is simply a non-separatist because he considers that the horse artillery should be officered by selection,

and he does not see how selection would be possible if the corps were broken up into separate regiments. For our own part, we do not see why selection should be impossible if the garrison and mounted artillery were separated, for it would always be possible to select horse artillery officers from their natural probationary school, the field artillery. Leaving, however, the horse artillery out of the question, General Williams's arguments and evidence are all in favour of separation.

Having gone through the evidence for and against separation, we are unable to come to any other conclusion than that the former predominates, both as regards numbers and weight. The condition of the artillery is, by the testimony laid before the Committee, plainly unsatisfactory. Even those opposed to separation admit that much is wanting to render the artillery as efficient as it should and might be. The chief difference between the two parties, as they may be called, is that the separatists maintain that, short of a separation of the corps into two or more regiments, substantial improvement cannot be looked for; while the non-separatists assert that all that is needed could be accomplished by a better system of administration. The Committee, influenced no doubt partly by considerations of expense, weariness of the constant experiments of which the army has for the last eighteen years been a victim, and also no doubt to a certain extent impressed by the strong opposition of the Commander-in-Chief and the Deputy-Adjutant-General of Royal Artillery, have recommended a compromise. This compromise is in reality, though not nominally, a reorganisation of the regiment, combined with some change in administration. We will now proceed to examine the suggestions made.

The Committee place upon record certain facts and conclusions. They record the following facts: Out of thirty-four Royal Artillery witnesses, nineteen, including three out of ten generals, and four out of nine colonels, are in favour of separation. The Commander-in-Chief is opposed to, the Adjutant-General in favour of, separation. Among Continental armies the German and the Russian are the only two in which there is complete separation of the mounted and foot artillery. The garrison is in England far less popular than the field and horse artillery.

The suggestions are briefly as follows: Garrison artillery Batteries to be concentrated at any rate during the winter. The institution of bands at large artillery centres. The establishment of auxiliary schools of instruction at the great



centres. The supply of *matériel* of recent pattern, both at home and abroad. The abolition of infantry drill. The garrison artillery to be trained only at their own duties, be inspected only in the discharge of them, and be judged only by their efficiency in them. Increase in the pay of officers of the garrison artillery, and the reservation to them of certain appointments 'for which their training and occupation specially fit them.' Organisation of the garrison artillery in three groups, of which Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the Thames defences (including Dover and the south-east coast) should be the centres. Each group to have attached to it a certain number of colonial stations, for which it should supply the garrison artillery. Each group also to furnish its share of batteries for India. Obsolete armaments on the coast to be withdrawn. With respect to field artillery, the Committee consider that there is no evidence to show that any change in administration is required. As to changes in organisation, it being based principally upon tactical requirements and ultimately connected with the general organisation of the army, the Committee feel themselves precluded from offering any recommendation. The Committee recommend that the mountain batteries in India should be localised.

The recommendations above summarised were signed by all the members of the Committee. Lord Harris, Sir Archibald Alison, Major-General Brackenbury, and Colonel Harrison submitted further recommendations with the view of, while avoiding nominal separation, remedying to some extent the most glaring of the acknowledged defects of the present system. These recommendations are briefly as follows: At the end of the first year cadets to elect whether they will go into the engineers or the artillery. At the end of the second year those who elect for the artillery to decide whether they will go into the field or garrison artillery. Choice to be given according to their position on the list on passing out. The mountain batteries to be officered from the garrison artillery. Officers who elect for the field artillery to serve first for two years in the garrison artillery. Conversely, officers who elect for the garrison artillery to spend the first two years of their service in the field artillery. The object of this is stated to be that officers might acquire such general knowledge as would enable them to serve with efficiency in the event of an emergency, in other branches than their own. As a rule, an officer once posted to a branch to remain in it, but freedom of exchange to be allowed, and the

Commander-in-Chief to have power to transfer an officer for the good of the service. Separate tests for promotion to be kept for each branch, but on exchange or transfer the seniority to be according to the commission of his rank. The before-mentioned members of the Committee likewise appended to the report a recommendation that the relief of the 'coast batteries'—meaning by this term, we presume, the garrison batteries—should be carried out by drafts instead of by entire batteries. This recommendation we cordially endorse. As to the remainder of the recommendations, we regard them, as we have said above, as a compromise. There are, however, strong practical objections to the plan, even if it be regarded as a stepping-stone to a more complete system. The duties of the garrison artillery are so distinct from those of the mounted artillery that to send a cadet on first appointment for two years to the field artillery is to oblige him to employ the two most teachable years of his life in acquiring knowledge which in nine cases out of ten will be quite useless to him in his subsequent career. Besides, it is scarcely likely that he will take much interest in his first two years' work, seeing that it is not that of his proper branch; neither will the officers of the field batteries take much interest in a youngster who is only a bird of passage. The same may be said of the two years which the mounted artillery officer is to spend in the garrison artillery. In the mounted artillery, a very important part of the work is connected with horses. The garrison artilleryman, on the other hand, need know nothing about horses. Consequently, in the one case a young officer would be gaining a superfluous knowledge, while in the other he would be for two years debarred of a training which cannot be begun too young. Again, we look with considerable suspicion and distrust on the power given to the Commander-in-Chief—who probably for some years to come will be the Duke of Cambridge—to transfer officers from one branch to the other for the good of the service. It would enable him to nullify the scheme, seeing that he openly disapproves of separation in any shape, and open the door to a great deal of jobbery. The proposed system, moreover, would do comparatively little to remedy the evils arising from the officers and men serving a short time together. Nor would *esprit de corps* be so strong as it would be in a small regiment. Finally, the retaining all the mounted batteries in one large branch is defective in that it does not give the groups which would be formed in war any permanent organisation in time of peace.

Major-General C. Brackenbury submits a scheme dealing with the foot artillery only, the main features of which are that this branch should be organised in three regiments, having different lists for promotion, and that the number of officers and men under the command of a major should be regulated by the number of men who can, with reference to distribution of armament and barracks, be most conveniently placed under his charge. The groups to have their headquarters at, respectively, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and the Thames. Each group, or regiment, to furnish the batteries of a particular area abroad. By his scheme he claims to make a substantial saving.

Major Walford, the Secretary to the Committee, submits a brief sketch of a scheme. He suggests that there should be two branches—one comprising horse, field, heavy field (in India) and mountain batteries; the other consisting of coast artillery. The coast artillery to be organised in eight regiments, each of two battalions, one battalion to be always abroad and to consist of four companies, the other battalion to be at home and to consist of four service companies and one dépôt company. The officers and men abroad to be relieved by drafts. Officers to serve five years abroad, and no soldier to be sent abroad until he shall have completed two years' service. The promotion of officers to go in the regiment. The recruiting to be partly local and partly through general dépôts. Major Walford claims for his scheme that it would be economical.

Colonel Geary, in some suggestions on the present organisation, does not confine his attention to the garrison artillery. He proposes *inter alia* that cadets should be invited to express a preference for field or garrison artillery, and as far as possible their wishes should be carried into effect according to the order in which they pass out of the academy; that no lieutenant should be transferred from field to garrison artillery, or *vice versa*, save by a *bond fide* exchange; that lieutenants promoted to captain should be posted according to their 'fall;' that a captain promoted to major should be posted to the branch for which his reports showed him to be most fitted; qualifications for each branch being equal, he should be posted according to 'fall;' that lieutenant-colonels should be given a definite command of three companies and accompany them in their moves, except abroad; that lieutenant-colonels of garrison artillery should serve always in the same district; that garrison batteries should never be removed out of their own district

except to a siege train camp, when their lieutenant-colonels should accompany them; that the ammunition columns in time of war should be constituted by garrison batteries, drivers and artificers being furnished by the reserve.

Colonel Harrison is the author of an ambitious scheme, appended to the Blue Book. It is of so obviously unpractical a nature that it calls for little more than mention. He proposes that the Royal Regiment of Artillery should be divided into three groups, viz. fortress artillery, field and horse artillery, mountain artillery, batteries of position, and siege artillery, the three last named to form one branch. As regards field and horse artillery, he considers that they are so efficient as to need little meddling with. He, however, suggests several points for consideration. The siege artillery he would organise in eight battalions, of which four should be at home, three in India, and one at Gibraltar; the latter would certainly enjoy ample means of practice.

Major Gardiner contributed a scheme for the reorganisation of the whole arm, including the field artillery. The scheme is bold enough, but it leaves untouched some important points. In outline it is as follows: The field artillery to be organised in sixteen brigades of two regiments each, two of the brigades being horse artillery. One regiment of each brigade to be at home and one abroad. Each regiment to consist of, for home, four batteries of four guns each, war strength six guns each; or of six batteries of three guns each, war strength four guns each. Each regiment abroad to consist of four batteries of six guns each. On mobilisation each home regiment to form its own *dépôt* and an ammunition column. The promotion of officers and non-commissioned officers to go in the brigade and regiment. The number of guns on a war establishment at present is 650, including thirty-six guns belonging to the *dépôt* batteries. According to Major Gardiner's scheme, the number would be 640, but of these thirty-six guns belong, as we have said, to the *dépôt* batteries, and may therefore be eliminated. The peace establishment is at present 616, while under Major Gardiner's scheme it would be 592. The advantage of having regiments of different establishments as regards guns is that it would be easy to detach any number of guns from one regiment that might be needed for a small expedition, while in case of the mobilisation of an entire army corps it would be easy to assign the different groups of batteries to a division, or the corps artillery, under their own lieutenant-colonels. The economy of the scheme lies in a slight diminution of majors

and captains, though on the other hand there would be more lieutenants and sergeant-majors. On the whole, we believe that under Major Gardiner's scheme we should get a field artillery which would be cheaper and have more available guns than at present.

The fortress artillery, Major Gardiner proposes, should consist of sixteen regiments of two battalions each, each battalion to consist of six service companies, with one *depôt* company added to each home battalion, one battalion of each regiment to be abroad, the other at home. The promotion of officers and non-commissioned officers to go in the regiments and battalions. As to the scheme as a whole, several important points are not touched on. For example, nothing is said of the mountain guns and the batteries of position, nor as to the appointment of officers to the horse artillery.

Having now endeavoured to set before our readers the various ideas and plans of the Committee, the officers who were examined, and the officers who formulated more or less their suggestions, we will proceed, with the aid of the data before us, to give our own notions on the subject. We unhesitatingly express our own conviction that the separation of the corps into distinct branches would add largely to its efficiency. Nay, we go further, and advocate the subdivision of the different branches into small regiments. Our reasons for arriving at this conclusion are three: 1st, such subdivision would intensify *esprit de corps*, and bring officers and men into closer connexion with each other; 2nd, reliefs would be facilitated; 3rd, it would be possible to a great extent to harmonise peace with war organisation. The first step, however, is to consider what should be the component parts of each branch. Should the horse artillery be a branch apart, or a portion of the field artillery? Should the siege batteries be distinct from the heavy batteries of position, or belong to the same branch or subdivision? Should both, or at all events the heavy batteries of position, belong to the field artillery or the garrison artillery? Which branch should provide the mountain batteries, or should they constitute a branch apart? How should the ammunition columns be formed? These are all most important questions on which there is much to be said on both sides, and we recognise fully that, whatever the decision arrived at, there will be certain irrefutable objections to it. But no human institutions are absolutely perfect; the only thing to be done, therefore, is to weigh advantages against disadvantages, and to adopt that plan which combines the greatest

number of advantages with the smallest number of disadvantages.

Let us take, first of all, the case of the horse artillery. It is undoubtedly a splendid branch of the army, acknowledged to be superior to the horse artillery of every army in the world. Are we to tamper with this almost perfect body? Of its importance no one is more convinced than ourselves, and we should be sorry to see any diminution of the efficiency of this, the pride of our army. The artillery officers themselves clearly advocate a continuance of the present system of officering by selection. This selection, in theory, is the picking out those who are the best riders and smartest officers from the rest of the regiment, provided also that they are zealous, well acquainted with their duties, and possess a certain amount of private fortune. If theory and practice went hand in hand together in this matter, the result would be that the rest of the artillery would be reduced in efficiency by their best officers being taken from the garrison and field batteries, and that the reward given to an officer for doing his work in a branch would be to take him out of it. We have reason to believe, however, that as a matter of fact the horse artillery jacket is frequently the outcome of interest. Moreover, many officers who are admirably suited for the horse artillery are too poor to be able to afford the expense of joining it. Such being the case, it cannot be contended that there is absolute selection now, seeing how many modifications of it there are. Besides, the men are selected as recruits, and they in smartness and activity are certainly as superior to the field and garrison gunner men as are the officers of the horse artillery to the field and garrison artillery officers. Hence, taking into consideration that of the superiority of the horse artillery much must in fairness be attributed to their special training and *esprit de corps*, we cannot believe that in real efficiency the horse artillery would suffer to any appreciable extent were the officers as well as the men selected when in the recruit stage, i.e. after being a year at the academy, or on leaving it. If this be conceded, there can be no difficulty in constituting the horse artillery a branch apart, with permanent service in it, and a separate list for promotion. The horse artillery have not duties and functions as distinct from those of the field artillery as have cavalry compared with infantry. At the same time it must be admitted that there is a distinction between the tactics of the horse and field artillery, and that in addition superior equitation, and constant practice in it, are of

paramount importance in a horse artillery officer, and not so in the field artillery officer. They practically are armed with the same weapon, and require an almost equal amount of artillery knowledge. For both, also, an officer to be efficient must be a good horsemaster. The horse artillery officer, however, ought to be a comparatively light and active man, delighting in daring feats of horsemanship, with a quick eye for country, and a power of rapidly arriving at a decision. The field battery officer need not be more than a respectable horseman: his pace is slower, and a stone or two more of weight is of little consequence, while his eye for country need not be so quick, and his formation of decisions is not required to be so rapid. In the one you need more dash, in the other more steadiness. The qualifications for the horse artillery can for the most part be judged of while a cadet is at the academy, while special subsequent training will develop them largely. We, therefore, advocate a separate branch of horse artillery, the officers to be selected on leaving the academy, no one of course being obliged to accept the appointment.

We now come to the difficult question as to what description of batteries should be comprised in the field artillery. Bearing in mind that the 20-pounder will probably be adopted as the heavy field batteries, or batteries of position, it is but natural that these should be classed with the field artillery. This gun is drawn by eight horses, and the principle on which the assignment of guns to the field artillery rests is in our opinion that they should be drawn by horses, and, if necessary, be able to manœuvre with infantry. When, however, they are drawn by bullocks or elephants, as is the case with heavy guns in India, or by heavy carthorses, we consider that they should not be included among the field artillery. In short, the classification should be regulated by the teams, and we consider that elephant and bullock batteries should be assigned to the foot artillery. The question also arises, what branch of the service should furnish the mountain batteries? These are chiefly used in India, but they are also employed in little expeditions against uncivilised forces all over the world. In fact, wherever there are no roads, whether the country be mountainous or not, mountain guns are the only pieces of artillery which can be used. Properly speaking, as mountain batteries are essentially mobile, they ought to form part of the field artillery; but seeing that different qualifications are needed in mountain artillerymen and in field artillerymen, and that prac-

tically not only men, but also officers, do their work on foot, there is no great violation of principle in assigning mountain artillery to the foot artillery. A strong argument in favour of this arrangement is that by it foot artillerymen are given an opportunity of seeing active service in the long intervals between great European wars. But it may be asked, why should not the mountain artillery be formed into a distinct branch? It is true that the work is of a special character, requiring special training; but in addition to the argument based on the desirability of giving the foot artillery some opportunity of taking part in our little wars, there is the question of administration. There are at present eight mountain batteries in India, furnished by the garrison artillery; and one mountain battery in South Africa, supplied by the field artillery. At home the greatest number of mountain batteries which could in reason be kept up would be two for despatch with any small expedition. Thus there would be nine batteries abroad and two at home, rendering the share of foreign service excessive. We arrive, therefore, at the definite conclusion that the mountain artillery should form part of the foot artillery.

Should the foot artillery be divided into two or more branches? It will be seen that, according to our view, it should consist of fortress artillery, siege artillery, heavy batteries of position drawn by bullocks, heavy carthorses, or elephants, and mountain batteries. As a matter of fact, the functions of the siege artillery and the elephant or bullock batteries of position—viewed in India as light siege trains—closely resemble each other. In both cases the guns have to be slowly and laboriously dragged to the scene of action; and the chief difference between the two is that in the one case the guns remain in action for a certain number of days, and in the other for a certain number of hours. There is no manœuvring in either case. We reduce, therefore, the number of descriptions of foot artillery to two, viz. sedentary and mobile. It would seem at the first blush that these two should have a separate independent existence. A little consideration, however, will, we think, bring about the conviction that there should be no such separation. In the first place, as we have shown that with the exception of India and South Africa—where there is temporarily a mountain battery—neither siege trains, bullock or elephant batteries, nor mountain batteries are permanently needed. The experience of the last seventy-three years proves that siege operations undertaken by us are of such rare occurrence that



it would be wasteful and unnecessary to maintain a permanent organisation with a view to a contingency which may never happen. In the interval referred to we have only had two regular sieges, viz. that of Sebastopol and that of Delhi. India can dispense with any siege trains, save such as can be furnished by the bullock and elephant batteries; and for the unlikely case—taking into consideration the tendency of the art of war in these days—of a siege out of India, the material being kept ready in store, and the organisation handy in the pigeon-holes of the Horse Guards, a heavy siege train for a European campaign could be soon and efficiently extemporised. There is also an excellent reason why the foot artillery should be kept united, viz. the necessity of giving all branches of that branch of the artillery arm some variety of employment, some chance of seeing active service. It has been stated in the evidence before the Committee that it is desirable that batteries should be kept a long time, if not absolutely localised, in our most important fortresses, in order that they may become familiar with the machinery, the communications, and the surrounding country. If, however, one battery be more or less localised at home, it follows that another battery must be localised in some distant and mountainous foreign state, say in the West Indies, or Hong Kong, or in a dull port at Plymouth, cut off from all social pleasures. To change merely from one to the other would not make the service popular and encourage recruits. On the other hand, if the foot artillery were kept intact, the officers and men in it would have four chances of seeing active service. First, a chance of having to defend our own fortresses at home and abroad. This, we admit, is a very slight chance, but still sufficiently good to be taken into consideration. Second, of undertaking siege operations abroad: not a very good chance either, but a better one than number one. Third, a rather better chance of active service with a bullock or elephant battery. Fourth, the good chance of active operations with a mountain battery. All these chances being added together would afford a foot artilleryman a very reasonable prospect of fulfilling a soldier's *raison d'être*. This would remove any idea of inferiority to other branches of the artillery. Nevertheless, though considerations of personal convenience and a natural bent to the more scientific work of the foot artillery would reconcile many officers to service in this branch, there is no concealing the fact that it will be always for the majority of young officers the less attractive service unless some special in-

duancements be added. We therefore strongly endorse the recommendations of the Committee in this direction, viz. that additional pay should be given, and certain appointments for which their training and occupation especially fit them.

With regard to the latter recommendation, we would strongly urge that the adjutancies of all auxiliary brigades of artillery which do not possess mobile batteries should be given to officers of the foot artillery as being best qualified to instruct them in their duties. In the case of its being determined to organise a certain number of brigades as genuine field artillery, then the adjutancies of such brigades should for the same reason be given to officers of the field artillery. Finally, we advocate that cadets, on being gazetted, should be posted permanently to either horse, field, or foot artillery, according to qualifications and predilection. Having laid down the general principles on which the re-organisation of the artillery should be effected, we will now proceed to deal with each branch somewhat in detail.

**Horse Artillery.** --The organisation of both this and the field artillery branch should, a large number of artillery officers think, be in several regiments. Sound reasons have been given for this plan, and to us they appear conclusive, if it were only that the peace and war organisation should harmonise. There are two points to be considered in connexion with this question, viz. the number of batteries which can be properly commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, the barrack accommodation, and the size of the various groups of batteries in an army corps. As half the horse artillery, including the *depôt* batteries, are at home, and half in India, obviously the best arrangement would be to retain the existing organisation, viz. of two bodies to be called either brigades or regiments. We prefer the term regiment, as more closely representing what the body would be. We would suggest that there should be two regiments of horse artillery, each of two battalions, each battalion to consist of, one six batteries, the other five. The *depôt* batteries being converted into service batteries, this arrangement would involve no addition to the existing number of batteries. Each regiment should have a battalion at home and a battalion in India, all reliefs to be effected by drafts. Promotion to go in the regiment. A *depôt* only to be formed when half the batteries of the home battalion are out of the country. In the event of the mobilisation of two army corps, each home battalion would furnish the five batteries of each army

corps, each set of four batteries being commanded by their own lieutenant-colonel.

The number of field batteries—excluding one now acting as a mountain battery in South Africa—is eighty service and four dépôt batteries. Of the service batteries forty-two are serving in India. If the existing eighty-four batteries were organised in seven regiments of two battalions, with one battalion abroad and one at home, the dépôt batteries of each regiment being only formed in the event of a general mobilisation, the total number of batteries would remain the same as at present. As the officers and men of the regiment would be continually interchanged between the home and foreign battalions by means of drafts, there would be no object in changes of quarters at home, or, at all events, change of quarters might be much less frequent than at present. As to the difficulty of finding barrack accommodation for even as many as three batteries in one place, we cannot but think that this could be gradually overcome by selling some of the existing single-battery barracks, often occupying sites of considerable value, and applying the proceeds to the purchase of new and cheaper sites, and building new barracks. As it is, there are eight field batteries at Woolwich and six at Aldershot. All promotion of officers should go in the regiment.

We now come to the foot artillery, which we propose should comprise garrison artillery, siege trains, non-manceuvring batteries of position, and mountain batteries. At present there are one hundred and eighteen garrison batteries, including eleven dépôt batteries. Of these four are bullock or elephant batteries and eight mountain batteries. Of the whole one hundred and eighteen batteries sixty-eight are abroad. We would add the dépôt batteries to the number of service batteries, and also the field artillery now acting as a mountain battery in South Africa, and raise an additional battery. These one hundred and twenty batteries we would organise in ten regiments of two battalions of six batteries each. One battalion should be always at home and one battalion always abroad, the foreign battalion being relieved by drafts from the home battalion. Promotion should go in the regiment. The batteries should be localised as far as possible, and the strength of the battery—or company, as it should be called—of the fortress artillery should vary according to the number of guns which in each fort a major could conveniently command, or which are in position. The great object should be to avoid breaking

up batteries, and in large fortresses to place two or more batteries under a lieutenant-colonel of their own battalion. All detachment duty should as far as possible be performed by the coast brigade—which should be augmented—and in India by a small corps of invalid artillery. It will be observed that sixty-eight batteries are now abroad as against sixty under our scheme. The companies abroad therefore should, in comparison, have a higher establishment.

The wastefulness of connecting field batteries with ammunition columns is obvious. What are the duties of an ammunition column? These are to transport, keep from damage, and issue spare ammunition of all sorts to an army in the field. Surely, therefore, they should be rather a branch of the Ordnance Store Corps than of the artillery. The Ordnance Store Corps is naturally the corps to take charge of the ammunition, and there is no reason why the artillery should furnish the transport for it rather than for any other military purpose. Owing, however, to the fact that artillery drivers are more accustomed to take wagons over rough ground than are the drivers of the Commissariat and Transport Corps, and seeing that the reserve of these drivers is small, we would suggest that the transport required for the ammunition columns should be provided by reserve drivers of the Royal Artillery, and the additional men now gunners and batmen partly by the reserve of the Royal Artillery, partly by the militia reserve, and partly by such volunteers as might voluntarily undertake the duty.

A few words about officering the garrison or foot artillery. It is admittedly at present the most unpopular branch of the artillery. It is a question whether separation from the rest of the arm would not render it still more unpopular, and whether it would not be difficult to get officers willingly to join it. Of course the granting of commissions on leaving the academy to the different branches, according to qualifications, predilections, and place at the final examination, would secure a sufficient number of officers. But unless these felt that the foot artillery presented some attraction to counterbalance those which the horse and field batteries undoubtedly present, the foot artillery officers would be, as regards qualifications, the worst of each batch quitting the academy. This would be a most undesirable result, but we are convinced that the advantages suggested, alike by the Committee and ourselves, would induce many able young men to select the foot artillery. Even if they themselves had a preference for horse and field artillery, the extra pay and good appoint-

ments reserved for them would influence the parents. This is the case with the engineers, most of whom are attracted by the higher pay and prospective appointments solely, and not by any preference for the work itself. What applies to the engineers will, we confidently believe, be found to apply to the garrison artillery equally.

We have now gone through the various branches of the subject which forms the text of this article. We have necessarily dealt with the various points in a more or less general manner, and have been obliged for want of space to leave much untouched. The object which we set before us will, however, have been attained if we have succeeded in convincing our readers that the optimism with which the Commander-in-Chief and certain artillery generals have sought to lull the public is unfounded on fact, and that the Royal Artillery needs not only an improved administration, but a radical reorganisation. Our artillery is a splendid body of officers and men, but is capable of vast improvement as a whole. This is recognised to be the truth by the large majority of artillery officers themselves; and it is to be regretted that official *non possumus* should prevent the country turning to full account the energy, zeal, and capacity of the officers and men of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. The corps recognises its need of improvement, and asks to be improved; surely public opinion will force the Government to grant its request

ART. X.—1. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates for 1888.*

2. *Lord Hartington's Address to the Electors of Rossendale,* June 16, 1886.

3. *The Right Hon. G. J. Goschen, M.P., at Birmingham,* 'Times,' December 13, 1888.

4. *Lord Derby at Liverpool,* 'Times,' December 19, 1888.

5. *Lord Hartington at Liverpool,* 'Times,' December 19, 1888.

6. *Lord Salisbury at Scarborough,* 'Times,' December 21, 1888.

IT is very necessary in political controversy, especially for those more immediately engaged in the strife, from time to time to step aside from the turmoil and noise of the combat, in order to survey more completely and more quietly the general situation of affairs. The actual progress of a campaign is often but little affected by incidental skirmishes, which, nevertheless, to the soldiers engaged may appear at the time to involve nothing less than the fate of the contending armies. In the war of British parties at the present time it is specially desirable to bear this in mind. The ultimate objects for which each party is contending must not be lost sight of in the interest bestowed upon mere incidents of the contest. It may be that a wily leader of a party will sometimes endeavour to concentrate the attention of the public solely upon such incidents, in the hope that he may get them to forget their disapproval of his grand scheme of policy—by pointing their indignation against what he describes as a cruel and bloodthirsty system of government. 'Let the watchword of our party be, *not* the merits of Home Rule, but the wickedness of the Unionist Government;' so seems to speak the once great leader of the Liberal party. 'Let us inscribe on our banners a simple scroll, "The Badness of Balfour;" and under this inspiring legend let us march on in confidence to victory.' An astonished public has heard it declared on authority that the game of law and order is up;—let political principles go to keep them company! The Government is bad, Mr. Gladstone is good, only give him a majority and you will see—what you will see! If *this* were Liberalism, alas for the future of the Liberal party! Liberalism it is not. It is nothing but the appeal of a party leader for power; an appeal to party prejudice and to the ignorance of the masses whom he flatters. It is as consistent with Toryism as with Liberalism; indeed it is *more*

consistent with the former than the latter, if the boast of the old Liberal party were a true one, that to it belonged in the main the men of independent and inquiring and even somewhat sceptical minds; who, whilst the Tories owned no 'argument but force,' prided themselves on 'obeying no force but argument.'

For the time Mr. Gladstone has given up argument on the question which divides political parties. Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain, and other statesmen, have put to him, time after time, questions which must be answered before Home Rule again assumes a practical form; which must be answered if the British people are to understand what is Mr. Gladstone's proposal for the future government of the British Islands. The truth is that Mr. Gladstone has no scheme to propose. The Home Rule Bills of 1886 were destroyed by discussion in the country even before they were rejected by Parliament. They could hardly hold up their heads during the general election; and they are now declared to be dead by almost all those Englishmen who supported them. Beyond this the public knows nothing except that Mr. Gladstone is in favour of an Irish Parliament and Government. It is *believed*, on the strength of those obscure utterances for which the late Prime Minister has become famous, that Irish members are to be retained at Westminster; so that whilst British influence is to be rigidly excluded from the Government and the politics of Ireland, Irishmen are to take a large share in the government and politics of Great Britain.\* Nothing is more curious in Mr. Gladstone's political action since the general election, and be it added more significant, than his deep distrust of Home Rule as a practical measure of re-

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\* The only statement at all definite upon this point that has, as far as we know, been made by Mr. Gladstone was contained in a letter, dated October 26, 1888, which was read at a public meeting at Dalkeith. The important paragraph runs as follows:—

'I rejoice, though without surprise, to learn how largely not only Scotsmen in general, but such Scotsmen as were at one time dissentient, have comprehended and appreciated the position which we have given to the question raised about the retention of Irish representatives at Westminster. Great Britain, free, by an honourable and perfectly public understanding with Ireland, to determine that question as she shall deem best for Imperial interests, has, I conceive, indicated a *very general desire, without entering into particulars*, in favour of such retention, and, *without seeking in any way to bind the judgement of the country*, we recognise that desire and are prepared to give it effect. This, I hope, is clear.'

form which can bear the light of day. *As a phrase* it is admirable; and a phrase may rally a party, if from that party have retired nine out of every ten men who were accustomed to weigh phrases. In old days the Liberal party in or out of office were definite enough in their aims. In the great struggle for Reform the popular cry was for 'the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.' As regards the Irish projects of 1886 the Home Rule leaders assure us, 'It's not the Bill, it's neither Bill, and it's nothing like the Bill.' Then what is it?

Mr. Gladstone, on almost every occasion when he speaks, begins by scolding Liberal Unionists for refusing to abjure at his command the principles of the Liberal party, as they have been held by every Liberal statesman from the Irish Union till his own surrender in 1886. This is usually followed by an elaborate and ingenious disquisition upon the figures polled by the rival candidates at the latest election (if it has in any way been favourable to him), and the rest of his speech is then devoted to Mitchelstown or to Mandeville, to the brutal behaviour of the police, the almost murderous conduct of the prison authorities, and the infamous action of the magistrates. But as to *what* Home Rule is to be, as to *how* it will improve the state of Ireland, as to *what measures* an Irish Government and Parliament are likely to adopt, as to how differences and difficulties are to be avoided between Ulstermen and Parnellites, between Ireland and Great Britain, not a word! His party in the House of Commons imitates very closely the tactics of the Parnellite party in the Parliament 1880-1885, against Mr. Gladstone and his Irish ministers. *They* rarely set themselves to explain their demand for Home Rule. *They* continually denounced Mr. Forster, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Trevelyan, the judges, the magistrates, and the police, as tyrannical, corrupt, cowardly, and cruel, and *they* set themselves, by deliberately wasting the time of the House of Commons, to prove that a Parliament of the United Kingdom could be reduced to impotence, and degraded in the estimation of the public. But after all, when the country is sharply divided by men's views on a great question of principle, that party will in the long run prevail whose principles grow in general acceptance with the public. Incidents such as those on which Mr. Gladstone delights to expatiate serve the turn of a platform orator admirably for a day, but they do not greatly affect the general judgement of the public. Neither do obstructive tactics in the House of Commons, though they



annoy a Government, gain substantial popular support to an opposition. Of course could Mr. Gladstone show that Mr. Balfour's myrmidons treat the lives and liberties of Irish Nationalists as of no account, that they shoot them down ruthlessly in the streets, or murder them in prison, a cry of indignation would arise which would sweep any Government out of office. Unfortunately for Mr. Gladstone, in these latter days, his incidents are badly chosen. They are not founded on fact. Prisoners are more leniently treated in Ireland than in England, and he has himself, through his colleagues, repeatedly been guilty of every act of authority which, now that he finds himself in opposition, he is not ashamed to denounce as instances of brutal and unprecedented coercion. It is a part of Mr. Balfour's duty to prevent distortion or perversion of the facts from weakening the respect for Government in Ireland, and from biasing the mind of the British public against the law; and admirably he performs that duty, exposing the stage tricks of the professional politicians whom he has thoroughly found out, their mock martyrdoms, their spurious patriotism, and their frantic rhetoric, and, with an occasional touch of sarcasm which it is impossible to repress, persistently, yet quietly, disproving lies, and protecting public servants from the calumnies which, whether the Government is administered by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Trevelyan, or by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, alike assail Irish officials who do their duty, from the Lord-Lieutenant to the humblest police constable.

Putting aside, however, all controversy on such incidents as these, let us consider how fares the great question which has divided politicians for the last three years, and which has wrought such havoc in the Liberal party. That question about which, in our opinion, there can be no compromise, is the great question of the Union—a question of principle as clear and well defined as it is possible to conceive; a principle as deep-reaching as any principle that has ever divided parties. Does the Unionist faith gain ground or lose it with the British public? The faith, that is, that over the British Islands one Parliament and one Government shall be supreme, in fact as in theory; that to the law of this Parliament every British citizen in every part of the kingdom shall continue to owe obedience, and that to it every citizen shall have a right to appeal against injustice and wrong. It was no small matter of detail which rent from top to bottom the Liberal party. If Mr. Gladstone

accepted with a light heart the political creed of Mr. Parnell, it was with a full sense of responsibility, and of appreciation of the difficulties into which the nation was to be plunged, that the most trusted of Liberal statesmen determined to stand by their principles against the leader who had so wantonly surrendered them. So far, the difficulties have no doubt been considerable, as it was foreseen they would be; but so far they most assuredly have not been found to be insurmountable, and there is no reason to believe that they will be greater in the future than in the past. On the contrary, it appears that as time goes on these difficulties tend to diminish. Lord Hartington is the acknowledged and trusted leader of a party in the House of Commons numerically small, yet containing within it elements of considerable strength and occupying a position of weight in Parliament and the country. Many of his followers in and out of the House of Commons are men who in the past have done very great service for the Liberal party. The leaders have been foremost in Parliamentary strife and in the trying periods of electoral contests; and of the rest many have won, and helped to win, Ministerial seats, and have in various ways greatly assisted the local work of their party, whilst to Lord Hartington himself it had been due that the party had been kept together, when Mr. Gladstone had been driven by temporary defeat from the field. Without the assistance of the men now known as Liberal Unionists, without Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Henry James, the late Mr. Forster, and we think we may say also the late Mr. Fawcett, would Mr. Gladstone have won any of his triumphs of recent years? The loss to a party in the House of Commons even of some seventy or eighty 'items' would almost always suffice to upset a Ministry and a policy for a time. But Mr. Gladstone has lost the support, or rather earned the political hostility, of men who are not mere items, who have done yeoman service in the past for their party, whose energies are now employed against him, and whose individuality gives them in the long run far more power than belongs to the glib candidate whose whole political achievement is the repetition of some parrot cry suggested by his leader or his caucus. The Gladstonian party flatters itself that at another general election it will surely triumph. That is the invariable belief, or rather the invariable boast, of every Parliamentary minority. When one asks the grounds of this belief one is told that 'the Liberal party' has never

yet failed in its objects ! Is it the name, then, of ' Liberal ' to which victory has attached, and not rather the objects and ends for which Liberals contended ? If the whole purpose of the party is changed, will victory be assured to it merely by keeping a name ? Is it the thing or the name which in the past has prevailed ? To us it appears to be natural and almost inevitable that in the England of the nineteenth century the party which favoured democratic reform, which made war on privilege, whether of classes or institutions, which reduced taxation, which freed commerce, which appealed frankly on great political issues to the judgement of the people, should have prevailed over a party which was identified with privilege, exclusion, and protection. And to us it seems to be none the less natural and inevitable, that when the old distinctions have passed away, and when the so-called Liberal party has embraced a political creed in conflict no longer with the rule of a mere class, but with the national sovereignty of the British democracy itself, a very different fate should await it.

If Home Rule is to gain the victory over the cause of the Union, the day must come when the phrase ' Home Rule ' will have to be translated into the prosaic language of an Act of Parliament. Is there any sign of the approach of such a day ? Has any suggestion been thrown out which renders it probable that a new Home Rule Bill *can* be framed which the British public *can* be got to tolerate ? As far as we can see, the difficulties of Home Rulers are growing rather than diminishing, and the attempt made to get support to Home Rule by the half-promise of Mr. Gladstone to keep Irish members at Westminster will be found to have added tenfold to the perplexity of his position. Our belief is that though a large portion of the British public would like to see Mr. Gladstone back in office, a very small portion of them have any serious intention of setting up a separate Government and Parliament in Ireland, and this view we humbly commend to the consideration of Mr. Gladstone's principal lieutenants.

With Christmas came to an end one of the longest sessions ever endured by Parliament. Meeting on February 9, Parliament adjourned in the middle of August to October 6, and did not rise till the Royal Assent had been given to the Appropriation Bill on Christmas Eve. The present time is, therefore, a convenient one for taking stock of the work of the session, and for considering the relative strength and position of rival political parties. The speech of Mr. Goschen

at Birmingham, on December 12, gives a useful summary of the principal events of the session, and it is itself, moreover, one of the many marked signs of the changed relations in Parliament, and out of it, of the two great parties in Great Britain. Three years ago who could have predicted that Mr. Goschen would have been the honoured guest of the Radicals of Birmingham, where he was come to maintain the cause of which Mr. Chamberlain is one of the stoutest champions? Three years ago either statesman would have been startled at the thought of close political alliance with the other; but that would have been because to neither could it have seemed possible that a British statesman and a British party would countenance an assault upon the unity and nationality of the kingdom. 'Democracy, Unity, and Order' are the watchwords which Mr. Goschen gives to the Unionists of Birmingham and of the country. Can anyone feel surprised that Mr. Chamberlain should fight in such a cause? And can anyone honestly deny, after reading the speeches of Gladstonian orators, that a standard has been raised by a political party 'from which the words "Unity and Order" have been erased'? The work in which, during the past session, Liberal and Conservative Unionists have been engaged has gone far to consolidate them into a single party. The Government which they support has shown that whilst determined to maintain order, it is also zealous and capable in the cause of progress and reform. Mr. Goschen many years ago was the pioneer of Local Government Reform. That reform has been accomplished by the passing into law of Mr. Ritchie's Bill, by a Government in which Mr. Goschen is, according to old party nomenclature, the only Liberal statesman. In its character this reform is in absolute unison with Liberal principles and sentiments. It bases county government upon the principle of popular representation. It substitutes for the rule of privileged persons the rule of county councillors, elected upon a democratic franchise. To describe a Government which passes such a measure as a 'Tory Government,' is to employ old words in a new sense. The Government is not Tory, and is not even Conservative, unless, indeed, those terms are to be employed as merely synonymous with opposition to Mr. Gladstone. In the more ignorant constituencies an election is still waged between 'the blues' and 'the yellows,' without any reference, in the minds of many electors, to what those names may signify. In the mouths of some men who should know better the words 'Liberal' and 'Tory' have as

little meaning, and by the local wire-puller and the petty caucus no higher conception of politics is desired. It is not their part to trouble themselves with the merits of political questions.

Whilst in the House of Commons both sections of Unionists have steadily grown in mutual confidence, and in the recognition of the feasibility of joint political action, the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties in the constituencies have been surely, though less rapidly, learning the same lesson. The distrust and suspicion so natural at the time of the general election, between bodies of men who had only a few months before been in vigorous opposition to each other, are giving way on all sides. 'Unionist' meetings are now held almost daily, at which Liberals and Conservatives take part in the proceedings, and show equal zeal for the common cause. It was not so a year ago. The example set at the great meeting at Her Majesty's Theatre in the spring of 1886, when Lord Hartington and Lord Salisbury stood side by side in defence of the Union, was not followed even at the generality of the meetings of Unionist candidates during the general election. The growing consolidation of the Unionists is due partly to their holding a great political principle, in comparison with which all the other political differences of the day sink into nothingness; partly to the bitterness of the attacks made upon Liberal Unionists by the Gladstonian leader, who, having finally broken with his whole past, has flung himself into the arms of that party which is led by Messrs. Parnell and Labouchere; and partly to the belief of Liberals—which last session has done so much to strengthen—that Lord Salisbury's Government is in earnest upon remedial measures, upon measures of practical improvement both in Ireland and Great Britain, whilst it does not flinch from its first duty of maintaining the law.

It is a conspicuous trait of all Mr. Goschen's speeches at public meetings that he addresses himself to the intelligent mind of his hearers upon the real merits of the matter under discussion. The last three or four years have made the public acquainted with him under a new aspect, as one of the very best platform speakers of the day, and the more popular the audience the more successful the speech. If there comes an interruption from an opponent, showing that one of his hearers, at least, thinks he has an answer to the argument of the orator, Mr. Goschen turns to him with positive delight, and sure of his ground, and with his wits marvellously about him, throws into a few telling sentences

the complete demolition of some popular sophistry or the thorough exposure of the latest plausible fallacy. In truth, Mr. Goschen respects the intelligence of his fellow-citizens, even when in public meeting assembled. His speeches to the country are therefore on as high a level as his speeches in Parliament. He wants the British elector to think. Other orators take a different view. Appeals to passion, to class prejudice, to sectional or local jealousies, with much flattery of 'the masses,' are the ingredients they consider essential to the successful popular advocacy of their cause. In time, the British elector will discover, if he has not already done so, that it is more respectful treatment to be reasoned with than to be flattered.

In none of his speeches has Mr. Goschen taken a higher line than in that at Birmingham, where he chose for his text the duty of the 'New Democracy.' At home and abroad, he told them, the electors have to realise their responsibilities. We must know our own minds. We may endeavour, for instance, to withdraw ourselves from European complications, but we nowadays find Europe in Asia and Africa; and wherever our commerce expands, our liabilities increase.

'Do not misunderstand me. I have not been speaking to you in an alarmist mood, but I do wish this country should look its liabilities, and its future, and its anxieties, and its dangers fairly in the face, and that we should not be lulling ourselves to sleep while other countries are very wide-awake indeed. Our fathers and our grandfathers had a distinct policy. They had a great and deep care for the expansion of this country, and side by side with that they felt traditionally that there were certain duties of civilisation which this country was called upon to perform. They had the ready determination to put down the slave trade wherever they had the power to do so. They did not stint either the number of ships or the number of millions which were to be devoted to what they deemed to be a sacred British cause. They saw the necessity for the expansion of England. Do we less feel in these days the need of that expansion?'

This, he goes on to point out, does not concern the wealthy and commercial classes alone:—

'It is a matter in which the busiest hives of industry, in which the swarming toilers in our great manufacturing cities are equally and as deeply engaged. . . . What I am anxious for is this, and I cannot exaggerate the anxiety which I feel upon this point. It is that the new democracy should make up its mind as to what it wants; that it should have some clear line of what it considers to be its interest and its duty in foreign and colonial policy; and then that it should adhere

to that policy without swerving and without fear of the sacrifice involved. You cannot have empire without sacrifice.'

He points to Bechuanaland. If imperial authority is to be maintained there, for the sake of the native inhabitants, philanthropy 'will degenerate into simple cant' if there is afterwards a refusal on the part of the philanthropists to pay the necessary bill.

'Do not think,' continues Mr. Goschen, 'that there is no connexion between such subjects as these and our policy as to the union between Great Britain and Ireland. There is a deep and very significant connexion. . . . To me there is no sign more dangerous in this Irish controversy than the effect which surrender and defeat in Ireland would have upon our moral position in the world—on our moral position, on our material position, on our political position, on our imperial position. Sometimes, while we lose ourselves in the details of this controversy, we may blind ourselves to the greatness of the issues which are at stake. Sometimes it may be thought it is, after all, a struggle between parties. Sometimes it may be thought a mere struggle between England and Ireland. No! It is the empire and the interests of the empire at large which are involved, and if we forget this foreign observers do not forget it.'

In his special department, moreover, Mr. Goschen has something to say for himself. To have reduced the income tax by twopence, i.e. by four millions, during his tenure of office, to have relieved the ratepayers by a million and a half, and tobacco-smokers by some six hundred thousand, together constitute an amount of work done, amply sufficient to entitle any Chancellor of the Exchequer to the gratitude of the public. The income tax is our great reserve. If a time of emergency arrives, nothing is easier than, 'by a turn of the wrist,' to put it up again, and at once add several millions a year to the revenue. The payers of the income tax are the 'old guard' who will have to bear the brunt of the battle when the crisis is upon us. Yet, notwithstanding all these reductions of taxation, seven millions sterling of the National Debt have been paid off during the last year! When we remember that to this list of benefits has to be added the conversion of the debt, by which the nation has gained the full advantage of its improved credit, a measure which only the skilful management of an able financier could have brought to successful accomplishment, it must be admitted on all hands that in the matter of the guardianship of the nation's purse the Unionist Government has achieved signal results.

The principal legislative achievements of the session—the

Conversion of the Debt Act, the Local Government Act, the Land Purchase (Ireland) Act, and the Railway Rates Act—are enough to render the year 1888 memorable. No supporter of the Unionist Government need fear comparison between the value of the work done last year and that done in any session of recent Parliaments. That *more* work of a useful kind was not accomplished was not the fault of the Government; it was the wish of the Opposition to prevent legislation, and with many of them—it is most painful to have to state it—the better the promised legislation seemed to be, the more determined were they that the Government should not gain credit by passing it. Measures introduced by Mr. Balfour, with the single end of improving materially the condition of the Irish people, and having no political object, were kept back, and, by being kept back, were destroyed. The Land Purchase Bill itself was resisted by the Gladstone-Parnellite combination, not quite as directly and frankly, perhaps, but almost as fiercely as if it had been a measure of coercion. Let no one any longer suppose that the Gladstonian party in these latter days is the friend of ‘remedial measures’ in Ireland, when at least such measures proceed from a Unionist Government. Did that party lift one finger to assist a land policy for which the soul of John Stuart Mill had always hungered, and which John Bright himself had inaugurated? The dream of a peasant proprietary, of a large increase of occupying owners, had long fascinated the imagination of advanced liberal thinkers, whose ideas had gradually permeated the minds of most thoughtful politicians. Thanks to Mr. Bright, something had already been accomplished. The proposals of Sir George Trevelyan and Lord Spencer had gone even further than the Ashbourne Act in the direction of employing the credit of the State to convert occupying tenants into proprietors. Lord Ashbourne’s Act had been passed with the full approval of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party, and these schemes had been criticised by the Parnellites solely on the ground of the insufficiency of the amounts which the British Exchequer was to advance.\* The Act had proved a complete success. In every part of Ireland occupiers had been buying, and had been regularly repaying the

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\* At the foundation of the National League in 1882, one of the objects of the League was declared by the rules then adopted to be the purchasing out of landlords by occupiers, with money advanced to them for that purpose by the State.



instalments of interest and principal due to the State. The amount, 5,000,000*l.*, authorised by that Act had been advanced, and more applications for advances were rapidly coming in from all parts of Ireland, and no wonder! for never before in any country has the State offered such a boon to the farmer class. To each occupying tenant whose landlord was willing to sell, the offer was made by the State to advance the *whole* purchase-money of his holding, after which the tenant was to be discharged from all future payment of rent to his landlord, becoming liable in lieu of it to pay *a less sum than the existing judicially fixed fair rent* to the State, every year for forty-nine years. By that time principal and interest would have been wholly repaid to the State, and the occupier would be the owner of his holding, freed and discharged from any burden whatsoever. Such is one of the advantages open to Irish occupiers of land in consequence of the union of their country with a State whose pecuniary credit stands high. No Irish Government, it need hardly be said, could give privileges such as these to Irish citizens. For its advances under the Ashbourne Act the State has the security of the landlord's guarantee deposit, and of the value of the tenant's interest in the holding, to fall back upon, in case of a failure on the tenant's part to pay the necessary instalments. Under this Act, in 3,600 cases advances were made in respect of tenancies under 10*l.* in rent; in 3,200 cases where the rent was between 10*l.* and 30*l.*; and in 1,800 cases where the rent was over 30*l.*; and in no one case had any difficulty arisen as to the payment of instalments. It is difficult to conceive how any experiment could have been more successful. The Act was largely taken advantage of in every province of Ireland; even in Connaught the applications were very largely on the increase. The five millions had actually been advanced, and unless further provision was made, the beneficent operation of the Act would at once come to an end.

Under these circumstances the Government during the recent autumn session brought forward a Bill of a single clause, to amend the Ashbourne Act by substituting in that Act *ten* millions for *five* millions. Yet at the mere asking for leave to bring in the Bill, Mr. Gladstone was at once on his feet, and ready to refuse it by proposing that 'in lieu of' proceeding with the policy of land purchase, fresh legislation to wipe out tenants' arrears of rent should be brought forward. The lengthy debates which ensued on this and subsequent stages of the Bill are a

curious study. Mr. Gladstone did not in terms repudiate the principle of land purchase; he even suggested that he might have supported the granting of a less sum than 5,000,000*l.*; though it was well known that the Opposition had made up their minds to fight to the death *any* extension of the Ashbourne Act. He dreaded, however, the risk of the non-payment of the annual instalments to the State, though he declared almost in the same breath that, considering the circumstances of Ireland, 'the Irishman was 'the best rent-payer in the world.' The language of Mr. Parnell was also carefully weighed. He objected mainly 'to the inflated price' at which landlords were selling, and he, also, whilst approving the principle of land purchase in the abstract, vigorously opposed the Land Purchase Bill. The followers of the two Separatist chiefs were far more frank and far less discreet than their leaders. The rejection of the Bill on the second reading was moved by Mr. Labouchere, and seconded by Mr. Bradlaugh, and the whole of the Gladstonian and Parnellite party, with very few exceptions, responded to the strenuous call of their party whips, and followed into the lobby the two members for Northampton. Mr. Haldane and Sir E. Grey, it is true, made a firm and temperate remonstrance against the action of their leaders, and it is probable that amongst the English supporters of Mr. Gladstone there were many who shared the sentiments, though not the courage, of the two young members. However this may be, the party ranks of the Gladstonians remained substantially unbroken.

It was inevitable that the Parnellite party should dislike the Bill. Every tenant farmer who has been converted into an owner is a man lost to the Land League; and no surprise, therefore, need be felt that, in Mr. O'Brien's opinion, a Bill that was making landlords by the thousand out of 10*l.* occupiers, 'was a Bill to make rich tenants richer, a mere 'scheme for shovelling English gold into the pockets of 'Irish landlords, which would simply enable them to complete their historical career of public mischief and guilt, 'by plundering England after draining the life-blood of 'Ireland.'

As the debate proceeded, a landlord who had sold under the Act came to be habitually described by the Irish members as the man who had walked off 'with the swag;' and even Sir George Trevelyan, in language more refined yet of similar signification, became vehemently declamatory 'over the great families going off with 5,000,000*l.* of the tax-

‘payers’ money in their pockets!’ The landlords, as a matter of fact, were proved to have been selling their estates at seventeen years’ purchase. Yet not a single member of the Gladstonian party had the courage to repudiate such balderdash as this! If the mere ownership of land is robbery, the term ‘swag’ may be not inappropriately applied to the price paid by the State to recover it from the thief. But how can Sir George Trevelyan, who approved the Ashbourne Act of 1885, contend that the landowner is doing something wrong in pocketing the purchase-money for his land, with which it was the very object of that Bill to provide him?

That the Parnellites should have opposed the Bill was a matter of course; that Messrs. Labouchere and Bradlaugh should have opposed it was natural enough. But how about those who call themselves the ‘Liberal’ leaders? Their province seems to have been to do the work of advocacy rather than of leadership, *i.e.* to supply plausible arguments and ingenious reasons to bolster up a position which some ‘force majeure,’ and not their own wishes, had compelled them to assume. At all events in every division against the Bill, in every dilatory motion for adjournment, against every suspension of ‘the twelve o’clock rule,’ the mass of the Gladstonians above the gangway humbly assisted their masters below it. The spectacle of leadership devolving on irresponsible gentlemen below the gangway, at which at first old members stared in surprise, has become mere ordinary routine in the House of Commons.

The fact is that whilst, as we have said, a process of consolidation has been going on amongst the Unionists in Parliament, the tendency amongst the Gladstonians has been in the opposite direction. To acquire any real permanence a political party must have some sort of principle to rally round; and a principle, moreover, which can be avowed. Nationality in the political sense, as was pointed out by Lord Derby at Liverpool, must mean independence. It can have no other meaning. Yet that is a meaning which no English Home Ruler, nor Irish Home Ruler in England, can avow. For very sound tactical reasons Mr. Gladstone refuses to define Home Rule. He and his friends have learned a lesson on that matter which they will not rapidly forget; but the consequence to his party is, that having no policy capable of explanation to put forward, it is solely dependent on one grand personality, a basis upon which no durable party can be formed. The disorganisation of the Opposition produces very bad effects upon the business and the whole tone of the

House of Commons. Who in the daily business of Parliament leads the Opposition in the House of Commons? Mr. Gladstone is almost always absent. His place is taken by Sir William Harcourt or Mr. Morley, neither of whom would venture to differ seriously with Messrs. Parnell and Labouchere. If they did, it is extremely probable that they would find themselves in a minority. And the front benches above and below the gangway are fully aware of the changed relations that now exist between them. Hence the purely 'hand to mouth' behaviour of the Opposition. It seizes upon any incident that may turn up, and makes the most of it for party purposes. The whole duty of an Opposition is to oppose. It would indeed be a grand error in tactics for the leaders of such a party to disclose a policy, and 'show their hand.' It is far safer to carry on irregular warfare by motions for the adjournment of the House, by proposals to cut down the salaries of Ministers, and by unlimited and obstructive debate, than by formulating a policy which it would be very difficult to get the heterogeneous following of Mr. Gladstone with any unanimity to support. The tactics pursued may be and are harassing to the Government. But it is not by such tactics that 'a party' can be formed, or that an Opposition can grow strong enough to succeed in taking the place of Government; nor was it by such means that the Liberal party in the past acquired the confidence of the country. Mr. Gladstone has spoken lately with some warmth of the wicked conduct of Liberals, who remain Unionist, continuing to sit on the Liberal benches. Undoubtedly the Liberal benches are now in the occupation of a 'happy family' of strange composition and interesting variety. Some day, perhaps, the time will come when the Opposition is again 'a party,' and when those who exercise the power are frankly recognised as amongst its chiefs; when Mr. Gladstone, or some successor of Mr. Gladstone, will invite across the gangway to his side Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Parnell, Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Healy. That time *will* come unless Gladstonians *above* the gangway and behind the Front Bench can pluck up the courage of their opinions, and speak out in the House of Commons *their* views as to the degeneracy into which what they are pleased to call the 'Liberal' party is rapidly falling; and if it does come we think we can promise either Mr. Gladstone or his successor that when he turns round in debate he will not be offended by seeing behind him a single member of the Liberal Unionist party.

Lord Hartington was able, in addressing his constituents at Rossendale last month, to show most effectively, in reply to Mr. Gladstone, that the Liberal Unionists could claim credit for the eminently practical legislation of the past session. Had Mr. Gladstone prevailed, and constituted a Home Rule Government, whatever might have come of his proposed transformation of the British constitution, it is quite certain that no important practical business could have been done. It is in the very essence of Mr. Gladstone's proposals, whenever they really come within 'a measurable distance,' at once to cause a suspension of other wished-for legislation. We cannot mend, or patch, or add to the fabric of the constitution, whilst the constitution itself, to mix our metaphors, is almost in a state of solution. Take such a subject as the enfranchisement of women, advocated by Lord Salisbury, or as the disestablishment of the Church in England, Scotland, and Wales, advocated by most Gladstonians. If we are to have separate legislatures, surely the Woman Franchise question and the Church Disestablishment question should be left to the sweet will of each, and not be arbitrarily decided by a discredited Parliament at Westminster, composed of members of Parliament returned by certain portions (it is not yet settled by which, or in what numbers) of the kingdom.

Lord Salisbury, at Scarborough, points to a series of practical measures which he would like to pass into law next session. A Scotch County Government Bill, a Scotch University Bill, a Bill to establish an Agricultural Department, a Tithes Bill, Bills amending the law regulating Church Patronage and Church Discipline, an Employers' Liability Bill, a Lunacy Bill, a Land Transfer Bill, a Limited Liability Bill, and Mr. Balfour's Irish Improvement Bills, surely constitute a sufficiently long list, even without including in it the suggested development of Irish land purchase, which is referred to in less definite language. But Lord Salisbury points to the House of Commons, and doubts, as he well may, the capacity of that assembly to accomplish so much legislation. We must remember, however, that the House of Commons is bound to discuss thoroughly all legislative proposals that come before it. It would be abdicating its functions if, either from laziness or alleged want of time, it were to take the proposals of the Government on trust, and pass them into law, without the most patient examination. The House of Lords, we think, when the Conservatives are in power, goes much too far in that direction. Measures must be well threshed out under the eyes of the public, and there is ample time for this work if

the House would only defend itself against a small minority of its members, who behave as if they considered that the object of a Parliamentary session was to enable them to make speeches about matters upon which they throw no light, and upon which no one, in or out of Parliament, cares to hear their opinions. It may be that once more a session will begin with fresh proposals to reform the procedure of the House of Commons. Lord Hartington has pointed out that the Civil Service Estimates, which twelve years ago took thirteen days, in 1887 took thirty-one days, and in the session which is just at an end have exceeded that number.\* Last year eleven days were consumed in the debate on the address, over which it is now a growing habit to waste time, a practice which stirred to the very depths the indignation of Mr. Gladstone when in office, but which, in his late speech at Birmingham, he actually had the audacity to place to the account of the mismanagement of the Government. Questions at the rate of from fifty to eighty per diem—a splendid opportunity for badgering ministers—motions for the adjournment of the House, useless divisions every time the Government propose to vary the course of business, by sitting after twelve o'clock, or by taking from private members additional time, endless repetition of the same arguments to empty benches, long after any members can be got to listen to them,—these are the methods by which the public time is wasted. The due protection of the business of the country will, sooner or later, necessitate a change, whereby the ministers of the Crown will have time left to them for something besides attendance on a House of Commons in such a condition as this. The malady to which the House is a victim is not easy to treat. It is not the attempted carrying out of the threat indulged in by some foolish Home Rulers

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\* Nothing can be more absurd in itself than the submission of the entire estimates of the nation in detail for the examination of the whole House of Commons in Committee. Doubtless the work would be much more effectually done if the estimates, or certain classes of estimates, were referred to a strong standing committee. Criticism would be more intelligent, and much time would be saved. The fact is, however, that criticising the national accounts and the national expenditure, though the immediate business of the House in Committee, is not its sole, and often not its principal, function. In many cases voting the estimates is equivalent to voting approval of a policy; and every vote, moreover, affords an opportunity, which elsewhere it would be difficult to find, of bringing to the knowledge of Parliament alleged grievances, and discussing them with a view to their removal.

three years ago, that they would extort Home Rule against the will of the people, by making the Government of the United Kingdom impossible till it was granted. With such action as that, the House of Commons could and would deal. 'A manifest determination to destroy and to cripple Parliamentary institutions would be (said Lord Hartington in his address to the electors of Rossendale in 1886) as clearly rebellion against our constitution as open resistance to the Crown; and it would be our duty to defend the authority of Parliament against internal attacks as our predecessors have defended it in former times from the external aggressions of arbitrary power.' The Home Rule party have not ventured and will not venture to hoist such a flag as that. The inefficient condition of the House of Commons may be ascribed to three causes:—the absence of responsible Opposition leadership; the want of respect for, and pride in, the character of the House of Commons itself, conspicuous in the behaviour of the great majority of Irish members, and in some of their English allies; and the exaggerated toleration of persistent bores, whose intense personal vanity and desire for public notoriety induce them to play a larger part on the political stage than their capacity has fitted them to perform.

The first cause, we may hope, is not permanent; but the second is likely to last till the constituencies have a higher sense of their responsibilities; and the bores we have always with us. Perhaps, too, we ought to count on the continual presence of a certain small number of mere mischief-makers, who find instruments ready to their hands in the bores. The changes of procedure adopted during the last few years have certainly done good. The limitation of motions for adjournment, the closure, the institution of standing committees, have all been great improvements; but there is one respect in which no advance has been made, where, in fact, in the ever-during war between the bores and the House, the former have gained something upon the latter. A very few years ago the bore was ultimately induced to discontinue his remarks and sit down, by the refusal of an impatient and exasperated House to endure another word. What may be described as orderly clamour sometimes lasted for several minutes, during which there was nothing but dumb show to prove that the orator was still addressing the House, and this somewhat rough treatment not only succeeded in 'closing' the member to whom it was applied, but it had also an admirably discouraging effect upon some half a dozen others.

of the same kidney who were perhaps about to rise and continue the debate. When members, however, no longer cared to be heard, or to be reported, or for what the House liked or disliked, but cared only to consume time, orderly clamour became useless; and undoubtedly the institution of the closure has given every bore in the House the notion that it is only by formal process permitted by the chair that the length of his lucubrations can be curtailed. For our own part, we believe that it would be wise to entrust much greater authority than is at present given to 'the chair;' greater authority to protect the House at large against individuals, and to deal summarily with those who offend against the laws of the House, and the decencies of language and behaviour.

It is certainly not our intention to suggest improved rules of procedure for the regulation of the House of Commons; and if a large number of the members of that assembly are determined to regard the House itself as the Executive Government, it will require some very extensive changes indeed to prevent mischief arising from Parliament attempting to do work which by its very nature and constitution it is incapable of performing. A short time ago political pressure was brought on the Home Office virtually to overrule, by the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, the judgement and verdict of a judge and jury. And some members evidently suppose that to press the Home Secretary to overhaul the sentences of magistrates and judges comes within the general scope of the duty of a representative of the people. In 1887 Government was actually placed in a minority because a policeman was alleged to have blundered in arresting a young woman in Regent Street. The arrest may or may not have been a proper one. It is certain that no worse judge of its propriety could be found than a majority of the House of Commons. In a very different department, and still more recently, the House was urged to overrule the Secretary of State for War as to the number of troops to be sent to perform a particular military operation, on the mere allegation of an unofficial member that some unnamed authority at the War Office considered the number insufficient. Lord Hartington's warning to the House not to relieve the Secretary of State from full responsibility for his action, by taking that responsibility on its own shoulders, was required to counteract the strange conduct of Mr. Gladstone, who led his followers in support of the mischievous motion of Lord Randolph Churchill.



Parliament has ample work to do in performing its constitutional functions. These are not merely legislative. It has also to debate and decide upon the great lines of policy upon which the Queen's ministers are to govern the country. It has to keep a proper check upon the action of departments and ministers. It has to vote the supplies, and it is, moreover, the tribunal which the constitution has provided for the consideration of grievances. Care must be taken that time which is amply sufficient for these purposes, if honestly pursued, should not be consumed by members who under the pretext of bringing forward grievances are, in fact, only anxious to bring forward themselves.

Let us return to our main subject. Lord Hartington put formally on record, in the address to his constituents of June 1886, his reasons for disavowing the Irish policy of Mr. Gladstone, and his claim that in so doing he was upholding 'the principles and traditions of the Liberal party,' and at the same time 'maintaining the best security for freedom and justice in every part of the United Kingdom.' We believe that with the country his position is far stronger than it was. The more thoroughly Unionist principles are discussed, the oftener they are contrasted with the vague phrases of Separatist speakers, the more certain is it that with the mind of the people they will ultimately prevail. Gladstonians in Scotland and in Wales are now tickling the ears of electors with hopes of gaining separate parliaments for Scotland and for Wales, and for almost the first time in our history the bulk of the Liberal party are getting hopelessly behind the age in which they live. The main stream of time is against them, and the political disintegration of the British nation into four separate confederated states is a project which the conditions of the nineteenth century will relegate, sooner or later, to a limbo whence no party leaders will for their own sakes ever wish to restore it. Lord Derby has recently put the whole Unionist position so admirably, so concisely, and yet so completely, that we must give his own words, asking our readers to consider whether such views can *fail* to grow in general acceptance with the people.

'If anybody believes that in these two little islands there is room for four separate national governments, with one Imperial Government over them all—five Cabinets and five Parliaments—and that all these Cabinets and Parliaments can continue to work together, he must be of an exceptionally sanguine disposition, or must possess the happy faculty, which some politicians have, of being able to shut his eyes

very hard indeed. You are sometimes told there will be no peace till you have conceded Home Rule to Ireland. I answer—Will there be peace then? Are any limits to be set to the power of an Irish Parliament? If they are, those limits will supply material for fresh agitation. If they are not, how long will even two independent legislatures go side by side? Are we at Westminster to have power to overrule what is done in Dublin? If so, there is a grievance ready made. If not, what link remains connecting the two countries? For the executive in both must depend upon its Parliament, and if the Parliaments diverge, how can the executives agree? The situation which the Home Rulers wish to make for us is an impossible one, and for my part I object to it rather because to my belief it is impossible than because it conflicts with any preconceived idea or prejudice which I may entertain. I feel as sure as I do of my own existence that if the Home Rulers passed this plan through Parliament, and got it to work, the result would be a deadlock within a very few years. . . . It is understood that the Irish members are not to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament. That is at least something to know. Whether they are to vote on all questions, or only on what are called Imperial questions, we are not told. I do not care which alternative you take. If you say they are to vote on all questions that come before the House of Commons, then you have the monstrous absurdity that we Englishmen and Scotchmen are to have no voice in settling Irish affairs, but the Irish are to have a voice in settling ours. That is a proposition too ridiculous for discussion. Take now the other alternative. You are to lay down a rule by which some questions will be declared Imperial and others merely local. On the first set the Irish are to vote; on the second they are not to vote. That is exactly the distinction Mr. Gladstone declared in 1886 that it was impossible to draw, and every man of parliamentary experience will agree with him. But if it could be drawn, what then? No government and no party could ever be sure of a majority for a week together. See how it would work. One day, let us say, the English Home Office would be attacked, and the Irish could not vote, and supposing them to be in opposition the attack would fail. Next day it would be the turn of the Foreign Office or of the War Office. These are Imperial departments. The Irish votes would be admitted, and the attack would succeed, so that the same House might have passed on the same Cabinet a vote of confidence in one week and a vote of no-confidence in the next; and from that absurdity—for it is nothing else—there could be no escape short of having two separate Cabinets and Ministries, one for Imperial and one for English affairs. Are we really prepared to pull about our constitution in that way?’

Gladstonian statesmen know better than to encounter their opponents in the field of argument. Hence Mr. Gladstone devotes himself to Mitchelstown, or to Lord Salisbury’s ‘black man;’ Lord Rosebery\* describes Mr. Goschen as

\* Since the above was written Lord Rosebery at Airdrie has at-

'the Lord Eldon of the Conservative party;' and Sir George Trevelyan shrieks about 'one man—one vote.' And is this, forsooth! the only way in which Home Rulers can advocate the cause of Home Rule? Is this sort of thing fit work for 'Liberal' leaders, whilst the country is struggling to make up its mind *on the merits* of the greatest question which has divided parties during the present century? Have 'Liberal' leaders made up their minds to abandon all idea of leading enlightened liberal opinion? We turn from the statesmen to the literature of the party of Home Rule, and we find Mr. Frederic Harrison\* denouncing Liberal Unionists for their 'wonderful desertion,' comparing their cause to that of West India slave-holders, and stating, for the information of that select and intelligent section of the party that studies the 'Contemporary Review,' that by the Act of 1887 'law 'has been practically and permanently abolished in one 'of the three kingdoms. What is really martial law is from 'henceforth virtually the common law of Ireland.' Comment on this remarkable statement is not required. The Liberal Unionist armour is strong enough to withstand such wildly delivered blows as these, whether aimed by their opponents of the tongue or of the pen.

With such antagonists there need be no surprise at the hardening of Unionist opinion, and at the increasingly rapid spread of Liberal Unionist organisations in every part of the country. As an organised party there can, of course, be no comparison between its position now and that which it occupied at the time of the general election. When the dissolution comes, Liberals and Conservatives in every constituency will be found working together heartily in the same cause. It was not under conditions such as these that Mr. Gladstone won his former victories. The threatened fate of political extinction, which we are told waits upon the Liberal Unionist members of Parliament, has for them but few terrors; for they feel convinced that their party and their influence will at all events survive till all danger to the Union has passed away. When that time comes there is no reason why, as a party of Liberal Unionists, they should continue to exist; though it may well be, considering the

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tempted to reply to Lord Derby; but his speech can hardly be said to come under the category of argument.

\* See 'Contemporary Review,' December 1888.

present uncertain condition of British politics; that a party which has been so well led, and contains such good material, may not be without influence upon the manner in which, apart from the Home Rule question, the main party distinctions of the country will be again determined.

To anyone acquainted with the party history of Great Britain during the years 1792-3-4 the resemblance between the Whig schism against Mr. Fox in its inception and the Liberal opposition to Mr. Gladstone must appear very striking. The correspondence of the day proves the desire of the Portland Whigs to act as a separate body, assisting Mr. Pitt's Government without taking any part in his administration; that is to say, supporting the policy without joining the ministry. The weakness and vacillation of the Duke of Portland rendered this policy after a very short time abortive, and within a couple of years the chief men of the party, including the Duke of Portland himself, had taken office with Mr. Pitt. *Permanently*, we believe that the continuance of a third party in Parliament is not possible or desirable. In many respects, however, the present condition of politics is manifestly transitional, and it must be remembered that the Liberal Unionists, instead of being led by a Duke of Portland, have for their leaders in Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Chamberlain the three strongest men in Parliament and the country. The Portland Whigs, though they lost their party identity, achieved their object in securing the adoption by the country of the foreign policy of Mr. Pitt, and in utterly defeating the remnant of the Whigs. When the cause of the Whig internal dissensions was removed, i.e. when the war was concluded, parties were once more divided according to men's opinions on the general politics of the time, and the old tendency revived by which parties naturally fell into their former divisions, a party of progress and a party of reaction.

The work of Liberal Unionists for the time being is clear. There is no need to speculate about the future.

The struggle is waged in favour of equal privileges and rights for all British citizens. The men of Ulster deserve our sympathy, since they are fighting no longer for ascendancy, but only for the maintenance of those rights which Englishmen and Scotchmen enjoy. When Mr. Macaulay entered the parliament of 1833, as the first member for the newly created borough of Leeds, he opposed, on behalf of the Liberal party, the repeal proposals of Daniel O'Connell, and with his

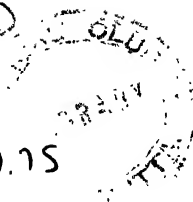
eloquent words we shall end our article. ‘Calumny, abuse, . . . popular fury, exclusion from office, exclusion from Parliament:—We were ready to endure them all, rather than Irishmen should be less than British subjects. *We never will suffer them to be more.*’

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Vol. 169 (Pt. 1 & 2)

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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,  
APRIL, 1889.

No. CCCXLVI.

ART. I.—*The Life of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, K.G., Lord High Treasurer of England, 1702 to 1710.* By the Hon. HUGH ELLIOT, M.P. London: 1888.

THAT portion of the reign of Anne, during which Lord Godolphin held the office of Lord High Treasurer of England, was one of the most remarkable periods in English history. It was distinguished by victory abroad and prosperity at home; it was illustrious from the genius of its writers and the capacity of its statesmen. Yet, by a singular mischance, its story has been never adequately related. Lord Macaulay's death interrupted his narrative on the threshold of this era. Mr. Lecky's admirable history disposes in a few sentences of the great military achievements, which his temperament and taste alike indispose him to tell. And though Lord Stanhope, Mr. Wyon, and Mr. Burton have all addressed themselves to the task, they have none of them succeeded in producing an account of Anne's reign which can be regarded as a classic. It thus happens that, while every debating society finds one of its favourite subjects for discussion in the rival glories of the reigns of Anne and Elizabeth, the speakers who prefer the reign of Anne can find their opinions on no history which has made a permanent impression on the world.

It is remarkable that the want which is experienced in considering the era has hitherto been felt in determining the character of the minister who presided throughout the greater portion of it over the destinies of the country. No statesman who has risen to equal eminence in England during the last three centuries has left so indistinct an

impression as Godolphin on political history. Most people of the present day derive their chief knowledge of the history of England from the late Mr. Green's attractive pages, yet they might almost read through the short history without realising that such a man as Godolphin ever lived. Though he had held high and responsible office under Charles II., James II., and William III., his name is never mentioned by Mr. Green till 1698, when we are told that he became one of the leading members of a Tory administration. In the next twenty pages we learn incidentally that he was made Lord Treasurer in 1702; that he was dismissed from office in 1710; that he was a friend of Marlborough, who on one occasion advised him to burn some 'querulous letters,' and who on another occasion was induced by him to withdraw his resignation. Except that we may also infer that he secretly encouraged the Lords to resist a new religious test, we are told literally nothing of the man who stood at the helm of State when Blenheim was fought and Gibraltar was taken. Of what he did, of what he said, of what he thought, of what he was, we can gain no idea from a history which is as popular as it is in most respects excellent.\*

Nor can Mr. Green be held responsible for this deficiency. Many statesmen leave autobiographies, journals, or at least papers behind them.

'Of Sidney Godolphin there are no such remains. Nor has the work which he was too indolent or too careless to perform for himself been performed by others. His fame inspired no contemporaneous writer to preserve, if he could do no more, those records of his career which must have been common during his life and for a short time after his death. . . . Thus the traces which [he] has left are few, faint, and uncertain. Unlike most of his great contemporaries, he has transmitted no literary work by which we can judge of the character and fibre of his mind. Such speeches as he made are scarcely preserved. When he dropped into the grave a mighty silence fell upon his name and his past, and an obscurity which is almost impenetrable still defies the most painstaking inquiry into some of the most important matters of his life.'

This obscurity Mr. Hugh Elliot has now done his best to dispel. By examining the manuscripts in the British Museum and Public Record Office, by collecting scattered references to Godolphin in published works, he has pieced together the

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\* In like manner the last edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' bestows but a single column on the great minister, and the notice of him is not only brief but inaccurate, even in the date of his birth.

best account which has yet been published 'of a man who 'was undoubtedly great,' and who exercised a great influence on history. At the same time he has endeavoured to clear Godolphin's memory from some of the reproaches which have clung to it, and to claim for him a larger share of legislative and financial capacity than has usually been accorded to him. With much that he has written we find ourselves ready to concur. In the few cases in which we are disposed to dissent from his conclusions we gladly recognise the care and the moderation with which he has stated his own view. The vivacity of many of Mr. Elliot's descriptions, and his clear and crisp style, increase—we ought to add—the interest of his work.

Before we leave Mr. Elliot, however, we ought to notice one merit in his book which deserves to be acknowledged, and one defect which he can easily supply. The merit is the rare one, which many biographers will envy and which some will do well to imitate, of compressing the life of a great statesman into one volume of four hundred and twenty pages. The defect is the want of any index, and is the more serious because the book is also without any analytical table of contents. Both deficiencies might easily be supplied in a later edition.

Sidney Godolphin, sprung from a good and wealthy Cornish family, was born at Godolphin Hall, near Helston, in 1645. His father Francis, who 'fought for the king, but com-  
'pounded with the Parliament,' was at an early age elected 'for St. Ives, and continued to sit in the House of Commons 'for various constituencies.' His mother Dorothy was a 'daughter of Sir Charles Berkeley of Yarlington, and sister 'of the future Lord Berkeley of Stratton.' A large family of sixteen children blessed the marriage of Francis Godolphin and Dorothy Berkeley. Sidney, the third son, though eventually, through the death of his elder brothers, the successor to the family estates, owed his christian name to his uncle, another Sidney Godolphin, a man of some repute in his day—with whom the future Lord Treasurer, Mr. Elliot tells us, is occasionally confounded.

Of Godolphin's youth little is known. Mr. Elliot rejects, apparently on good grounds, the story that he was educated at Oxford, and inclines to the belief that at a very early age he joined Charles II. on the Continent. It is, at any rate, as a page at Court, after the Restoration, that we are first able to make his acquaintance; and it is through the patronage which a Court affords that he rises to be Groom



of the Bedchamber with, in those days, the not inconsiderable income of 1,000*l.* a year.

Yet, though 'bred a page at Whitehall,' as Macaulay rhetorically put it, Godolphin was singularly free from the faults and vices of the gay throng that fluttered round the bright but dissolute King of England. Burnet tells us that 'he was the most silent and modest man that was perhaps ever bred in a court;' and the king himself paid him the striking compliment that he was 'never in the way, nor out of the way.' His steady conduct was probably promoted by the influence of the lady to whom he was married in 1675. Mistress Margaret Blague, the daughter of a staunch Royalist, was educated in Paris. At the Restoration she returned to England, and in 1661 became one of the ladies of the Court. Her elder sister, Henrietta, is described in De Grammont's pages as foolish, frivolous, and plain. The younger sister is not mentioned by the gay Frenchman. 'De Grammont required food for scandal, and . . . scandal about Miss Margaret Blague there was none.' But her merits have been preserved by a very different writer. Evelyn wrote her life; and she lives in his pages as 'the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever lived. Never was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship; never a more religious, discreet, and admirable creature. . . . She was for wit, beauty, good nature, fidelity, discretion, and all accomplishments the most incomparable. She was the best wife, the best mistress, the best friend that ever husband had.' With such qualities Margaret Blague would have adorned any society. She shone with added lustre in the vicious atmosphere of Charles II.'s Court.

Such was the lady for whom Godolphin waited, according to Mr. Elliot, for at least five, but, if Evelyn be right, for nine, years, and who was only spared to him for another three. She presented him a few days before her death in 1678 with a boy, whose marriage twenty years afterwards was to have a decisive influence on his father's fortunes. But Godolphin's grief at the time left him no heart for the future. 'Struck with unspeakable affliction, [he] fell down as dead. So afflicted was [he] that the entire care of her funeral was committed to me' (Evelyn).

Though her body, by her own directions, was carried to Cornwall and buried among the Godolphins, her husband was too overwhelmed with grief to attend the funeral.

'Nor in the course of years was it destined, as it often is, that the grave should reunite those who have been separated for half a lifetime,

Poverty had separated Sidney from his wife in youth; rank, fame, honour, and great reputation divided them after death; for while the body of Margaret Blague reposes under the church at St. Breage, that of Godolphin has found a more splendid resting-place amidst the sacred dust of the greatest men of the nation.'

The story of Godolphin's short married life has little or no connexion with his political career. Yet it does much to illustrate his character. Private virtues predispose us to place a favourable construction on public actions; and we feel instinctively that a man who could wait for his wife so patiently, who could love her so loyally and mourn her so truly, must have been made of gentler and purer fibre than the wits and dandies who are associated with the second Charles. At the time of his wife's death Godolphin still held the office of Groom of the Bedchamber, but he had already addressed himself to other duties than those which Gentlemen of the Bedchamber are usually expected to perform. In 1668 he had been elected one of the members for Helston. Early in 1678—the year in which Mrs. Godolphin died—he was sent on a special mission to the Spanish Netherlands,\* and in 1679 he was made a Commissioner of the Treasury.

The time at which Godolphin thus assumed a subordinate seat at the Treasury Board was the most critical in the reign of Charles II. The treaty of Nimeguen had discredited the king's foreign policy; the revelations of Titus Oates had created a violent animosity against Rome; and, while the king was justly suspected of sympathy with the Roman Catholics, his brother and heir was notoriously a member of the Roman Catholic Church. The country, seething apparently with revolution, was loudly demanding securities against Popery; the House of Commons, reflecting the views of the people, was passing the Bill which proposed the exclusion of James II. from the throne; and the passage of this measure was only resisted by the firmness of the king and the support which he received from the House of Lords. It has been known for long that Godolphin supported the Exclusion Bill in the House of Commons. His cautious temperament made it almost certain that he would adopt

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\* Evelyn says in the *Life of Mrs. Godolphin* that Godolphin had previously been sent abroad by his Majesty and had fallen sick, a circumstance which had occasioned 'great trouble' to Margaret Blague; and Mr. Holmes, in a note on the passage, says that in 1668 Mr. Godolphin had accompanied his relation (? his eldest brother), Sir W. Godolphin, on a mission to Spain. Mr. Elliot appears to have missed this incident.

such a policy. 'Anxious for quiet,' to use Macaulay's language, 'and believing that quiet could be restored only 'by concession, he wished the Bill to pass.' Mr. Elliot thinks that Godolphin behaved with some treachery to James on this occasion.

'He stooped to flatter James at Brussels with the semblance of friendship, while he opposed him in England; and he took advantage of that melancholy faculty of self-deception which, perhaps more than anything else, led that unfortunate prince a few years later to his ruin.'

We are not quite sure that we agree with Mr. Elliot. Godolphin was certainly not guilty of deceiving James in his opposition to the Exclusion Bill, for his vote and conduct were publicly known. It is true that he was simultaneously engaged with Sunderland, Barillon, and the Duchess of Portsmouth in a negotiation which Burnet calls 'a scheme,' and which is believed to have contemplated the exclusion of James from the throne. But Burnet tells us that the whole scheme was so great a secret that he could never penetrate into it. We do not observe that Mr. Elliot has unveiled the arcana into which Burnet was unable to pry; and we decline to condemn a great minister because he was connected with a plot whose particulars are still unknown.

The animosity which was felt against the Roman Catholics gradually subsided. The conspiracy of Titus Oates was succeeded by the Rye House Plot. Charles II., taking advantage of a revulsion of public feeling, clung to his own policy. The Exclusion Bill was abandoned; the men who had been most active in promoting it were prosecuted or driven from the kingdom; and the Tory reaction commenced, in which Russell and Sidney fell victims to the king's displeasure, and Shaftesbury fled into exile.

But the new reaction did not interfere with Godolphin's fortunes. His vote against the Exclusion Bill did not deprive him of the favour of the king. 'Cautious, silent, and 'laborious,' he observed a strict neutrality during the ensuing struggle, and he received his reward. Rochester, the son of Clarendon, had been placed at the head of the Treasury at the very time at which Godolphin had been appointed to a seat at the Board. Accused in 1684 of malversation, he was removed from his post and appointed to a richer, but less responsible, office—the Presidency of the Council. In his room Godolphin was made First Commissioner of the Treasury, and was directed to convey to Rochester the king's decision. 'His promotion in the

'Government was attended with a corresponding elevation in society. He was made a peer, with the title of Lord Godolphin of Rialton.' Fifty years afterwards the coronet would probably have extinguished his chances of promotion. In 1684 it increased his influence. Silent and sagacious, moreover, he was by temperament better fitted for the deliberations of the House of Lords than for the struggles of the House of Commons; and, while his voice had been rarely heard in the one House, he soon exerted a commanding influence in the other.

Five months after Godolphin's promotion the death of Charles II. raised the Duke of York to the throne. The accession of James II. seemed 'absolutely fatal' to Godolphin's success.

'His offences against James were numerous and unpardonable, and of a sort which any man would resent, and which a harsh man might, with the full approbation of the world, revenge. He had been the friend of James, and had wilfully violated his friendship; he had attempted to deprive him of his right to the throne. . . . The very light of the new reign dawned upon an act which James can have regarded in no other aspect than as a transgression. Of all his adherents Rochester had been the most faithful. . . . Yet Godolphin, a very few months before James's accession, had been instrumental in driving this faithful follower from a coveted office, and obliging him, amidst the ridicule of society, to submit to the insult of a mock promotion. . . . Sure and condign punishment seemed the certain fate of Godolphin and Sunderland. To the surprise of all, they speedily assumed important posts in the new king's government. . . . Sunderland was made Secretary of State, Godolphin Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

'The short and stormy reign of James II. was not suited to the character and genius of Godolphin.'

Yet, throughout it, his influence was continually rising, and Rochester, Sunderland, and he soon formed what Macaulay has called 'the interior cabinet' of the new king.

Such a position was not favourable to Godolphin's character. It was difficult for anyone who enjoyed the confidence of James II. to escape the taint of his policy; and Godolphin's name was soon connected with transactions which were in the highest degree discreditable. James II., imitating his brother's policy, did not scruple to receive a large sum of money from Louis XIV.; and Rochester, in applying for it, is reported to have told the French ambassador that his master could not employ his revenues better, as it was important that 'the King of England should be dependent, not on his own people, but on the friendship of France alone.' When the money was paid, James II.

shed, or pretended to shed, tears of gratitude; and Godolphin, in conjunction with his colleagues, is said to have assured the Minister of France that 'he had given new life to their royal master.' If the story, which is usually told in this way, be true, so disgraceful a proceeding admits of no apology. Mr. Elliot frankly says that 'kings have been deposed and ministers beheaded for a smaller offence.' But we think that Mr. Elliot might have recollected that the story rests on Barillon's authority, and that it is inconsistent with what we know of Godolphin's character. Though, then, it has been related and repeated by historians till its reiteration has secured its general acceptance, it still stands on Barillon's testimony; and we are hardly justified in condemning a great English minister on such evidence.

This crime, however, was not the only unworthy transaction with which Godolphin was connected in the reign of James II. The new king had hardly been six weeks on his throne before he made a public display of his adherence to his religion. As chamberlain to the queen it was perhaps necessary that Godolphin should accompany her Majesty to mass, and the excuse of Naaman may fairly be pleaded for him. But he did much more.

'So skilfully did he practise his hypocrisy that each party was confident either of keeping or of winning him. . . . Godolphin was always on the verge of becoming a professed Roman Catholic. . . . Masses were daily said at the king's chapel for his conversion, and vaunts were loudly expressed that he would at length be gathered into the fold. "Lord Godolphin is in doubts," triumphantly exclaimed Ellis, one of the four popish bishops, to the Protestant, Sir Thomas Dyke. "If he is in doubt with you, he is not in doubt with me," was the reply. Thus, with infinite tact and prudence, Godolphin secured the support, or, we should perhaps say, avoided the animosity, of both the great religious parties of the State.'

Such tact and prudence at least had the effect of advancing Godolphin's fortunes. He 'rose in the king's estimation. James, to his surprise, found him a bold and energetic man, and spoke of him in high terms of approval. . . . In 1686 [he] again became a Commissioner of the Treasury.'

His material prosperity increased with his political fortunes, and he left the house in Scotland Yard, to which a dozen years before he had brought his wife, for a more commodious residence—Cranbourne Lodge—in Windsor Park. 'Godolphin besought Evelyn to visit Cranbourne,' and Mr. Elliot tells us that the trees which now form its

chief attraction were probably planted under Evelyn's directions. Perhaps his residence in the country may have afforded him an excuse for taking a less active part in the transactions which cast discredit on the closing months of the reign of James II. Godolphin's conduct at the close of the reign was, indeed, highly creditable to him.

'He was one of the last to abandon a desperate cause. . . . He did his best to fortify the unfortunate king with good advice. . . . He was one of the three commissioners whom James appointed to meet William of Orange at Hungerford, and a story is related that, when James finally determined upon flight, Godolphin lent him a hundred guineas, which had been refused to him by his own Treasury.'

Much as we dislike the character and conduct of James II., cordially as we approve the great Revolution which happily drove him from his throne, we infinitely prefer the spectacle of Godolphin standing by his master in his fall to that of the same minister abetting the king in his power.

Nothing is more surprising in Godolphin's career than the ease with which he extricated himself from difficulties apparently fatal to his fortunes. No one could have foreseen in 1684 that the man who had voted against the Exclusion Bill would have become one of the 'interior cabinet' of the last of the Stuart kings; and no one could have foreseen in 1688 that the statesman who had stood to the end by the fallen Stuart would have obtained office at the very outset under his successor. From a purely worldly point of view—if a metaphor which Godolphin himself would probably have used be permitted—he had backed the wrong horse, both in 1681 and in 1688. He had thrown in his lot with William when he should have supported James, and he had stood by James when he should have gone over to William.

'Nine men out of ten would have quarrelled with their fate and surrendered themselves to despair. Not so Godolphin. Nobody knew better than he how to repair a loss or to convert disaster into victory. He was versed in the intrigues of Court, the knowledge of public business, and the management of men. The tools which had enabled him to construct his fortunes were still in his possession . . . and the course of his official life was hardly interrupted by a change of sovereigns. On February 14, 1689, Godolphin was appointed by William a Commissioner of the Treasury.'

Such a story at any rate affords a decisive proof how high his reputation stood as a prudent and able minister. Experience had, in fact, shown that Godolphin had no strong predilections for either dynasty; but experience had also

shown that, whether he served Papist or Protestant, the affairs of his office were prudently and regularly administered.

Godolphin, however, did not long retain the subordinate situation at the Treasury to which he was thus appointed. He retired early in 1690; and Mr. Elliot has no new explanation to offer of the causes which led to his retirement. Probably, however, Macaulay has guessed correctly the reason which influenced him. The general election of 1690 had radically altered the composition of the House of Commons. The Whigs had been beaten at the polls, and by Carmarthen's influence—for the Danby of Charles II. had now become Carmarthen—Monmouth and Delamere, 'two of the 'most violent Whigs in England,'\* left the Treasury Board. Godolphin probably expected that his own proved capacity would secure him the first place on the Commission in succession to Monmouth; but Carmarthen selected for the appointment Sir John Lowther, the Tory member for Westminster. It was natural that Godolphin should resent such an arrangement. The new First Lord had neither his capacity nor his experience, and he was his inferior in rank. Godolphin resigned, and his resignation was attended with the consequences which he probably foresaw. Before the year was over, the king discovered that he could not afford to dispense with the most capable administrator in the kingdom, and Godolphin returned to the Treasury as the head of the Board.

Godolphin remained at the Treasury for almost exactly six years, and these years covered one of the most memorable periods in the financial history of this country. During that period the National Debt, in the true sense of the term, had its origin; Exchequer bills were first issued; the Bank of England was constituted; and the coinage was reformed. The merit of these great measures has universally been given to Charles Montague, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, held a place on the Board in subordination to Godolphin. Mr. Elliot, however, thinks that some portion of it should belong to Godolphin.

'Godolphin,' he argues, 'was the head of the department in which Charles Montague was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer carried with it in the reign of William III. the full obligation of departmental administration. . . . It seems, therefore, most improbable that Bills vitally affecting his department

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\* Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 539.

should not to a great extent have been the result of his [Godolphin's] experience and ability.'

We are not convinced by this reasoning. Apart from the fact, which Mr. Elliot himself admits, that Montague was the minister who brought forward and expounded these measures in Parliament, Mr. Elliot's contention strikes at the root of historical knowledge. Our acquaintance with past events necessarily depends on the evidence of men living at the time at which they took place; and, when contemporary writers give the credit to one man, it is a hopeless task for subsequent critics to confer it on another. But we also doubt whether there is anything in Godolphin's career which makes it probable that he would have devised the measures which have placed Charles Montague among the great financiers of England. His capacity was essentially that of an administrator, not of an originator, of finance. No great measure can be distinctly said to have had its origin in his intellect. We readily admit that in prudent management of the Exchequer he was superior to all his contemporaries; but we know of no evidence to show that in fertility of resource he was Montague's equal.

During the period with which we are now concerned Godolphin occupied a peculiar position. He frequently desired, or expressed a desire, to resign. He was dissuaded from doing so both by the solicitations of James and the entreaties of William. James's wish that his friend should retain office under his successor is not wonderful. He knew that Godolphin had no strong political predilections, and that he was quite as ready to serve under one king as another. Through his friends in England he received an assurance of his old servant's affection; and he learned that Marlborough, who was already exercising a strong influence on Godolphin, was meditating or plotting a counter revolution. Knowing all this, it is not surprising that James should have desired Godolphin's continuance at the Treasury. It is probable that William was not ignorant of what Mr. Elliot calls 'Godolphin's complicity with the 'Jacobites.' And it is a striking proof both of his courage and of his sagacity that he should, notwithstanding, have desired to retain Godolphin in office. He probably considered—and if so he judged rightly—that, admirable as was his minister in the management of affairs, his silent cautious temperament was not likely to encourage revolution or counter revolution. It was hardly true to say—as Macaulay said—that the great object of Godolphin's life was



to keep 'his head, his estate, and a place at the Board of 'Treasury.' But there can be very little doubt that, if James had returned to Whitehall, Godolphin would have been ready to resume office under his old master; and that while William remained on the throne he was equally certain to conduct the affairs of the Treasury with punctuality and ability. William, therefore, had no desire to part with the ablest administrator in the kingdom because he was prepared to serve under his rival; and Godolphin, notwithstanding his expressed anxiety to resign, had made the business of the Treasury too much a part and parcel of his life to be impatient to quit it.

Godolphin's position throughout these transactions seems at first sight so inexplicable, and has in fact been so imperfectly explained, that we venture to hazard the following solution of it. It appears to us that throughout his career he viewed his retention of office in very much the same light in which the same question is always regarded now by the permanent civil servants of the Crown. Party government, it must be recollected, was not known in the seventeenth century. Till, indeed, the very closing years of the reign of William III. no considerable statesman had even suggested that the opinions of the king's servants should correspond with those of the majority of the House of Commons. Though ministers fell and rose, their fall and rise were determined by the sovereign and not by Parliament; and, so far as opinion had any weight, it was exerted on behalf of dynasties, and not to raise or depress administrations. A 'modest, silent, sagacious, and upright' public servant—the epithets are applied by Smollett to Godolphin—without any strong political convictions of his own, capable of seeing that a good deal could be said both for the views of strict hereditary right for which the Tories were contending, and for the wider and more comprehensive principles for which the Whigs were striving, might easily have convinced himself that it was his duty to regard the king as the head of the State rather than as the representative of the dynasty, and to carry on the work of his office with equal loyalty under either monarch. This explanation accounts for almost the whole of Godolphin's proceedings; while it is easy to see that his cautious conduct, in identifying himself rather with the State than with the king, would have induced the Whigs to regard him as a traitor and the Tories to watch him with suspicion.\*

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\* The position of Godolphin under William III. bears some resem-

However ready, indeed, William may have been to avail himself of Godolphin's services, the Whigs from the very first regarded his presence at the Treasury with dislike. They thought with some reason that the prizes of office should have been conferred on those who had risked life and property in contending for the Revolution, and that one of the highest posts under the Crown should not have been given to a man who had been the adviser, and whom they still regarded as the agent, of the deposed king. Charges openly compared Godolphin to Judas Iscariot, and from 1691 to 1696 the Whigs carried on an agitation for his removal which ultimately led to his retirement.

It is perhaps impossible at the present time to determine whether there were any grounds for the Whig suspicion that Godolphin was implicated in any of the conspiracies for the restoration of James II. In 1691 an agent of James, one Bulkeley, called on him in his office, engaged him in conversation, and, after some interviews, elicited from him a declaration of attachment to James. Macaulay, in relating the incident, has given a sinister construction to it. Godolphin, he says, 'began to think, as he would have himself expressed it, that he had betted too deep on the Revolution, and that it was time to hedge.' But it is surely possible to attach a more lenient interpretation to Godolphin's language. It was both natural and excusable that he should speak in terms of kindness and even devotion of a king in whose service he had acted and whose confidence he had enjoyed. And his professions of attachment might easily have been exaggerated by James's agent into declarations of loyalty. It is possible to dismiss almost equally summarily the evidence which in 1696 implicated Godolphin in Fenwick's conspiracy. There is no doubt that Sir John Fenwick was engaged with other Jacobites in a plot against the life of William; and that after his arrest he 'attempted to purchase his own life by making disclosures to William and the House of Commons. He declared that Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Marlborough, and Russell were reconciled to James; that they had sought and received pardon from him; that they were, in fact, traitors.' But there is also

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blance to that of M. de Falloux under Louis Napoleon in 1849. Those who have read the memoirs of that honest French Royalist will at least understand how a man can preserve his connexion with the king whom he believes to be king *de jure*, and at the same time render loyal service to the king *de facto*.

no doubt that Godolphin publicly repudiated the truth of the charge. He said in Parliament :—

‘I certainly did continue to the last in the service of King James and of his queen. I was esteemed by them both. But I cannot think that a crime. It is possible that they and those who are about them may imagine that I am still attached to their interest. That I cannot help. But it is utterly false that I have had any such dealings with the Court of St. Germain as are described in the papers which your lordships have heard read.’

At the worst, therefore, we have only the word of Fenwick against the word of Godolphin. No doubt his friendship with both kings placed him in a position in which his words and actions were always liable to misconstruction. But the assertion, that while he was eating William’s salt he was actively engaged in a conspiracy for James’s return rests on evidence on which we should be reluctant to convict a man whose services were less distinguished and whose temperament was less cautious than Godolphin’s.

The Whigs, however, who had never from the first tolerated Godolphin’s presence at the Treasury, were determined that he should not escape the consequences of Fenwick’s confession. They were ready, indeed, to ignore the charges against Russell, and to condone the alleged offences of Marlborough and Shrewsbury. But Godolphin’s conduct they would neither ignore nor condone. Aware of their animosity against him, he was persuaded to resign, and William accepted his resignation. Mr. Elliot thinks that this circumstance shows that William did not believe in Godolphin’s guilt. ‘A minister ‘who vacates office owing to a charge of treason would hardly ‘be allowed to resign. Dismissal would more clearly signify ‘the king’s anger.’

We do not attach the same importance to the fact as Mr. Elliot does. It is quite conceivable that William, if he suspected Godolphin’s loyalty, might have thought it wiser to facilitate than to compel his retirement. And, if we are disposed to accept Mr. Elliot’s conclusion, we do so not because the king suffered him to resign in 1696, but because he persuaded him to return to his old position in 1700.

There is the same difficulty, however, in understanding Godolphin’s position in 1700 which besets us at every point of his career. All that we know is that, on this occasion, Godolphin accepted office with reluctance, and that he again retired after a few months’ tenure of it. Whether he resigned because, as some men imagined, he disliked the policy of the king, or, as others have insinuated, because he wished

to be free to accept a still higher position under Anne, it is impossible to determine. 'When he retired from the Government his services to William were at an end. On March 8, 1702, the king died, and a new reign commenced, in which Godolphin was destined to run a great and glorious career. . . . On May 6, 1702, Queen Anne appointed him Lord High Treasurer.'

Then commenced the remarkable Ministry whose existence is associated with some of the greatest events in English history, and whose character was destined, in the eight years during which it lasted, to be almost completely changed. There is no doubt that Godolphin owed his position not merely to the great personal favour with which Anne had always regarded him, but to the strong representations of Marlborough. On public grounds Marlborough was anxious that the Treasury should be ruled by a statesman on whose ability in raising money, and on whose punctuality in remitting it to the seat of war, he knew that he could depend. But, though these considerations certainly made Godolphin the fittest man in England for the post, Marlborough was also influenced by private friendship. During the preceding reign Godolphin and he had been allied in opinion, and—their enemies said—in treachery. But in the last few years a still closer alliance had bound them to each other. The child whom Margaret Blague had given to Godolphin in 1678 had grown up to manhood, and in 1698 had married Marlborough's eldest daughter, Henrietta. Anne, who was then only princess, settled 5,000*l.* on the bride in testimony of her affection for Lady Marlborough. And Mr. Elliot rightly says:—

'This alliance proved highly beneficial both to Godolphin and Marlborough, for it bound two men together who could never have fulfilled their highest destiny by following separate paths. Each to a great extent supplied what the other wanted. It is doubtful whether Marlborough would have been so successful abroad had he not been able to rely upon the wise and prudent friend whom he left at the head of the Government in England. . . . It is certain that Godolphin would never have taken so prominent a position in politics had it not been for the active talents of Marlborough, and for the romantic friendship which existed between the duchess and the queen. The stars of these two men rose, culminated, and set together; they illuminated the same heaven, and suffered the same eclipses.'

The appointment which Godolphin received on Marlborough's recommendation was 'almost the highest office which it was in the power of the Crown to bestow.' In William III.'s opinion it was too great for any subject; and

throughout his reign the Treasury had always been placed in commission, as it has always been placed in commission since the accession of the House of Hanover. Though the days of Prime Ministers, in the modern sense of the term, had hardly come, the Lord Treasurer was essentially the chief minister of the Crown; but his colleagues were not necessarily chosen by himself, or in harmony with his political opinions. The colleagues whom Anne, in the first instance, gave to Godolphin were all well-known Tories; and the wave of Tory reaction which passed over England at the commencement of her reign apparently justified her choice. But the queen had omitted to observe that an event, which she might pardonably have thought affected herself more than her people, was pregnant with consequences fatal to the Tory party. The death of her father, James II., and the folly of Louis XIV. in recognising her brother as King of England, removed in a moment all the popular objections to war which William III. had striven to combat. The Tory party, by a strange freak of fortune, found themselves in the moment of their triumph forced to undertake a Whig war; dissensions arose among the ministers themselves; Godolphin and Marlborough both desired to infuse a Whig element into the Administration; and in the course of the first few years of its existence strong Tories like Buckingham, Nottingham, and Wright were replaced by moderate Tories like Harley and St. John, or Whigs like Newcastle and Cowper.

These alterations materially affected the composition of the Government. It no longer consisted of the exclusively Tory elements of which it had been originally composed. But the Whigs were not satisfied with the share which they had already secured in the Administration. The general election of 1705 gave them a majority in the House of Commons.

‘They were fully and correctly impressed with a sense of their own power and importance. The existence of the Government, the continuance of the war, all and everything, they thought, depended upon their good-will. . . . Their service demanded solid recognition, and they were determined that if the queen would not recompense them spontaneously she should be compelled to do so by force.’

They demanded the admission of Sunderland into the Cabinet. Sunderland was the son of the great statesman who had held high office in the seventeenth century. He was a strong or even violent Whig in opinion; but he had also, like Francis Godolphin, married a daughter of Marlborough. He was, therefore, allied by marriage with the two

men who exerted most influence on affairs. They determined to recommend the queen to sanction his admission to the Cabinet. Anne, however, disliked his opinions, and dreaded his temper. She was already passing from the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough to the influence of Mrs. Masham, and she gave 'a firm and unequivocal refusal' to her ministers' proposal. It was in vain that Godolphin met her refusal with argument and remonstrance. She declined to give way, till at last the minister 'announced his intention 'to resign.' This intimation at once terminated the crisis, and proved the importance which the queen rightly attached to her treasurer's services.

'In language which is rarely employed by a sovereign to a subject [she] implored him to alter his cruel intention, that she might not be lost and utterly undone. Marlborough's dismay was equal to the queen's, and probably more genuine. He considered that the resignation of Godolphin, if it came to pass, would amount to a national and continental catastrophe.'

The queen was, of course, unable any longer to resist the proposed appointment; and in December 1706 Sunderland was made Secretary of State in the place of Sir Charles Hedges.

The appointment added considerable strength to the Whig party in the Administration; but the Tory party in it were still represented by Harley and St. John. The ability of these two men—the sagacity of the first, and the genius of the second—would have made them under any circumstances powerful elements in the Administration. But the influence which Mrs. Masham had now obtained over Anne gave Harley exceptional power at Court. Opposed to the Whig policy, which Godolphin had adopted, he used his position to plot against the chief minister; and Godolphin rapidly discovered that his own power would be destroyed if Harley remained in office. For some time, indeed, Marlborough hesitated to support Godolphin's demand for Harley's removal. He did not wish to give the Whigs an exclusive ascendancy in the Cabinet, and he even suggested that Godolphin might escape from an embarrassing situation by retiring from office. Godolphin replied that he could not desert the queen 'except on a joint measure with Marlborough;' and Marlborough, acquiescing in Godolphin's decision, added his remonstrance to his colleague's, and recommended Harley's removal. Anne, however, notwithstanding the lesson which had been taught her in the previous year,

again refused her ministers' request; and Godolphin and Marlborough thereupon resigned.

'Godolphin's resignation was accepted by the queen without concern. Her life with him had long been uneasy. He was the main obstacle to Harley's rise and to a Tory Cabinet. Marlborough's loss she deplored more deeply. . . . She begged [him] to remain.'

Marlborough, however, stood by his colleague; and Anne, of course, had again to give way.

'Nothing was left to her but to eat the bitter fruit of humiliation, and make atonement to those whose advice she had slighted, and whose instrument she had now become. Harley was compelled to leave the Government; Godolphin and Marlborough were reinstated in their places.'

And the Whig policy of the war was, for some little time, conducted by the two ministers with the exclusive assistance of Whig colleagues.

We have related very shortly these matters, on which Mr. Elliot rightly lays much stress, because they form a remarkable episode in the constitutional history of England. Godolphin had commenced his Government with Tory colleagues given him by the queen; he had continued it with a hybrid Administration of his own devising; and he was concluding it with a Whig Cabinet. Such a complete transformation of an Administration never afterwards occurred in English history; it was only possible under Godolphin because his Government witnessed a period of transition from the old system to the new. The struggle between Godolphin and the queen, both on the appointment of Sunderland and on the dismissal of Harley, proved that the appointment and removal of ministers, which still nominally lay with the Crown, had passed to the Crown's chief adviser, who was almost immediately afterwards to be known as the Prime Minister; while the circumstance, that the struggle became necessary from the victory of the Whigs at the general election of 1705, showed that the composition of the House of Commons was thenceforward to determine the composition of the ministry, and that power was consequently passing from the Crown to the House. Personal government, indeed, was not to terminate for many long years; but personal government was in future only possible from 'the management' of Parliament by the Crown and its advisers.

It was, of course, remarkable that the man who had presided in 1702 over a Tory ministry should in 1708 have filled all the offices in the Administration with Whigs. But the change in the composition of the Government, which would

have seemed impossible to most ministers, was easy for Godolphin. The man who had stood by the side of James II. and yet held office under William III. could by no possibility have found it difficult to coalesce with either Whigs or Tories. Having swallowed the camel of revolution, he could not strain at the gnat of party. Whatever merits, moreover, his Administration may have had, it was impossible to identify it with any political opinion. And it is remarkable that the very measures which Godolphin himself supported at one time he opposed at another.

The first legislative proposal of importance with which Godolphin's Administration was connected was the Occasional Conformity Bill. The Dissenters had been accustomed to qualify for office by what was called 'occasional conformity.' In words which were used in Parliament more than a century afterwards, when the Test Acts were finally repealed: 'It was the custom of persons to be waiting in taverns and houses near the church, not going in until service was over. The ceremony used to be called "qualifying for office;" and an appointed person called out, "Those who want to be qualified will please to step this way." Persons thus took the Communion for the purpose of receiving office, and with no other intent whatever.' Such a circumstance might have induced wise and liberal statesmen to repeal the Test Act. It induced the Tory Parliament of 1702 to attempt to strengthen it by imposing penalties on those who, having taken the test, subsequently attended Nonconformist places of worship. For three successive sessions the House of Commons passed the Bill and sent it to the Lords. On the first two of these occasions Godolphin formed one of the minority of the Lords who supported the measure, although he disliked its provisions and thought them unseasonable. On the third occasion he joined the majority and secured the rejection of the Bill. The gradual reconstruction of the ministry explains this conduct, since Godolphin, when he had once determined to rely no longer exclusively on Tory support, felt himself free to oppose purely Tory measures. But the history of the Occasional Conformity Bill also implies that Godolphin had personally formed no strong opinions on the subject. Had he done so, he would hardly have sacrificed his convictions to his colleagues' opinions. Probably, however, on this as on almost every other subject, Godolphin had no decided preference. Intent on carrying on the duties of his office, his vote was determined by expediency, and not by principle. This view is forti-



fied by his conduct at the same time in respect to the Act of Security. This measure, passed by the Scottish Parliament, 'proposed that on the death of Queen Anne without issue the estates should be debarred from choosing the admitted successor to the crown of England unless there were to be such a form of government settled as should fully secure the religion, freedom, and trade of the Scottish nation. In 1703 the queen placed her veto on the Bill, but in 1704 Godolphin advised her to pass it into law.'

Thus, in the very year in which Godolphin in the House of Lords opposed the Conformity Bill, which he had previously supported, he advised the queen to pass the Security Act, to which presumably on his advice she had twelve months before refused her assent.

Mr. Elliot thinks that Godolphin's course on this occasion was a remarkable proof of his sagacity. He foresaw, so he argues, that the Act, by otherwise making the separation of Scotland from England certain, would form an unanswerable reason for effecting a union between the two countries. And Mr. Elliot can no doubt plead that this effect was produced by its passage. But a much simpler reason can, we think, be given for Godolphin's conduct. The Scottish treasury was at the time drained of its resources; and the Scottish Parliament only voted a supply conditionally on the acceptance of the Act of Security, which was 'tacked' to the Supply Bill. Godolphin, therefore, had to choose between the acceptance of the measure and the loss of a supply. The former alternative, no doubt, involved a distant danger, against which, however, if Anne's life were preserved, it might be possible to provide. The latter necessitated a present difficulty, since it deprived the Government of the means of carrying on the Scottish Administration, and of maintaining the Scottish regiments. The queen's advisers in Scotland were unanimous in thinking that this risk was so great that it ought not to be encountered; and Godolphin—though their advice, as Burnet says, was 'very heavy' upon him—agreed with them. He deliberately risked the remote danger, which the passage of the Bill involved, for the sake of averting a present evil, and of obtaining adequate means for conducting the Administration and for carrying on the war.

It should, indeed, be never forgotten that the efficient conduct of the war was both the chief object of Godolphin's Administration and the controlling influence in his policy. Whatever course he may have pursued in dealing with domestic affairs, there could be no question of the consistent and

efficient support which he gave to Marlborough. That great general had from the first made his friend's presence at the Exchequer an indispensable condition to his own command in the field; and from 1702 to 1709 Marlborough and Godolphin mutually depended one on the other. It is a remarkable fact, which Mr. Elliot would have done well to notice, that the great exertions which the country made during Godolphin's Administration did not materially add to its indebtedness. The war was paid for out of increased taxation, and not out of borrowed money; and campaigns in which Blenheim, Runillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet were fought, only raised the capital of the National Debt from rather less than 13,000,000*l.* in 1702 to rather more than 21,000,000*l.* in 1710, or by about 1,000,000*l.* a year.

In 1710 Godolphin fell, and a Tory Ministry succeeded to power. With his departure from the Treasury the period of economy passed away, and the three succeeding years, in which no great victories were won, added about 14,000,000*l.* to the capital of the debt, or nearly twice the sum which Godolphin had found it necessary to borrow for the purpose of supporting the war during a period nearly three times as long.

How greatly his frugal management was appreciated at the time may be inferred from one or two passages in parliamentary history which Mr. Elliot has not noticed. In 1702, for instance, the Commons addressed the Crown on the past 'mismanagement of the public revenue.' But they inserted in the middle of their complaint the following paragraph:—

'But here we cannot in justice omit to acknowledge the present good management of the Treasury, whereby, for the honour of your Government and the advantage of the whole nation, no unnecessary tallies with interest are permitted to be struck, nor more money at any time borrowed than the necessities of the nation do require; and care is taken to support the credit of the navy, victualling, and other public offices; and that stores and provisions are in good measure provided, with as great advantage to the public as if the same were purchased with ready money; which frugality and good management will be found to be one of the most effectual means to make your Majesty's Government easy at home, and to carry on a vigorous war against the common enemy abroad.'

And late in the following year, in replying to the Speech from the Throne, the Commons used similar language.

'We do most gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's singular care in the good management and application of the public money, whereby your Majesty's exchequer hath greater credit in this so expensive a war than was ever known in the most flourishing times of peace.'

Even if due allowance be made for the circumstance that these addresses were drawn by Tory Houses, at a time when Godolphin was pursuing a Tory policy, they afford a remarkable testimony to the efficiency of his Administration and to the economy of his management.

But Godolphin was not satisfied with supporting the campaign in Flanders. He desired to feed the war in Spain ; to support insurrection in the Cevennes ; to invade France on the west, and to attack Calais and Boulogne. Mr. Elliot thinks that Godolphin was right in these various proposals, which were resisted by the authority of Marlborough.

‘He had determined that the theatre of hostilities should be the Rhine, and that the armies which should penetrate into France should advance from the Rhine. He took little—too little—interest in those various projects which so constantly occupied the thoughts of Godolphin.’

Mr. Elliot, at any rate, shows courage in delivering such an opinion. But he has not convinced us of the soundness of these views. We should, under any circumstances, have as much hesitation in preferring Godolphin’s opinion to Marlborough’s on a question of strategy as we should feel in relying on Marlborough against Godolphin on a question of finance. But, apart from this consideration, we imagine that most sound judges will consider that Marlborough was right in arguing that the whole attack should be concentrated, and not dissipated in remote expeditions. The greatest general is not the man who arrays the largest force against his enemy, but the leader who succeeds in concentrating the largest force at a particular spot and at a given time.

These rival views of strategy may possibly indicate a slight and increasing tendency to difference between the men who had long acted cordially together, and who found themselves of the utmost use to each other. But other circumstances were gradually leading them into different courses. Marlborough, at the head of the army, naturally thought that almost everything should be sacrificed for the war ; Godolphin, at the head of the Treasury, thought that even the objects of the war could be bought too dearly, and that the interests of the British taxpayer, struggling under heavy taxation, deserved at least as much consideration as the interests of continental Powers. As early as 1707 he ‘submitted to Marlborough the propriety of deserting the Grand Alliance, and of entering into a separate peace with France.’

The idea was abandoned ; but two years later—

'Europe became inspired with the hope that the war might at length end. Both sides engaged in it were thoroughly exhausted; but the exhaustion of France was greater than that of the allies. . . . Negotiations were immediately set on foot, and it was soon discovered that France itself was ready to make large concessions to the demands of the allies. The hopes of England and Europe were excited. . . . Marlborough himself, who had gained in the war not only reputation but wealth, anticipated with delight the moment when he should exchange the hardships of the camp for the pleasures of his somewhat tumultuous home. But these bright expectations were not destined to be realised, and those who sighed for peace were doomed again to witness the horrors of war.'

There are few things in history more unfortunate than the failure of the negotiations for peace which were thus happily opened in 1709. It is usually admitted that the concessions which France was ready to make were large and even humiliating to her, and that the additional conditions on which the allies insisted were unnecessary and unwise. Mr. Lecky has not hesitated to call them 'a scandalous 'abuse of the rights of conquest;' and there is no doubt that their proposal nerved the French to a fresh struggle, and forced this country to accept in 1713 terms infinitely less satisfactory than those which she could have secured in 1709. We are not, however, so much concerned here with these negotiations as with determining who is responsible for their failure. Coxe, in writing the life of the Duke of Marlborough, throws the blame on Godolphin; Mr. Elliot, in writing the life of Godolphin, argues very plausibly that Godolphin, both by temperament and by interest, had far more inducement to conclude peace than his colleague; and it is probably impossible at the present time to fasten the responsibility for the failure on any particular individual. But, though there is no evidence which can enable us to determine with precision the views which particular members of the Ministry held at this crisis, there ought to be no hesitation in affirming that the Administration as a whole must be deemed accountable for the policy which was pursued. Godolphin was not merely the head of the Ministry; he was its most powerful and most important member; and we cannot exculpate him from the blame of, at any rate, permitting terms to be demanded from France which drove the French into the vigorous resistance that resulted from despair.

The punishment of this conduct, at any rate, came quickly. So far as this country was concerned, she was destined to acquire few fresh laurels from the renewal of

hostilities. So far as the Minister was concerned, the prolongation of the struggle, and the cost which its continuance involved, created a discontent and dissatisfaction which destroyed his credit and produced a Tory reaction. The impeachment of Sacheverell, which almost immediately followed, increased the feeling. Hallam has declared that the famous trial has a high constitutional significance, because the prosecution 'is not only the most authentic exposition, 'but the most authoritative ratification, of the principles 'upon which the Revolution is to be defended.' He has admitted, however, that, so far as the Ministry was concerned, 'it was very unadvised, and has been deservedly 'condemned.' At the time, indeed, Godolphin's enemies declared that the prosecution took place not because Sacheverell had preached the doctrine of non-resistance, but because he had compared the Minister 'to the voluptuary, mountebank, and knave whom Ben Jonson had introduced to the 'world under the name of Volpone.' The queen had never forgiven the Minister for the expulsion of Harley from the Cabinet. The star of Mrs. Masham had risen to its zenith; the star of the Duchess of Marlborough was setting in the horizon; and backstair influence was, therefore, ready to suggest to Anne that the time was ripe for ridding herself of a minister whom she probably regarded as too powerful to be endured. In April 1710, without consulting Godolphin, she took away the Chamberlain's staff from Lord Kent and gave it to Lord Shrewsbury. Soon afterwards she removed Sunderland from her Council Chamber, and appointed Lord Dartmouth to his office. In August, without a word of warning, she sent a note by the hands either of a servant or a private gentleman to tell Godolphin that it was impossible for her to continue him any longer in her service; 'and I desire that instead of bringing the staff to me, you 'will break it, which I believe will be easier for both.'

So fell the great minister who had presided over the fortunes of England during one of the most momentous and glorious periods of her history. The friend and servant of four successive monarchs, he was at last free to meditate, in the retirement which he had frequently coveted, on the honours which he had won and on the gratitude of kings. Honours, indeed, had fallen thickly to his share. The man who had begun life as a page at Court had risen to the head of the Treasury before he was forty, and had since been almost continuously identified with the duties and responsibilities of that high office. Raised to the peerage by

Charles II., he had been advanced to an earldom by Anne, and in the interval had been decorated with the Garter—the first knight since the accession of the Stuarts who had received this honour beneath the rank of an earl. His mode of living had changed with his rising fortunes. In his youth he had apparently occupied chambers in the Temple; his short married life with Margaret Blague had been passed in apartments near Whitehall; his middle age had been spent in the dignified but active seclusion of Cranbourne. In the beginning of the eighteenth century he moved into Godolphin House in London, situated on the site which is now occupied by Stafford House. It should, perhaps, be mentioned to his credit that his wealth had not increased as rapidly as his fortunes, and that he carried with him into his retirement an income of only 1,000*l.* a year. The queen, indeed, in removing him from office promised him a pension of four times that amount. ‘But the promise was forgotten, and Godolphin had too much dignity to remind her that she had ever made it.’

It so happened, however, that Godolphin’s eldest brother died without issue in the same month in which Godolphin fell, and that the minister in consequence succeeded to the family estates. It happened, too, that he was not destined long to survive his fall. When he left office he was already suffering from a painful disease. On September 15, 1712, he died.

We have endeavoured with Mr. Elliot’s assistance to trace the career of a man who rose from small beginnings to great fortunes, who stood at the helm of State during a momentous struggle, and whose conduct is still involved in mystery which cannot be entirely cleared away. No one, indeed, doubts the justice of the character which was passed on him by Smollett, that he was ‘an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity.’ But then, indeed, many high authorities contend that his integrity as a politician was not equal to his integrity as a financier; and that the minister whose honesty at the Treasury was above suspicion was guilty of gross and continual treachery outside his office.

If the accusations which thus rest on Godolphin are well founded, his character was one of the most contradictory which was ever known; for in this case he must have been honest at his office and dishonest in the council chamber—a faithful servant in one place, a traitor at the

other. So contradictory a nature is not usual in real life, and the anomaly ought to make us hesitate before we condemn. And the tribute of Evelyn, of Burnet, and of Pope, as well as the conduct of William III., ought to induce us to pass a more charitable verdict. For with Burnet, Godolphin is one of the worthiest and wisest men that have been employed in our time. Pope has borne testimony to his

‘ High desert,  
His hand unstained, his uncorrupted heart,  
His comprehensive head.’

With Evelyn, Godolphin is ‘ excellent ’ almost as invariably as with Homer Achilles is swift-footed ; while, if Godolphin were a traitor, it is hardly possible that William III. should not have known the fact ; and yet with this knowledge he begged him to remain in office.

But, if the accusations against Godolphin fall, it may reasonably be asked how the inconsistencies of his career can be explained. If it be true that Godolphin was the warm supporter of either of the rival dynasties, it is difficult to account for his conduct to the other. If, in Macaulay’s language, he had indeed betted deep on the Revolution, it is impossible to resist the historian’s conclusion that he thought it time to hedge. We differ from Macaulay not in his conclusion, but in his premiss. We do not believe that Godolphin had ever betted deep on the Revolution or on any other cause. His reserved and cautious temperament kept him from committing himself to either king. He stood, in his relations to his sovereign, in very much the position in which the permanent Secretary of the Treasury stands to-day to the Prime Minister. That high official in our own time finds no difficulty in rendering loyal service to Lord Salisbury because he has rendered service equally loyal to Mr. Gladstone. He does not even find it inconsistent with his duty to remain on terms of friendship with the leader of the Opposition because he enjoys the confidence of the leader of the Government. And similarly Godolphin saw no inconsistency in serving William because he had served James, or even in remaining the friend of James while he held office under William.

The explanation which we have thus hazarded is no doubt at variance with modern notions. But then we shall never thoroughly appreciate the conduct of previous generations if we persist in regarding it from the standpoint from which we survey modern politics. Such a minister as we believe

Godolphin to have been would have been both an anachronism and an impossibility under any system of party government. Party government, however, did not exist in the seventeenth century ; it was only being slowly elaborated in the reign of Anne. We are aware, too, that the explanation which we have hazarded may seem to detract from Godolphin's reputation as a statesman. But, then, if by a statesman is meant a man who elaborates and conducts a comprehensive scheme of policy, we should be the last to claim any such designation for Godolphin. We place him as a constitutional statesman far below his great contemporary Somers ; as a fiscal statesman far below his other great contemporary, Charles Montague. But as a minister, or as an administrator, we believe him to have been superior to both these men, and to all the other men who attained prominence in his time. To put the matter in another light, we do not believe that he would ever have designed Charles Montague's financial measures ; but we have no doubt that he made the money which Charles Montague raised go much further than Charles Montague would have done. From the circumstances of the war, England required a great administrator, and the want was amply supplied by Godolphin's presence at the Treasury.

Whether, however, we have succeeded or not in supplying the key to Godolphin's character, we may at least trust that we shall have induced our readers to turn for themselves to Mr. Elliot's pages ; while we hope that the success which he may have achieved may induce him to persevere in his literary labours, and to devote such further leisure as his political avocations may afford him to the illustration of some other character, or some other period, in the history of this great country.



- ART. II.—1. *The Encyclopædia Britannica : a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature.* Ninth Edition. Vols. I.—XXV. 4to. Edinburgh : 1875–1888.
2. *The Dictionary of National Biography.* By LESLIE STEPHEN. Vols. I.—XVII. 8vo. London : 1877–1888.
3. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society.* Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Vol. I. 4to. Oxford : 1888.

WE have placed these colossal works at the head of these pages for the express purpose of paying the tribute of respect and gratitude which is due to the enterprising publishers, the energetic and judicious editors, and the host of learned and studious men, who have combined to place before the British public a vast and exhaustive repertory of the science, the literature, and the language of this country in the present age. No more complete survey of all that is known to our contemporaries has ever been given to the world. These three works embrace the history of the arts and sciences, the history of Englishmen in a biographical form, and the history of the English language. They mark, it may be said, the high-water mark of the literary acquirements of this century. They show with what incredible industry and capacity a vast number of intelligent minds are engaged in every region of inquiry and in every branch of research, from the earliest to the latest times, radiating from this centre through the world, and depositing in these great monuments of learning the fruits of accumulated knowledge. These are, in our eyes, the proudest and most precious results of the literature of the age. The prime duty and glory of literature is to be the storehouse and the guardian of knowledge. There are thousands of readers who quench their thirst for novelty with the trifles and ephemeral publications of the hour, which are but the surf on the edge of the rising tide ; but they forget that the treasure-house of literature lies behind them, and that nothing is worthy of a permanent place within its walls but that which belongs to the records of our race and the creative powers of wise and far-searching minds.

But whilst we pay a willing homage to these great literary achievements, we must acknowledge our entire inability to approach them with the ordinary weapons of criticism. We do not make war with giants or attempt to scale the

pyramids. It would be invidious to select from their multifarious contents, embracing every conceivable subject, any single fraction of the whole. The observations we have to make are addressed not to any particular department of art or science, but to the character and execution of these works in their totality. Severed into parts these gigantic volumes represent the contents of a library, and every article might be discussed on its own merits. But that which strikes us most forcibly is the combination of varied talent, experience, and industry which has brought together so vast and miscellaneous an amount of knowledge in a common form; and in what we have to say we shall confine ourselves to the history and structure of these works rather than to the details of their execution.

If we had to speak at large of the current literature of the age, we should be obliged to confess that there has not been for many years a period more absolutely devoid of originality and genius. The fire which burned with such intensity in the earlier half of the present century is in its ashes. That astonishing array of writers of the first rank, in poetry, in fiction, in history, in philosophy—writers so eminent and so original that their fame went forth into all lands and secured them a place in the records of all time—is extinct. Perhaps in science and in history some exceptions may still be found; but even in these branches the most eminent names belong rather to the past than to the present. In the myriad of books which are poured forth in ever-increasing numbers by the press it is rare to meet with one which will outlive the year or which deserves a longer life. The reason is plain: such books are not created by the energy of the mind, but are manufactured from old materials. There is no greater proof of the extremely superficial character of modern education than the superficial character of the current literature. In place of grasping the substance of the great men and the great writers of old, people content themselves with their shadows on the wall. Biography, which is at this moment the most popular form of literature, consists in reducing to the smallest possible compass the heroes and sages of the past, and in inflating the posthumous reputation of the men of yesterday by ransacking their desks and publishing their private letters. Indeed, it is a curious characteristic of the literature of the day that biography preponderates to an enormous extent over every other branch of composition. It would seem as if the present generation had nothing better to write about than

the personal lives of their predecessors, and even of their contemporaries. That 'additional terror of death,' which Lord Campbell was said to have invented when he wrote his *Lives of the Chancellors*, has become as inevitable as what is called the 'debt of nature.' No man can be sure that he will escape the insatiable biographer who haunts the graveyards. Ancient and modern, old and young, in books for the library, in books for the railway stall, in reviews and magazines, even in our pages and in those of our most distinguished contemporary, biography claims the first place and reigns supreme. It is a proof that the public care more for persons than for things, for the details of daily life than for originality of thought. In fiction the popular writers who seek to stimulate the jaded taste of their readers are driven from the exhausted soil of nature and reality to the extravagance of a Hoffman or the agitated waters of controversy. Nor is this dearth of a pure, original, and manly literature peculiar to this country. It lies heavy on the most cultivated nations of Europe. There is scarcely an author anywhere who commands an audience beyond his own immediate circle. The international union which made Scott and Byron, Goethe and Schiller, Balzac and George Sand citizens of the world, no longer exists. No living English writer excites much attention abroad. In Germany no literary reputation has travelled across the Rhine. The popular literature of France, judging from the volumes which obtain the largest sale in that country, is stamped, under the name of realism, with pestilent indecency and immorality. If the French nation suffers, as we believe, it does, from an unjust estimate of its social and moral qualities, that is due to the false and vicious pictures drawn by its own writers. Such is the dark and displeasing picture which the surface of the current literature of the day presents to our eyes. Unhappily this is the literature most commonly read by the majority of those who think they read at all. It has the attraction of novelty; it affords desultory amusement; and it suits the taste of the times: but it dissipates and emasculates the mind.

But if we go below the surface and look deeper into the literary activity of the present time, there is much to correct this unfavourable impression. There may be no genius, there may be no originality, but there is an amount of industry and scholarship employed in storing and reproducing the knowledge of the world which has never been surpassed, and the result is found in such works as the volumes before

us, to which many others of a similar character might be added—such as the Chronicles published by the Master of the Rolls, the publications of the Early English Text Society, Dr. William Smith's Dictionaries of the Bible and the Early Ages of the Church, Sir George Grove's Dictionary of Music, all encyclopædic works, the fruits of associated and accumulated labour, not surpassed by the Benedictines themselves, and proving that, in the discharge of its lofty duty of the guardianship and advancement of learning, this age is not inferior to any that have preceded it. So that in our opinion the literature of the age may be presented in two different and dissimilar aspects—a superficial literature, extremely feeble, ephemeral, and worthless, and a substratum reared, like the coral islands of the Eastern seas, by the indefatigable industry of a multitude of workers, whose names do not attract the notice of the world, who labour oftentimes as much for the love of learning as for its rewards, and who succeed in rearing by their associated efforts a useful and lasting monument. The creative power is for the moment in abeyance, but the analytical faculty which dissects and criticises the records of the past is in full activity.

The history of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' and its numerous predecessors is related with great learning and ingenuity by the Rev. Pousonby A. Lyons in an article *in verbum*. It might stand for a record of the progress of human knowledge from the earliest times; for the *ἐγκυκλο-παιδεία*, from which the series of these works derives its modern name, was understood by the Greeks to embrace the whole circle or complete system of learning. Pliny speaks of his great work on natural history, in thirty-seven books, as an encyclopædia. Quintilian, Galen, Vitruvius, and Zonaras apply the term to the 'doctrinarum omnium 'disciplina.' The word was introduced into English in the sixteenth century by Sir Thomas Elyot, who speaks of 'the 'world of science and circle of doctrine, whiche is in one 'word of greke Encyclopædia.' But the Middle Ages had their encyclopædias also, the greatest of which was the 'Speculum Mundi' of Vincent de Beauvais, who was lector or librarian to St. Louis in the thirteenth century; it was reprinted in four folio volumes, as late as 1624, by the Benedictines of Arras. We pass over a number of similar works to which the revival of learning in the sixteenth century gave birth, all of them having been frequently reprinted and in general use, until we arrive in the seventeenth century at

the historical dictionaries of Moreri and Bayle, which still retain their place in our libraries.

The first alphabetical encyclopædia in English was the work of John Harris, a London clergyman, who was secretary of the Royal Society, and a friend of Newton. But this 'Lexicon Technicum' was superseded by Chambers's 'Universal Dictionary,' which was the most popular book of reference of the eighteenth century. Mr. Lyons mentions that Abraham Rees produced an enlarged edition of this work in 1788, but he fails to do justice to the far more important and complete publication known as 'Rees's Cyclopædia,' which belongs to the earlier years of the present century, and is still in many respects a book of much utility and value.

The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' has, however, swallowed up all its predecessors and rivals, and now holds the field alone. It is gratifying to the literary pride of Scotland that from first to last this gigantic undertaking originated in Scotland, and has been conducted by Scottish editors, Scottish publishers, Scottish typographers, and to a large extent by Scottish writers. The first of these was William Smellie, who completed the first edition in three volumes quarto in 1771, and the second edition in ten volumes in 1784. A third edition appeared in 1795, when the sale rose to 13,000 copies. The property had now become extremely valuable, and passed into the hands of Constable. By him the most eminent writers of the day were employed to rewrite numerous articles—Davy, Brande, Playfair, Scott, Macintosh, Ricardo, James Mill, and many more—and the editorship was placed in the hands of Macvey Napier, who retained it till 1842, when the seventh edition was completed. The eighth edition, edited by Dr. Traill, was published by Messrs. Black between 1853 and 1860, and the publication of the ninth edition was commenced in 1875. The contrast between these two editions is remarkable. The eighth edition had 344 contributors, the ninth 1,145. The sale of the former edition was somewhat over 5,000; the sale of the edition now before us has already reached (as was stated by Mr. Black at Cambridge) the prodigious number of 50,000. Only thirty of the contributors to the eighth edition contributed to the ninth; in fact, the whole work has been rewritten, for, with the exception of Lord Macaulay's five lives of eminent Englishmen, none have been reprinted without change. Thus, to take merely the articles on physical science in the first three and the last three volumes of this .

edition, all the following articles in natural science are new : Acclimatization, Actinozoa, Amphibia, Anatomy, Animal Kingdom, Annelide, Anthropology, Apes, Arachnida, Arthropoda, Biology, Birds. So in physical science, such articles as Acoustics, Astronomy, Atom, Atmosphere are new. In vols. xxiii. and xxiv. we have, in physical and mathematical science, Telegraph, Telemeter, Telephone, Thermodynamics, Tables (Mathematical), Telescope, Tides, Times, Variations (Calculus of), Wave, Wave Theory of Light, Zodiac, Zodiacal Light, all new. In natural science, Trematodes, Tunicata, Variation and Selection, Teredo, Tapeworm, Tortoise, Vascular System, Vegetable Kingdom, Vertebrata, Zoology are new headings and new articles.

It was an essential part of the plan adopted by the original projectors and editors of this work that the different sciences and arts should be digested into distinct treatises, or systems, and they announced that, 'instead of dismembering the sciences by attempting to treat them intelligibly under a multitude of technical terms, they have digested the principles of every science in the form of systems, or distinct treatises,' and this plan has been consistently adhered to. The consequence is that the Encyclopædia consists not only of a multitude of separate articles, all of which, however, have been carefully written by eminent men, but notably of a series of elaborate and bulky treatises on various subjects, each of them amounting in length to a full-sized volume. Thus, for example, in the first volume, the article on Agriculture fills 125 closely printed quarto pages ; the treatise on Algebra extends to 53 pages ; the history and geography of America to 67 pages ; the treatise on Anatomy to 209 pages, making for these four articles alone 454 pages, or exactly half the volume of 908 pages. Mr. Geikie's treatise on Geology is equally extensive. It is a complete treatise on the subject, from the solar system downwards, in 163 pages, and might well be published as a separate work. Geometry has 36 pages, Germany 100. And we arrive at last at an article by Lord Rayleigh on the 'Wave Theory of Light,' which, as the author says, 'lays our mathematical resources under a heavy contribution,' for it is an essay in the pure language of the higher mathematics on one of the most abstruse branches of science. Throughout the work important subjects are treated in the same manner, and with equal copiousness ; so that a reader who seeks for information on some particular fact or question has to seek it as best he may in the ample repository of a thousand things

which he does not want. This inconvenience is partially remedied by an index of subjects in some cases, and by marginal notes. And it is intended that a supplementary volume shall supply a full index to the work, resembling, we presume, the admirable Indices in the tenth volume of Ducange.

It is too late to criticise a system which has undergone the test of nine editions, and which appears by its success to commend itself to the public. But we are free to confess that we could willingly dispense with a complete treatise on algebra, or anatomy, or geology, which are adequately dealt with in numerous works devoted to those special subjects; and we should prefer a less diffuse treatment of the whole science and a greater number of particulars. An encyclopædia is essentially a book of reference. One turns to it to obtain rapidly information on a particular subject. That is its chief function. As a rule nobody sets to work to read an encyclopædia unless he is wrecked on a desert island with no other resources. The work now before us contains an immense number of articles which may be read with interest, advantage, and even amusement. But we question whether they will be read as often as they deserve to be, because they do not serve the immediate purposes of reference; and these may be more easily answered by a search in dictionaries of far less high pretensions. Unfortunately, every writer considers his own subject to be of paramount importance, and that he has a golden opportunity of saying all he knows or thinks about it. Thus, in writing the lives of literary men, or artists, or philosophers, contributors are allowed to travel into the boundless region of criticism of opinions, of style, of taste, &c., which are mere appendages to the necessary record of facts. The biographical articles are in many cases singularly disproportioned, and savour more of the idiosyncrasy of the writer than of the importance of the subject. Thus we have four quarto pages devoted to M. Sainte-Beuve, with an elaborate criticism of his works very elegantly written by Matthew Arnold, and a lengthy panegyric of the late Sir Arthur Helps by his friend Sir Theodore Martin, whilst eminent statesmen, like Lord Aberdeen and M. de Tocqueville, are distinguished with a few inadequate and not very becoming lines. The late Dean Alford has four quarto pages, and King Alfred four columns. These incongruities have a comical effect, but they are perhaps unavoidable, and may be rectified in the next edition. "It is the boast of the editor of this Encyclopædia that it is

not dogmatical—not a record of opinions, but of actual truths and realities. But in treatises of so extended a character, many of which involve questions of a controversial nature, it is impossible to avoid the influence of the strongly marked opinions of the writer, and it would not be difficult to point out articles, especially in the theological, the philosophical, and even the scientific portions of the work, which militate against its neutral character. The articles on Biblical criticism bear strong marks of an infusion of German exegesis, and are, in fact, partly written by a German theologian, who deals with the subject on the principle of sceptical realism and dismisses altogether the sacred character of the Bible. The articles on biology and zoology express in the strongest language the unbounded confidence of their authors in the theory of evolution and natural selection carried to its furthest limits. No doubt they express the opinions current amongst many eminent persons at the present time; perhaps before another edition of this Encyclopædia is called for another set of opinions will prevail. But we deny that speculative opinions resting on a more or less contested and contestable theory can be inculcated and received with the certainty that belongs, and belongs only, to scientific proof. We accept them as the opinions of the writer, who is carried away by the enthusiasm of his own convictions; but they are worth nothing more, whether they be dogmatically asserted or not. As has been well said of the utilitarian theory of morals, so it is true of these Biblical and scientific writers, that the first principles of their systems are so little axiomatic that they are just the ones most abundantly controverted. When we find theological subjects treated without reference to divinity, but as matters of historical curiosity, and when the phenomena of the universe, of nature, and of life are explained on materialist principles, without reference to an intelligent Cause, we are led to exclaim—

‘Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.’

It will be remarked that the nine editions of the work have been published at intervals varying from ten to twenty years in the course of the last century, and that the last edition, begun in 1875 and ended in 1888, has been in progress for thirteen years. The progress of knowledge, discovery, and invention has been so rapid that within the short space of twenty years vast numbers of subjects assume a totally different aspect, and that a very large proportion



of the articles (as we have seen) requires to be entirely rewritten. In the course of one or two generations an encyclopædia, as a record of actual knowledge, becomes obsolete. Even the articles relating to past history and to geography are superseded by fresh evidence and fresh discoveries. Indeed, so rapid is the change, that before the last volume is issued the first volumes of the series are found to be deficient in many things, and the work has to be begun again. A supplement would already be required to record the lives of the eminent men who have died in the course of the last ten years, and the principal inventions or discoveries which have marked the progress of science whilst the publication was going on.

To frame the scheme of a work destined to include every branch of knowledge—to determine what subjects are to be discussed and what lives are to be related, and to apportion to each the space which could be allotted to it—is a task of no ordinary magnitude and difficulty, for which the previous editions afforded an imperfect precedent. This task was performed with great ability by the late Professor Spencer Baynes, who was for some years the chief, if not the sole, editor, though he was afterwards efficiently seconded by Dr. Robertson Smith, to whose care the later portions of the Encyclopædia are due. It is deeply to be regretted that the premature death of Professor Baynes deprived him of the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of the great undertaking commenced under his guidance; for throughout the work his judgement in the selection of contributors and his control over the general spirit of the articles exercised a most favourable influence, although the article on Shakespeare, which occupies no less than thirty pages in the twenty-first volume, is the only one which we possess from his own pen. It is, as the author states, not a biography, but a very pleasing biographical essay, illustrated by all the adventitious circumstances of country and town which told on the life of Shakespeare; but few men had a more critical knowledge of Shakespeare's works, as our own readers may on several occasions have remarked in his anonymous contributions to these pages.

No authorship could have rendered a greater service to the literature of the age than the muster and array of the huge army of cultivated writers, both of Britain and foreign countries, which Professor Baynes accomplished in this ninth edition, and it will ever remain a noble monument of his indefatigable industry and perseverance. The Encyclopædia

may be regarded not merely as the product of British literary industry : it has attracted to its pages a band of writers from all countries. Thus a large number of Americans contribute articles on special American subjects, and the list includes the distinguished names of Newcomb and W. D. Whitney ; C. D. Whitney in geography, Gen. F. Walker in statistics, and Professor A. Johnston in biography and history. Most of the British colonies have contributed. Then we have one Russian, Prince Kropotkin, the Socialist, besides several foreigners living within the Russian empire ; five Norwegians, seven Swedes (professors living in Upsala and Stockholm), nine Dutchmen, three Belgians, nine Frenchmen at least, twelve Germans, including Wellhausen, Nöldeke, Von Guttschmidt, Count Hübner, and four subjects of the Austro-Hungarian empire, six Italians, and one Swiss (Orelli, of Zürich). One article comes from a Japanese seat of learning. The American edition, which is identical with that published in Edinburgh except as to paper and binding, being worked off the same stereotyped plates, is to some extent copyright in the United States by reason of the large number of American writers who have contributed to the work, and we have no doubt the sale in America is large. This Encyclopædia is, in fact, the gift of England to the English-speaking world ; for, although it contains numerous contributions from foreign countries, it is in this country alone that so vast an enterprise, involving a very large amount of capital and enormous industrial resources, could be successfully carried out. It is a magnificent work, thoroughly well executed, both in point of style and matter ; and, whatever may be said with truth of the want of originality in the literature of the present age, there never was a time when the results of science and the records of history have been more ably presented and preserved, although, as is inevitable, it exhibits and provokes diversities of opinion on many subjects.

The 'Dictionary of National Biography,' edited by Mr. Leslie Stephen, may also claim to take rank as an encyclopædia, though its limits are defined by its biographical character, and its biographies are confined to men born or acclimatised in Great Britain and Ireland. But a dictionary of biography on this scale is a history of our race. The biographies of sovereigns, and statesmen, and warriors, written as they are in these volumes with great fulness, do in fact contain the annals of their lives. There is not in existence a more com-

plete history of England than is to be found in these volumes, as far as they have gone. The lives of the Edwards alone, extending to more than one hundred closely printed pages, in double columns, would more than fill an ordinary octavo volume. The lives of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne are long and ample narratives of their reigns. It has been said that the history of England has to be written over again from the enormous mass of evidence which has been brought to light in the present century, by researches into our earliest records, by the publication of mediæval chronicles, by the calendars of State papers, and by the publication of diplomatic correspondence. One of the most striking characteristics of this Dictionary is the use which has been made of these abundant and novel materials. The lives of historical personages have been written from original sources, and in no other work as yet in existence is there so copious a reference to these new sources of history, extending from the earliest periods down to the lives of our own contemporaries. The record is complete in every branch of human activity—political, military, naval, literary, scientific, and ecclesiastical. No action or incident but may be traced in one or other of these biographies, for the actors themselves are all upon the stage.

The biographers of illustrious persons have no lack of materials. The difficulty of their task consists rather in reducing to a moderate compass the record of actions well known to fame; but the difficulty is far greater in tracing, often for the first time, the lives of the unknown and obscure. In our judgement the most surprising characteristic of this work is the great number of persons whom Mr. Leslie Stephen has rescued from deserved or undeserved oblivion. It may be said that no articles in a biographical dictionary are more useful than those which relate to persons of whom no other trace is to be found. In these portly volumes they rise in multitudes from their sepulchres. We cannot discover at what point Mr. Leslie Stephen draws the line between the unknown and the unknowable. He descends from kings and heroes to scamps and highwaymen. Even the hangman has his record. To have published a volume of parochial sermons or written a few articles in a magazine entitles a man to a page or so in his Walhalla. The student of genealogy may trace in these volumes some record of every family in the kingdom any member of which has risen an inch above the crowd, for the life of a man includes some notice of his forefathers and his descendants. Dates for all

these incidents of domestic life are given in profusion, and as far as we can judge with accuracy. The catalogues of the British Museum must have been ransacked to find a clue to the very names of half these worthies, and it may be remarked that the literary element greatly predominates among them. If the same lenient rule were applied to the mechanical arts, every patentee of an invention, or even of a quack medicine, who has given a novelty to the world, might claim the same distinction. Even the fine arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture are much less liberally treated. We cannot but admire the industry which has ferreted out this infinity of detail, and not unfrequently wrought a most commonplace existence into a page of respectful eulogy. Nor is this all, for the bibliography of the work is very carefully executed; the authorities and references are everywhere preserved, so that the reader who wishes to pursue his inquiry finds veins and mines of biographical knowledge opened at his feet. It would be highly unjust not to acknowledge that the execution of this Dictionary has been carried on thus far with consummate ability and success— in fact, it leaves nothing to be desired, except a little less abundance. We acknowledge that we should willingly relinquish a considerable portion of Mr. Leslie Stephen's numerous flock—to which after all a great many more names might be added on his enlarged scale of biography—in exchange for the surrender of some of his fifty volumes. We have reached the seventeenth volume, which brings us to the letter E, and we are told that there are hopes that thirty-three more stout octavos will in ten or twelve years complete the work. That is a prodigious draft on futurity; and the mere presence of fifty such volumes, costing upwards of thirty pounds, is a terror to small libraries, and not attractive to small purses. The practical utility and the commercial value of the work would have been increased by a reduction in the length of many articles, and by the omission of names hardly worthy to excite a passing curiosity. But the ambition which has led to this prolixity is a noble one, and the manner in which the design has been met by a large number of contributors is honourable to the literature of the age.

Dr. James Murray and his coadjutors undertook a task of still greater difficulty, and demanding a far greater amount of learning and original thought, when they proceeded to mould the materials mainly prepared by the Philological

Society into a new and complete English dictionary on historical principles. More than thirty years have already been spent in the collection of materials and the publication of a single volume of 1,240 closely printed quarto pages, in triple columns, including no more than the letters A and B. 'It was resolved,' says the preface, 'to begin at the beginning, and extract a new typical quotation for the use of words from all the great English writers of all ages and from all the writers whatever before the sixteenth century, and from as many as possible of the more important writers of later times.' An appeal was made to the literary public, which was responded to by 1,300 readers, who have extracted passages from the works of more than 5,000 authors. By their industry three millions and a half of quotations from writings extending over 700 years were brought together. About thirty sub-editors offered their gratuitous services in arranging quotations, preparing definitions, and otherwise contributing to the execution of the work. And as no private publisher would have embarked his capital in an undertaking of this magnitude, which may require half a century for its completion, and which may never arrive at a remunerative sale, the resources of the Clarendon Press at Oxford were liberally devoted to the publication of this great national dictionary, which will be regarded hereafter as one of the most remarkable productions of our age, although few of those who launched this stately vessel, and have laboured in it with unremitting zeal, can hope to see its completion. It is supposed that seven or eight additional volumes will bring it to a close, and the publication will now proceed more rapidly, since the materials are to a considerable extent arranged. But in any event the next century will probably be considerably advanced before the term is reached.

The plan of the work is thus stated by Dr. Murray in his first preface :—

'The aim of this dictionary is to furnish an adequate account of the meaning, origin, and history of English words now in general use, or known to have been in use at any time during the last seven hundred years. It endeavours (1) to show with regard to each individual word, when, how, and in what shape, and with what signification, it became English; what developement of form and meaning it has since received; which of its uses have in the course of time become obsolete and which still survive; what new uses have since arisen, by what processes, and when: (2) to illustrate these facts by a series of quotations ranging from the first known occurrence of the word to the latest one down to the present day, the word being thus

made to exhibit its own history and meaning: and (3) to treat the etymology of each word on the basis of historical fact, and in accordance with the methods and results of modern philological science.'

Hence it appears that this Dictionary contains not only a history of the English language from the year 1150, but the history of every word which can be found to be or to have been in use during that long period of time. The great French dictionary of M. Littré (the more remarkable as it was chiefly the work of one man) is referred to as a model which has in some respects been imitated; but, as we shall presently see, the scheme of the English lexicographer is far more extensive and ambitious. On a comparison of the two works it appears to us that the principles of lexicography laid down by M. Littré in his admirable preface and the supplement to it are perfectly sound, clear, and logical; and there is reason to regret any deviation from so excellent a precedent.

Dr. Murray seeks to give us the meaning, origin, and history of every word which is known to have been in use for the last seven hundred years. To exhaust the vocabulary is impossible, for it is only by the scanty literary remains of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries that words can be traced at all, and the language chiefly used by the writers of those times was not English, but Latin. M. Littré was as well aware of the value of archæological phraseology as the Oxford lexicographers; but he never intended to make an archæological dictionary. He uses the old language in its reference to the new. 'Toutes les fois qu'un mot d'aujourd'hui a un historique, c'est-à-dire n'a pas été formé et introduit depuis le dix-septième siècle, il est suivi d'un choix de textes qui en montrent l'emploi dans les siècles antérieurs.' That is the chief use of the oldest form of language to philology. The mere occurrence of a word in an old writer now altogether obsolete is of no importance, except when it affects the history of language, and it should be consigned to an archæological lexicon. This has actually been done in France by M. Godefroy in his 'Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française et de tous ses dialectes du IX<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,' a work not inferior in magnitude and research to that of M. Littré, or even to this Oxford Dictionary. Indeed, if a dictionary is really to contain all the words in use before the invention of printing, it must include a vast number of manuscript sources. It was from manuscripts that Du Cange took a large portion of his learned articles, and M. Godefroy has carried his researches

into the manuscripts of mediæval Europe, and extracted from them many of his texts. When the Oxford Dictionary refers to mediæval authors, it means, we believe, those now existing in print. This is one, and but one, of the reasons for which a *Lexicon totius Anglicitatis* is a thing of impossible attainment. A dictionary of obsolete words can only contain words in the form they assume in printed writings, which is, so to speak, a dead form of language. The life of language is in the speech of men, ever changing, giving, borrowing, inventing, forsaking, varied forms of expression as mutable as human thought. To attempt to convey to paper a complete record of past and present language is as impracticable as to give motion and animation to a statue or a picture. Dr. Murray himself observes with truth :—

‘The living vocabulary is no more permanent in its constitution than definite in its extent. It is not to-day what it was a century ago, still less what it will be a century hence. Its constituent elements are in a state of slow but incessant dissolution and renovation.’

The editors of the Oxford Dictionary are well aware of the difficulty of their task, and the following passage, prefixed to their work, is highly creditable to them :—

‘The vocabulary of a widely diffused and highly cultivated living language is not a fixed quantity circumscribed by definite limits. That vast aggregate of words and phrases which constitutes the vocabulary of English-speaking men presents to the mind that endeavours to grasp it in a definite whole the aspects of one of those nebulous masses familiar to the astronomers, in which a clear and unmistakable nucleus shades off on all sides, through zones of decreasing brightness, to a dim marginal film that seems to end nowhere, but to lose itself imperceptibly in the surrounding darkness. In its constitution it may be compared to one of those natural groups of the zoologist or the botanist, wherein typical species, forming the characteristic nucleus of the orders, are linked on every side to other species, in which the typical character is less and less distinctly apparent, till it fades away in an outer fringe of aberrant forms, which merge imperceptibly in various surrounding orders and whose own position is ambiguous and uncertain. So the English vocabulary contains a nucleus or central mass of many thousand words whose “Anglicity” is unquestioned; some of them only literary, some of them only colloquial, the great majority literary and colloquial—they are the *common words* of the language. But they are linked on every side with other words which are less and less entitled to this appellation, and which pertain ever more and more distinctly to the domain of local dialect, of the slang and cant of “sets” and classes, of the peculiar technicalities of trades and processes, of the scientific terminology common to all civilised nations, of the actual languages of other lands and peoples. And there is absolutely no defining line in any direction; the circle of the English

language has a well-defined centre but no discernible circumference. Yet practical utility has some bounds, and a dictionary has definite limits. The lexicographer, like the naturalist, must "draw the line somewhere." He must include all the common words of literature and conversation, and such of the scientific, technical, slang, dialectal, and foreign words as are passing into common use, and approach the position or standing of "common words," well knowing that the line he draws will not satisfy all his critics; for to every man the domain of "common words" widens out in the direction of his own reading, research, business, provincial or foreign language, and contracts in the direction with which he has no practical connexion: no man's English is *all* English. The lexicographer must be satisfied to exhibit the greater part of the vocabulary of *each* one, which will be immensely more than the whole vocabulary of *any* one.'

The words which the lexicographer here terms 'common words' form the English language proper. Radiating from it are words and names scientific, technical, foreign, dialectal, and slang, which are terms belonging to the several sciences, arts, districts, and classes, but which form only an auxiliary and irregular part of the proper literary and colloquial language of England. The plan of this Dictionary is to insert some part of this extraneous vocabulary, vast as it is; and in point of fact a very large proportion of the space covered by this work is devoted to words which cannot be said to belong to the English language at all, although an instance has been discovered of their use by some technical or fanciful writer. Thus it appears that in the volume now before us, containing the letters A and B, there are 22,232 words, of which 15,380 are current, 5,982 are obsolete, 870 are alien. These are the main words only. If the special combinations and subordinate words are taken into account, the total number rises to the enormous amount of 31,254, in the first two letters of the alphabet only. Thus to take at random a single column of the letter A, we find in it *Anocarpous*, *anocathartic*, *anode*, *anodic*, *anodon*, *anodyne*, *anodynous*, *anoetic*, *anogenic*, *anoil*—all (with the exception of *anodyne*) terms of science, not belonging to what is usually regarded as the English language, and for the most part mere creations of the brain of some specialist. Or, if we turn to B, we have in one column *boutade*, *boutant*, *boute-feu*, *boutisale*, *bouts-rimés*, *bouvragé*, *bouzy*—mere French or Scotch words. It is difficult to discover at what point the line has been drawn, if drawn at all. If words like *bield* (a shelter) and *airth* (point of the compass) are to figure in a dictionary of the English language, it is hard to see on what principle



the whole of Jamieson's admirable dictionary of the Scottish language is to be excluded. A marine dictionary, comprising all the terms of shipping and navigation, forms of itself a stout volume, and the terms are unknown except to seamen. Military terms are for the most part special, and the language of fortification (such words as *courtine*, *carponnière*, *demi-lune*, and *redan*) is for the most part French. The language of chemistry, anatomy, and medicine is in itself a science, and is continually changing and expanding. An effort has been made to give and explain the inexhaustible terms of botany, mineralogy, and natural history. But it is evident that no general dictionary of the English language can contain, or ought to contain, the vocabulary of every special branch of science and art. These professional terms are for the most part absent from this Dictionary—and properly so—though they are all to be found in the works of professional writers, just as Lord Lytton's early novels are a repertory of the flash or slang language of London thieves. The same may be said of provincial dialects, although they are the very root and essence of the language. But this Dictionary does not claim to be a glossary of provincialisms, such as are to be met with in Barnes's poems in the Dorset dialect, or in the interesting and elaborate collections of the English Dialect Society. Had these branches of knowledge and philology been fully treated, the work, already enormous, would have been extended literally to an infinite and unlimited extent. We by no means complain of these omissions, or of the entire omission of proper names,\* and the editors have assigned very good reasons for all they have *not* attempted. Our criticism is that, having regard to the inevitable magnitude of the work, they have been far too liberal in admitting to the columns of an English dictionary a multitude of words that form no part of the English language.

Even in the literary department, which falls strictly within their competence, and for which authorities are produced from various writers, they have shown an excessive leniency. English writers of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries have been very apt to indulge their humour by the invention of words and a certain irregularity in their terminations. The best writers of the eighteenth century

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\* We have discovered but one proper name, which is 'Armorica.' The reason of its insertion is obscure, except that it occurs in Chaucer. 'Bordeaux' is inserted, but that is as the name of a wine.

were far more accurate and precise, and this constitutes their chief claim to be the models and masters of pure English. Defoe, Swift, Addison, and Hume said what they meant to say, without flinging themselves into contortions and eccentricities beyond the bounds of language. But Sir Thomas Urquhart aspired to rival the fantastical vocabulary of Rabelais. Sir Thomas Browne's writings teem with quaint terms used nowhere else. The orthography even of Lord Bacon and Jeremy Taylor is singular; and the pages of our humourists sparkle with grotesque counterfeits of language. When Mr. Carlyle meant to sneer at respectability, he called it *gigmanity*. Mr. Gladstone wishes us to believe that O'Connell was not a demagogue, but an *ethnagogue*. Matthew Arnold translated the French *épiciér* by the word 'Philistine.' Mr. Emerson describes the children of Adam as Adamhood.

The poets and dramatists of the age of Elizabeth and James would supply an inexhaustible number of grotesque and comical expressions, often as fanciful as those of the Euphuists. Ben Jonson alone, with his exuberant learning and verbosity, is full of them. No one knew better than Jonson himself what they were worth. In his 'Poetaster,' after Horace has made the hapless Crispinus disgorge a multitude of hideous words, Virgil sums up the debate in the following excellent lines, which we would humbly recommend to the consideration even of lexicographers:—

'You must not hunt for wild outlandish terms,  
To stuff out a peculiar dialect;  
But let your matter run before your words.  
And if at any time you chance to meet  
Some Gallo-Belgic phrase, you shall not straight  
Rack your poor brain to give it entertainment,  
But let it pass: and do not think yourself  
Much dandinified if you do leave it out.'

The fancy for the coinage of words is an innocent amusement, sometimes denoting wit, more often affectation; but the misuse of a word even by a great writer does not give it a place in the English language or a claim on historical philology. If adopted by the fashion of the day it becomes slang, which is bastard language; and although Mr. Carlyle, for example, delights in it in order to give singularity and picturesqueness to his pages, his authority cannot be quoted to legitimatise his frequent importations from the German and the Scotch. Mr. Carlyle cannot be recommended as an authority for correct or even grammatical English. He wrote as a Scotchman. Thus at the word *but* in the Dictionary he is

quoted saying, 'Who doubted *but* the catastrophe was over?' Reid and Livingstone are quoted using the same idiom. They were all Scotchmen. The idiom is Scotch. An English writer would have said '*but that*,' or '*that*' only. Jamieson expressly says that in Scotland *but* is sometimes used (elliptically) for *that*.

For much more substantial reasons the language of Sir Walter Scott and Burns, when they professedly wrote in the Scottish dialect, which their writings will serve to perpetuate, cannot be accepted as an authority for the English use of a word. This consideration does not arrest the editors of the Dictionary. In their anxiety to prove that a word is in common use at the present day, they sometimes pick up words from foreign sources, and sometimes slang from the gutter. But not all the philologists in Oxford shall persuade us that *all-overish* and *all-overishness* are lawful English, or that 'a dislocated all-overishness' is a correct English expression. So again we are told that we may say 'the rocks were *a-wash* by the sea,' and this on the authority of the 'Morning Star,' which we decline to accept. We could wish these curiosities of language were less frequent, for they are certainly out of place. And whilst space is found for this trash we remark with surprise that the quotations from the authorised version of the Old and New Testaments and the Book of Common Prayer are rare; and the quotations from Bacon, from the ecclesiastical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from Addison and Steele, Swift, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon much less abundant than they might have been. We have met with no quotations from the two best prose writers of the present day, Mr. Froude and Mr. Lecky, whose authority stands incomparably higher than that of the periodical press, and but few from Lord Tennyson, whose language is always pure and correct. Oddly enough some one has extracted numerous passages from the articles contributed by William Taylor of Norwich to the 'Monthly Review' some eighty years ago. Mr. Taylor was a scholar and philologist, who published an estimable volume of synonyms, but he was well known to have an inveterate trick of coining words for his own amusement. Southey said to him: 'I can trace you in the "Review" by your *Armenian* dress.' Neither Mr. Taylor nor anyone else supposed that his coinage would be minted in an historical English dictionary. The truth is that the editors have been extremely lax in their choice of authorities. Some of the best are omitted, some of the worst are adopted.

Hitherto the value of a word has generally been determined by the authority of the best writers who use it. But in this work the most recent examples are taken from ephemeral publications, newspapers, magazines, and trashy novels. A casual writer in the 'Daily News' talks of 'æonial 'Whitesides' (whatever that may mean); somebody in the 'Standard' writes of a 'bootyless expedition'—and these barbarisms, which are possibly misprints, are immortalised in the great dictionary. When no better authority can be found for the use of a word than its single occurrence in the columns of a penny newspaper, or its invention by a whimsical writer, it has no business in this historical dictionary. The pledge given in the preface that 'typical quotations should be given from all writers whatever before the sixteenth century, and from as many as possible of *'the more important writers of later times,'*' is broken when the quotations are made from the most worthless, careless, and ignorant publications of the day; and of these there are far too many. In the choice of typical quotations M. Littré is far more judicious, instructive, and complete than the Oxford lexicographers. There is hardly a fine passage in the French classics which he has not quoted in an intelligible manner. Yet M. Littré compressed his all-sufficing dictionary of the French language into about half the space to which the Oxford Dictionary will probably extend, and he completed it in his lifetime with far less assistance than that which has given birth to this work. From a literary, though not in an historical, point of view, the authorities quoted are less abbreviated and more interesting in Dr. Latham's English dictionary based on Dr. Johnson than in the volume now before us.

Another peculiarity of this work which we notice with surprise is that each of the special combination and subordinate words, amounting, as we have seen, to 28 per cent. of the whole number of words in the first two letters, is treated separately and under a distinct heading. Thus, to take an example at random, the word *acquaint* is treated first as a noun (which is Scotch, but not English) and then as a verb, and an important verb it is. But this is followed by *acquaintable*, *acquaintance*, *acquaintantship*, *acquaintancy*, *acquaintant*, *acquaintation*, *acquainted*, *acquaintedness*, each in a separate article, and the whole series fills a page. We have not only *cabriolet*, but *cab*, *cabby*, *cabman*, and *cabful*,\* and so on. The combinations of the word *book* fill

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\* The authority for this word is that Macaulay once wrote in a letter

two pages. Oddly enough, when a word has been already inserted and defined as a verb, it is repeated as a participle when it assumes the character of an adjective, thus, *acquaint*, *acquainted*; *ambush*, *ambushed*; *abandon*, *abandoned*. Surely, if it were necessary to record all these forms of speech representing the same idea, they might be so arranged as to show that they spring from one root, and compressed within a much smaller space. There are hundreds of similar examples. Sometimes a mere difference in the spelling of a word, common enough in preceding centuries, causes a fresh entry.

As the work proceeds we think we observe that the later parts of it are more free from the blemishes and superfluities which we have taken the liberty to point out than the earliest. Probably similar remonstrances have reached the editors from other quarters, for there can be but one desire in the world of letters, which is, that the Dictionary may be made as perfect as the vast industry bestowed upon it deserves. Let it not be overburdened by *peregrina vocabula* of dubious origin, whether Greek, French, Scotch, German, or American. There is no surer or more fatal sign of the decay of a language than the interpolation of barbarous terms and foreign words; and if a great dictionary is to be regarded as the treasury of the language it should give no currency to false and fraudulent issues.

The 'Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis' of Du Cange (the last edition of which, published by M. Favre, with all the additions of Dom Carpentier and Henschel, leaves nothing to be desired) is one of the most erudite and important contributions to literature and history. It is the key to the social, legal, and ecclesiastical annals of the Middle Ages, which, without such a guide to the mediæval languages of civilised Europe, would be impenetrable. But it is the record of a language in its decadence, as Facciolati's dictionary is the record of a language in its purity and its glory. The existence of the greatest masters of language does not prevent the inevitable progress of corruption and decay, for the splendour of the finest writings of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans was discoloured and destroyed

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that he was bringing 'a *cabful* of books.' It is a well-known idiom of the English language that the adjective *full* may be added to any noun implying *contents*; thus we say *spoonful*, *houseful*, *mouthful*, *handful*, &c.; but is each of these combinations entitled to a separate heading in a dictionary? Such combinations are endless. So too in this case we say *cabhorse*, *cabwheel*, *cabdriver*, &c. &c.

in a few centuries by the Jews of the dispersion, by the sophists of Alexandria, and by the priests and jurists of the early Christian era. In our eyes the first duty of those who devote themselves to philological studies is not only to trace the origin of language and the history of its evolution, but to defend its purity, for a corrupt and decaying language is an infallible sign of a corrupt and decaying civilisation. It is one of the gates by which barbarism may invade and overpower the traditions of a great race. Many causes exist which tend to corrupt the 'well of English undefiled.' The immense area over which the language now extends, in America, Asia, and Africa, removes it further from the centre in Europe, and whilst English tends to become the language most widely used and spoken in all parts of the globe, it is used and spoken by men less familiar than ourselves with the literary authority which determines its accuracy and fitness. It is probable that the vernacular tongue of the colonies and dependencies of England will gradually become more remote from the original. Another cause is the immense extension and influence of the newspaper press, supplying to countless millions the only form of literature with which they are acquainted; and the newspaper press of the United States and the British colonies, as well as the inferior class of newspapers in this country, is to a large extent in the hands of writers who have no respect for propriety or reticence of language. Against these influences, which tend to vulgarity and corruption, there is no mainstay amongst the masses of a scattered population save the English Bible and one or two of the greatest English poets, which stand, and will ever stand, as the inflexible monuments of the noblest forms of English speech. But the current of colloquial intercourse and of the ephemeral publications of the time drifts in an opposite direction. Something might be expected from great philologists, who have devoted their lives to the study of a language they know and love, to defend and maintain its purity—something more than a faint mark of disapproval of a barbarous and outlandish term. A language is not what any man pleases to make it by the coinage of strange words or the adoption of foreign idioms. Language is a tradition from the wise and great, who have found in it ample means to convey every inflexion of thought without having recourse to fanciful or mean alloys, and it should be guarded with respect by those who aspire to use it. There are, we are happy to say, not a few writers of our own age whose English is pure and unimpeachable, and the principal articles of the

English press are written in a style far superior to that of a hundred years ago, because they are written by men of a much higher degree of cultivation—often by the most cultivated men who are to be found amongst us. But they are in a minority, and it would be deplorable if the popular current, backed by the authority of this great Dictionary, should tend to lower the tone and remove the landmarks which protect and preserve the purity and correctness of English composition. This certainly was not the intention of the editors of this great work, whose knowledge of the principles of the language, and whose affection for it, are unquestionable.

We have made these remarks from the interest we take in the subject, and from a sincere desire to promote the success of this colossal publication, which is still in its infancy. The literary undertakings (for so we must call them) of the three great works placed at the head of this article are honourably characteristic of the present age. They are the results of prodigious industry, of wide scientific and historical research, and of a demand for the fullest record of existing knowledge, which is a striking proof of the advancement of civilisation. But they produce on the mind an effect somewhat similar to that of the vast industrial exhibitions of the last half-century. One knows that everything is to be found there, but one feels that human faculties are inadequate to embrace and penetrate the details of so vast a collection. That is the inevitable character of encyclopædic literature. Each of these works is an encyclopædia. If they err at all, it is by their extreme magnitude, variety, and prolixity; and in mercy to the future generations who will have to exhaust these reservoirs, we would entreat those who are engaged in the works still in progress to aim at compression rather than expansion, and to remember that the faculties of the human mind are more limited than the combined workmanship of a multitude of zealous contributors.

ART. III.—*Le Duc d'Enghien, 1772–1804.* Par HENRI WELSCHINGER. Paris: 1888.

THIS volume is an elaborate essay on a tragic episode of the Revolution in France, and on one of the worst crimes of the First Napoleon. It was the evil fate of the unhappy Prince, especially remembered as the Duc d'Enghien, that he drew the sword of the Condés against his countrymen; but enough is known of his brief career to show that in valour, if not in genius, he was not unworthy of his most heroic ancestor. The events, however, that led to his terrible end give his figure its main historical interest; and the catastrophe of Vincennes is one of the most mournful scenes of an age of passion, disorder, and military tyranny. The chief author, no doubt, of this deed of blood was not the Borgia of M. Lanfrey's satire; and in pronouncing on Napoleon's conduct, and on that of his subordinate agents, an impartial judge must take into account many considerations that will affect his sentence. Though certainly innocent of the worst charges accumulated against him by vindictive fear, the Duc d'Enghien, beyond question, had committed an offence against the law of the State, not to be overlooked at a grave crisis; and it is impossible, we think, to study the evidence which probably reached the First Consul's hands, and not to perceive that there were real grounds to suspect the Prince of a great deal more than complicity with merely constructive treason. Indisputably, too, at the very moment when the illfated victim was seized and slain, a formidable conspiracy to overturn the government of the French Republic and to murder its chief existed and had been brought to light. Two members of the exiled House of Bourbon had been privy at least to the plot; and though the Duc d'Enghien was wholly guiltless, some circumstances seemed to connect him with it. Nor can we forget—though we are not satisfied that Napoleon's purpose was swayed by it—that the dread of assassination has often disturbed the balance of even the most powerful intellects, and has led to deeds of cruelty and wrong; and it must be borne in mind that the age was the one in which Caraccioli was done to death, in which the deputies of France were killed at Rastadt, in which Murat and Ney perished. Still, when every allowance has been made which the equity of history can fairly suggest, the proceedings that led to the death of the Prince can be only described as a series of crimes



of a singularly dark and atrocious character. It is tolerably certain that the victim's fate was premeditated and arranged before his arrest. If his correspondence gave room for suspicion, proof was wholly wanting that he had art or part in a conspiracy against the First Consul's life, and he was doomed to death on charges which were merely after-thoughts, the original charges having signally failed. Without assenting, too, to all that the malice and ingenuity of some writers have urged with respect to this part of the subject, there is reason to suspect that, to save appearances, pretences were made that this tragic event was due to precipitation that could not be foreseen, to a mistake, and even to a sad fatality; and if this be in any degree true, hypocrisy must be added to the tale of guilt to be laid to the account of the perpetrators of the crime. As for the incidents of the capture and the trial of the Prince, no second opinion can exist on this; the one was a flagrant violation of the law of nations, and the other was an atrocious mockery, ending in a deed of shame which it is too favourable to characterise as a judicial murder. The whole case, in fact, is a frightful instance of the lawlessness and violence which are the distinctive marks of the French Revolution in its many aspects, and it has not found apologists even among those who excuse the September massacres and the 10th of August. As for the agents in the crime, they have, as a rule, either shunned the subject or simply lied; and the utterances of Napoleon, usually so distinct, are self-contradictory in this matter. On more than one occasion he threw the blame on subordinates whom he has severely condemned; on others he has almost gloried in the deed, and justified it as a necessity of state.

Before the publication of the present volume comparatively little was known respecting the life and the career of the Duc d'Enghien, though M. Crétineau Joly, some twenty years ago, gave many interesting details on the subject in his 'History of the last Three Princes of the House of Bourbon.' The materials, however, abound from which we can form a judgement on the crime of Vincennes, even if important parts of the evidence have probably been destroyed or suppressed. We pass by the mendacious apologies of Hulin, Savary, Réal, and other accomplices in the First Consul's guilt; but Savary, it should be observed, like Napoleon himself, has thrown much of the blame on Talleyrand—an accusation, we believe, well founded—and Talleyrand's memoirs have not yet been published. A great deal can, we think, be learned by studying Napoleon's

correspondence at the time, even if we suspect that many letters have not been allowed to see the light; and the memoirs of Eugène Beauharnais and even of Bourrienne may still be consulted with real profit. As was to have been expected, the Napoleonic legend has induced more than one eminent Frenchman to attempt to defend, in this grave matter, the conduct of the Imperial criminal; but the brilliant sophistry of M. Thiers cannot stand the test of candid inquiry; the works of MM. Nougarière de Fayet and Boulay de la Meurthe are palpably onesided, and abound in errors; and M. Lanfrey's account, from the opposite point of view, approaches far more nearly the truth, though this passionate accuser wants the calmness and impartiality of a true historian.

The volume before us is the latest addition in French literature to the tragic subject; and though not exactly all that we could have wished, it forms a learned, a conscientious, and a complete narrative. Founded mainly on M. Crétineau Joly's work, it is drawn largely from the original sources from which that compilation was supplied; but the author has collected fresh materials from the archives of the public departments of France, and from papers of dependants of the House of Rohan; and he has made good use of the copious diary kept by the Duc d'Enghien from earliest youth. No other book gives nearly so full an account of the life of the Prince and of his military career; and M. Welschinger has devoted special care to elucidating the relations between the Duc and his ill-fated love, the Princesse de Rohan, and in removing from them all taint of scandal. As for the events that ended in the catastrophe of Vincennes, the special characteristic of the work is that it inculpates Talleyrand to an extent transcending the charges of previous writers; and though the indictment perhaps in part breaks down, and in part rests on unproved conjectures, it is, we fear, in the main, well founded. As regards the details of the terrible drama, M. Welschinger has discovered a few new facts; he has arranged those which were already known in an elaborate if rather a prolix narrative; and his general conclusions are, for the most part, accurate. But he is not skilful in judging evidence, and understanding its full significance; too ingenious and oversubtle by turns, he draws inferences that cannot be sustained; he wants the insight that reaches the truth across masses of obscure details, and in his eagerness to vindicate the Duc d'Enghien he cannot perceive how the Prince's conduct roused suspicion and was open to ques-

tion. On the other hand he is, in our opinion, rather too lenient to the First Consul; he does not bring out in sufficient relief the atrocity, the wickedness, and perhaps the hypocrisy, which mark this episode in Napoleon's career.

Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, was born in 1772. His immediate ancestors could lay some claim to the renown in arms of their illustrious House, his grandfather, the Prince de Condé of Coblenz, having distinguished himself at Hastenbeck and Minden; his father, the Duc de Bourbon, whose melancholy death was a tragedy of a much later period, having fought bravely in the American war. The child, the offspring of parents in their teens, was puny and sickly in his first infancy; and he was deprived at an early age of a mother's care; the Duchesse, a Princess of the House of Orléans, having separated from a lord whose vagrant amours were a scandal even of the society of Versailles. The education of the young Duc, however, though very different from the severe austerity of that of the Grand Condé at Montroux, and though 'ladies at Chantilly,' it is hinted, 'spoiled it,' was, nevertheless, by no means neglected; the Prince, trained to arms and in the art of horsemanship, grew up to be a vigorous and handsome lad; and under the direction of the Abbé Millot, a well-known man of letters of the day, an intelligence that was almost flighty—*tête de souflet*, the Abbé called it—became gradually steady and mature. The diary of the Duc, in which we see a complete record of his daily life, does not lead us to think that his parts were brilliant; his mind, though vivid and keen, shows no trace of genius, or even of profound reflection and thought; and he seems to have been devoid of the statesmanlike instincts, of the accurate judgement on public affairs, and of the supreme power of controlling men which, the Duc d'Aumale has conclusively shown, were distinctive qualities of his most glorious ancestor. His character, however, as it became developed, presents an extremely attractive aspect; it exhibited the pride of the Condés, indeed, but had the winning graces of the old *régime*; it was strongly marked by filial devotion, by tender and deep feeling, by genuine sympathy with all that is noble, heroic, and good; and the dignity and courage of the great *noblesse* of France were combined in it with the lightness of heart, the charm of manner, and the social gifts which especially belonged to that grand order of men. The peculiar characteristic of the young Prince, however, was the love of arms

and of the study of war; and everything, indeed, that he saw at Chantilly, from the bust of the Grand Condé above the chief staircase, to the pictured battlepieces of the state rooms and galleries, contributed to make this taste a passion. It is melancholy, as we recollect his career and his fate, to read how he longed to see the day when he could lead the lilies against the foes of France, how he urged his father to the attack of Gibraltar, and how military renown was the breath of his life; and he, too, might have been a Bourbon Marcellus could he have broken the bonds of pitiless Fortune. Another marked feature of the mind of the Duc, common to a generation that had fed on Rousseau, was strong sympathy with the grand scenes of nature; and the wonders of the Tyrol and of the Helvetian solitudes inspired him with an enthusiasm that sometimes made him forget, in exile, the plain lands of Chantilly. This feeling, however, ministered to the master passion; the Alps are associated in his mind with the march of Hannibal; and as the Prince toils along the wild mountain ranges that lead from Zürich to the shores of Constance, he meditates on the last campaign of Suwarro, and envies Masséna his glory in arms.

In 1788, at the age of sixteen, the Duc d'Enghien took his seat as a Peer in the Parliament of Paris for the first time: his father and grandfather were both present; and the President remarked that three generations of a family of the *noblesse* had never before been known to sit in that august assembly. The hour, however, was at hand when feudal France and her ancient state were to pass away for ever; and the House of Condé was one of the first to feel the shock of the Revolution, and to yield to it. The Prince and his son had not been favourites at Versailles; both belonged to the reactionary *noblesse* who wished to put the States-General down; and after the fall of the Bastille and the return of Necker, they left France with the Comte d'Artois, and figured in the list of the first *émigrés*. The Duc followed, of course, in their train; his diary describes how the fugitives' carriage was mobbed and hooted at by 'savage peasants;' and his hereditary pride comes out in the remark, that the 'family departed because the King 'had truckled to Paris and surrendered to it;' the Queen, too, as is well known, being incensed at the 'disgrace' of the royal visit. During the next two years the Duc and the elder Princes were flitting along the French frontier, in Piedmont, or in the Rhenish States of Germany; and notwithstanding the 4th of August, and the subversion of the

old order of France, and the menacing edicts of the Assembly at Versailles, the exiles seemed to have been sure that a repentant country would soon welcome them back as its hope and salvation. The diary of the Duc abounds in ideas of this kind, astonishing to us who know the facts; but though, as we have said, he wanted insight, and he never shook off the prejudices of caste, the record of his thoughts, even at this early age, is interesting and shows much intelligence. Apart from the love of nature before noticed, we find acute remarks on the state of opinion in Italy and Germany at this conjuncture, and the Duc sorrowfully observes that the petty German Princes feared the power of France and disliked the *émigrés*, that the Revolution and its work of destruction found sympathy among their boorish subjects, and that it was only in the aristocratic canton of Berne that the cause of the French *noblesse* was really understood. As the attitude of France began to threaten war, and the Convention of Pilnitz appeared a pledge that Austria and Prussia would support by arms the tottering throne of Louis XVI., the Princes took up their abode at Coblenz; and, surrounded by the little *émigré* court, the head of the House of Condé assumed the command of the motley assemblage of French gentlemen, who had fled in thousands across the frontier, and endeavoured to make them a military force. The Duc was placed at the head of one of the embryo regiments; but he had yet to learn that hard work and discipline are necessary to make armed men soldiers; and, imitating the example of his superiors, he thought little about training for the field the gay cavaliers who attended his pennon, and he wasted his time in the loose frivolity, the dissipation, and the careless round of pleasure, characteristic of his order although in exile. Fortunately for his reputation he was still too young to take part in the evil intrigues and counsels of the Comte d'Artois, Calonne, and his following, a series of follies which not only precipitated the course of the Revolution in France, but made the name of the *émigrés* despised in Europe.

When war broke out in the spring of 1792, the self-styled army of the Prince de Condé was a multitude of 20,000 men. Eyewitnesses have described how gay and martial was the bearing of the leaders of the warrior exiles; but all that constitutes military strength and worth was wanting in that array of gentlemen. The bitterest jealousies prevailed in the ranks; all sought to command, and none to serve; mere favouritism decided promotion; and careless and incapable

chiefs allowed mismanagement to prevail everywhere. The Allies, too, who in invading France had an attentive eye to conquests on the Rhine, resented the refusal of the Prince de Condé to listen to proposals of cessions of the kind ; and the German commanders declared that the *émigrés* were not free from the revolutionary taint, and feared that their soldiery would be affected by it. The army of Condé was split into fractions, and left in the rear of the Coalition's forces ; and it was possibly fortunate for his military fame that the Duc d'Enghien did not behold the memorable fields of Valmy and Jemmapes. But for the interference of the Empress Catherine, intent on fanning the conflagration in the West in order to carry out her projects in the East, the contingent of the exiles would have been disbanded ; but it passed under the flag of the House of Hapsburg, although in continually lessening numbers.

During the next five years the Duc d'Enghien learned a soldier's calling in the school of adversity—a fugitive in arms against his countrymen, a stranger in the ranks of almost hostile foreigners. Despite many humiliations and defeats, he made good his hereditary claim to martial renown ; and he not only became, beyond comparison, the most brilliant of the *émigré* chiefs, but exhibited a capacity for administration and command which, under happier auspices, might have given him a place among the great warriors of a wonderful age. His extraordinary feats of courage in the campaign of 1793 attracted admiration even in the Austrian camp. At the head of a band of cavaliers, like Rupert, he repeatedly scattered the Republican levies ; and he was justly promoted for his success at Berstheim, a combat not wholly unlike Edgehill. During the next two years he was for the most part among the Austrian reserves on the Rhine. But though he chafed at what he called a slight, and at inaction that implied distrust, he gave proof of powers that rightly marked him out for high praise from the veteran Würmser. By this time he had formed the few thousand men who still followed his colours into a real instrument of war ; and in the great campaign of 1796 in Germany he distinguished himself on many occasions when covering the retreat of the Archduke Charles, and afterwards in pressing on Moreau's columns in their march through the Black Forest to the Rhine. The daring and skill he often displayed were freely applauded by the Republican chiefs not wholly oblivious of the great name of Condé ; and it is characteristic of the Duc that, though he could

fling the scorn of the *noblesse* at 'carmagnoles and terrorists,' he did full justice to their heroism in the field. Like a true soldier, he quickly perceived the genius of the extraordinary man who was now astounding Europe with his feats in arms, and the Prince rises to enthusiasm as he records the triumphs of the immortal campaign of Italy, fatal as the results were to the hopes of Bourbon France.

The preliminaries of Leoben and Campo Formio rendered the *émigré* army a useless appanage to the humbled and exhausted Austrian monarchy. Paul, however, Catherine's half-mad successor, aspiring to stand before the world as the champion of the old order of Europe, took the dwindling contingent into his service; and the exiles, reduced to a few hundred men, were moved from the Rhine into the steppes of Poland. The Duc tells us with what light hearts his companions in arms toiled across the wastes of Bohemia and the Galician plains; but in a few months the little military colony, resenting the savage Russian discipline, and suffering from hardships of every kind, was in a pitiable state of distress and mutiny. The campaign of 1799 had opened, and the *émigré* warriors followed in the wake of the half-barbarian host which, under Suwarrow, for a moment effaced the work of Bonaparte, and drove the French in rout from the Adige to the Trebbia. Zürich, however, changed the position of affairs, and the Duc and his men were engaged in protecting the shattered remains of the Muscovite hordes, as, recoiling from the fierce strokes of Masséna, they were forced over the Alpine ranges to seek refuge behind the Inn and Constance. In the explosion of the wrath of the Czar which followed, and which made him suddenly desert the Allies, it fared ill with the unhappy *émigrés*; they were abandoned by Austria and Russia alike; and the Duc bitterly complains how 'the king' was compelled to quit Russian territory at a moment's notice, and how coolly he was himself received at Vienna. The exiles, however, still held together for a time; they were attached, in the pay of England, to the Austrian army; and they formed part of the forces of Kray opposed, in 1800, to Moreau in Germany. The Duc took an active part in the ensuing campaign, distinguished himself in several combats, and gave proof of a soldier's insight in expressing his disapprobation of the false manœuvres of the Archduke John, who had succeeded to the command, and in regretting the absence of the Archduke Charles. He was not present at Hohenlinden, the crowning day of Moreau's career; and, in truth, whatever detractors

may say, Marengo and the Alpine march of Bonaparte—marvels of genius in war that moved the world—had already all but decided the contest. The Duc did just homage to these notable exploits; and it is touching to observe with what contemptuous scorn he repudiates in a letter the very notion of conspiring against the wonderful man who had restored France to her place in Europe and had assured his supremacy on the 18th Brumaire. 'I despise all that,' is his proud language; 'I will not mix myself up in intrigues of the kind;' and it is perfectly certain that his frank words were never belied by his subsequent conduct. At this juncture, too, though he had a full share of the delusions and the false hopes of the *émigrés*, he believed the power of the First Consul to be secure; and he ridiculed the idea entertained by his House that the conqueror who had defeated the League of old Europe, and was evidently consolidating the Revolution in France, could be gained for the cause of the long fallen monarchy.

The *émigrés*, now a mere handful of men, were invited, after the Peace of Lunéville, to enter directly the service of England and to take part in the descent on Egypt. They refused, however, this new mission, and they were disbanded as a military force, though a certain number of the chiefs and the officers received pensions from the British Government. The Prince de Condé took up his abode in England, where the Duc de Bourbon had been settled for some time; and before long the Comte d'Artois and the Duc de Berry—Louis XVIII. being still on the Continent—had established their little court in this country. The Duc d'Enghien, whose diary shows that he had the strong prejudices of the old French *noblesse* against England and her conduct in the war—he resented what he called the 'egoism' of Pitt, thought the Quiberon disaster a piece of treachery, and generally condemned our 'insular' policy—had declined to follow his family to our shores; and, though his letters breathe devotion and respect, he was not sorry to be separated from it. His grandfather had treated him as a mere youth, and, true to the usages of the old *régime*, had endeavoured to force ambitious marriages on him, especially repugnant to his best feelings; and he believed that his father had wronged his name in having deserted the *émigré* camp and led a life of luxury and ease in London. As for his mother, he had never felt her influence—the Duchesse, a prisoner during the Reign of Terror, had for some years been an exile in Spain—and she had long ceased to correspond with her



lord, or even to inquire about their son, having abandoned herself to religious mysticism. The Duc, isolated and almost alone in the world, found solace and rest in the fruition of a love which had been the sacred passion of his life, and had rescued him from the frivolous vices and recklessness of the Court of Coblenz. While still in his teens he had become intimate with Charlotte, a princess of the House of Rohan, the favourite niece of the wellknown Cardinal of the miserable affair of the diamond necklace; and the intimacy had ripened into a profound affection, which took complete possession of his heart. M. Welschinger has given us a charming portrait of this highborn lady in the flower of youth; and persons still living can recollect a figure of majesty and grace, always robed in mourning, whom the society of the Faubourg was wont to honour as the partner of the last few years of the Duc d'Enghien. The lovers were constantly in each other's company during the contest upon the frontier of the Rhine; and the Princess and her father were found in the track of the *émigré* army when it was sent to Poland. In 1802 the Duc made his home at Ettenheim, a little town near the banks of the Rhine and the first defiles of the Black Forest, and he was joined there by the devoted woman who had been his good genius for many years. There is little reason to doubt that the union of the pair was consecrated by a private marriage, on which the Cardinal had pronounced the blessing; and M. Welschinger seems to have established a fact, which, however, is now of little interest, except on the ground of family honour. The life of the Duc flowed on peaceably, divided between the pleasures of the chase, the companionship of his beloved-consort, and the society of old *émigré* friends; and the smoothness of the torrent, ere it dashed below, was never more placid or more delusive.

During these bright months of shortlived happiness the Duc had scarcely any communication with France. He corresponded with his kinsmen in England, and, as we have said, saw many of the Bourbon following; and his ideas naturally were formed by the associations of his life. Though capable of appreciating the gifts of Bonaparte, he did not perceive the immense significance of the work being done by the First Consul: the restoration of order, the pacification of La Vendée, the Concordat, and the strong centralised rule which had replaced revolutionary anarchy seemed to him matters of little moment; and he clung to the hope that, in the course of time, the nation would recall its legitimate

sovereign. Loyal and highminded, but not versed in politics, he remained to the last true to the *émigré* faith; and we actually find him expressing doubts of Napoleon's power over the French army, mere echoes of the whispers of the discontented chiefs of the veterans of the Sambre and Meuse. Throughout this period more than one conspiracy, in which Royalists were principal actors, was formed against the First Consul's life; but indisputably the Duc had no complicity or sympathy with those evil deeds. The following, written to the Prince de Condé, with reference to one of these plots in 1803, speaks for itself, and has the clear ring of truth; a copy of the letter, there is reason to believe, was before Napoleon among the other evidence he read when the crime of Vincennes was planned:—

'God grant that there may not be many victims, and that this unhappy business, like so many of the kind, past or to come, may not prove ruinous to the adherents of the good cause! Up to the present, the Government will, it seems, prevail in this crisis, if indeed it be one. All this is a thing I neither know, nor wish to know, *for expedients of this description are not in my way.*'

The Prince de Condé, writing to the Comte d'Artois, expressed himself in even stronger language:—

'I did not allow the man time to explain the details of his plan, and I rejected it with horror. I told him that, if you were here, you would do the same. We shall always be enemies of the usurper until he shall restore the king to his throne; we have fought against him openly, and shall do so again should an occasion offer, but we shall never employ means worthy only of Jacobins.'

Nothing is more certain, indeed, than that the Duc d'Enghien never plotted against the First Consul's life, or entertained an idea of the kind. Passages in his letters, however, it is only just to say, might lead an excited and suspicious mind to hold, to some extent, a different view, especially when read with the disclosures made during the inquiries into the conspiracy of George, though as real evidence they are almost worthless. We find the Duc speculating in 1803 on the possible death of the First Consul, and calculating on what might then happen; and Napoleon probably read this paper:—

'I think you might give me an address for my letters, for one from you or from Contye might provoke curiosity, and I write these details with regret at a moment when I have a strong instinct to be near the frontier. The death of a single man, as I said just now, as affairs stand, might lead to a complete change in the situation.'

The following, too, from the Prince de Condé, may have seemed to Napoleon very significant:—

‘Your position is excellent, but do not injure it by imprudence or by precipitation; know how to wait. . . . We must not have victims made—there have been too many. Rely upon us to let you know what is to be done.’

It will be recollected that one of the chief grounds of suspicion against the Duc was that it was supposed he had made his way into France, and was in fact the princely accomplice of George. This passage, certainly seen by Napoleon, confirms this view in a remarkable way:—

‘We have been told, my dear child, for the last six months, that you have been in Paris, others say Strasbourg only. . . . You are close to the frontier. Take care, and omit no precaution to get notice in time, and make good your retreat; it might occur to the Consul to spirit you away.’

It is necessary to add, if the events that followed are to be judged calmly and with a regard to justice, that after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, the Duc, who had been in receipt of a pension from our Government as an *émigré* chief, sought for active employment in the British service. From his point of view, doubtless, this was right and laudable, but from that of a ruler of France it was a grave offence; and the laws of all nations have visited subjects who throw in their lot with their country’s enemies, with exemplary, nay with the severest, punishments. There were reasons, indeed, as we shall point out afterwards, why the First Consul would have failed to convict the Duc upon a charge of the kind before a lawful tribunal, and this probably explains his conduct in part; but the fact remains that the Duc was willing, nay eager, to take up arms against France. The following passage in a letter, almost identical with one which came into Napoleon’s hands, would be evidence of guilt by the law of England:—

‘The complete nullity of my existence, while the path of honour is open to so many others, becomes every day more intolerable. I only wish to give your generous Government proofs of my gratitude and zeal. I venture to hope that England will think me worthy to *fight our most implacable enemies* in her ranks, and will permit me to share in the danger, and, in part, in the glory.’

The Duc, too, proposed to head a rising in Alsace:—

‘The West would be the most important theatre; but I think that *Alsace*, some of the troops there, and the advantage which my presence on the spot would afford for a gathering, ought not to be neglected. . . .

I receive almost every month, from the French bank of the Rhine, intelligence from our old companions in arms, officers and soldiers, in and out of employment. They only ask that a point for meeting shall be named, and that an order shall be given to come to me and to bring their friends with them.'

Meanwhile England and France had engaged in a war which had all the features of a death-struggle. Secure in its supremacy on the seas, but without a single ally in Europe, this nation boldly rushed into the contest, and its most cautious statesmen believed that bounds must be set to the ever-growing ambition of Bonaparte. France accepted the challenge with fierce passion; and before long the camp of Boulogne, a great host, assembled within sight of Dover, and a flotilla covering leagues of the Channel gave token of preparations for a descent on our shores more formidable than had been ever known. That England should use all legitimate means to avert the peril was a matter of course. Endeavours were made to form a new league against France; the overthrow of the First Consul's government became an object of British policy; and *émigrés* were employed as useful emissaries to stir up risings in La Vendée and elsewhere, just as Bonaparte tried to make Ireland rebel. But that English statesmen connived at designs to murder the existing ruler of France is not only a monstrous calumny, but is contradicted by the clearest evidence. The conspiracy of Drake, as it was falsely called, was a perfectly lawful attempt to get hold of the secret of the projected invasion; and though there were doubtless suspicious movements of Bourbon partisans in Brittany and on the Rhine, the assertion of Talleyrand, that an infamous plot, spreading from London over a large part of the Continent, existed to slay the First Consul, is a gross exaggeration of the real facts. Unquestionably, however, George and his followers, the remains of the fierce Chouans of the West, did conspire at this juncture against Bonaparte; the Comte d'Artois and the Duc de Berry assented at least to these counsels of death; and Pichegru and Moreau more or less concurred, though Moreau probably had no other object than the subversion of the Consular Government. There was, therefore, a far-reaching plot, more limited than that described by Talleyrand, but still formidable in a high degree, to destroy the head of the State in France; and the disembarkation at the cliff at Biville, the journey of MM. de Rivière and Polignac, friends and confidants of the Comte d'Artois, the arrival of George and his band in Paris, and the interviews between Pichegru, Moreau,

and George, were all parts of a concerted plan which simply had assassination as its end. This, we need not say, was an abominable crime; and to excuse or palliate it would be as wretched sophistry as was the plea set up by George, that to slay Bonaparte in a kind of encounter with the Consular Guard would not have been, in a moral sense, murder. Nor do we condemn the First Consul, tyrannical as were the means he employed, for his resolve to deal sternly with the authors of a plot which was not only extremely dangerous, but may have well seemed to him more dangerous than it was. He was within his right in arresting George, MM. de Rivière and Polignac, Pichegru, and Moreau; and had the Comte d'Artois and the Duc de Berry, as had nearly happened, been of the goodly company, he would have been justified in consigning the culprits to the tribunals of the State on a charge of treason, and in executing the law if it pronounced against them. The whole case, so far, bears a striking resemblance to the Jacobite conspiracies against William III., and we know how these were dealt with by British justice.

Unfortunately Bonaparte did not take the course of reason and policy in this matter, and his conduct has left an indelible stain on his memory. Soon after the discovery of the designs of George, the confessions of more than one accomplice had proved that a Bourbon Prince was to head the conspirators; and it is idle to say that this was an invention made by lying functionaries and police. The Duc de Berry and perhaps the Comte d'Artois were named; and Savary was sent by the First Consul's orders to watch the cliff at Biville, and to arrest the stranger who, it was supposed, would arrive by that route. Weeks, however, passed, and no Prince appeared; but meanwhile tolerably well-founded rumours told of gatherings of *émigrés* along the Rhine, and it was said that several chiefs of the old army of Condé had suddenly taken up their abode at Offenbourg, a town near the home of the Duc d'Enghien. The First Consul was in a dangerous mood; exasperated, fearing perhaps for his life, and baffled in his quest on the Norman sea-board, he was deeply moved by these new disclosures, and he cast a suspicious eye towards the one member of the Bourbons on whom he could lay his hand, if he dared to trample upon law and justice.

The events that followed are well known. At the instance, it is believed, of Talleyrand, a subordinate officer, really a spy, was despatched to Ettenheim, to observe the Duc, in the first days of March 1804; and the report of

this emissary, though made in good faith, was in the main untrue, and of the worst omen. An old *émigré* noble, M. de Thumerey, and M. Schmidt, an Alsatian friend, were at this moment on a visit to the Duc; but the officer, making a mistake in the names, declared that Dumouriez, of Valmy renown, and an agent from England, called Smith, had been for some time in the house at Ettenheim; and, after noticing that Offenbourg was full of *émigrés*, he added that the Duc had been seen in Strasbourg, and had perhaps been in secret in France. This report coincided, in point of time, with another which seemed of no slight significance. One of the companions of George had, on being examined, declared that a young man of distinguished mien, and treated by his comrades with profound respect, had attended more than one meeting of the band, and the stranger, he acknowledged, was, perhaps, the Bourbon Prince whose arrival in Paris had been expected. Taking the evidence together—the admitted statement that a Bourbon Prince was at the head of the plot, the fact that a Bourbon Prince had not been found at Biville, the report that a Bourbon Prince was supposed to have made his way by Strasbourg into the interior of France, and the confession that perhaps a Bourbon Prince had shared in the councils of George and his men—suspicion at least pointed towards the Duc d'Enghien; and the assertion that Dumouriez and an English agent had been at Ettenheim about this time, coupled with the real guilt of Pichegru and Moreau, seemed to indicate that a widespread conspiracy, supported by powerful military chiefs, existed against the Chief of the State. Intense passion and a craving for revenge appear to have completely mastered Bonaparte; a Council of State was quickly convened, and it was resolved to seize any *émigrés* found at Offenbourg, and especially to arrest the Duc d'Enghien, and to transport him to Paris as soon as possible. Two columns, under the command of Caulaincourt and Ordener, were to cross the Rhine and to effect the captures; and no heed was to be given to the fact that the territory of a friendly and independent sovereign was to be invaded in accomplishing a dark deed of violence. The two consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, were, it is said, alarmed, and feebly protested; but Talleyrand urgently counselled the attempt; the mind of Bonaparte was from the first made up, and scarcely a doubt can exist that he had already marked out the Duc d'Enghien as his intended victim.

The arrest of the Duc, in such circumstances, even on the

untrue assumption of his guilt, and without regard to what soon followed, was, it is needless to say, a gross infraction of international law and of European right. It is idle to suppose that the First Consul was not perfectly aware of this fact, and the responsibility attaches to him alone. But there is strong reason to believe that Talleyrand was his chief instigator in this tragic affair; and Napoleon himself, some years afterwards, distinctly asserted that this was so, in Talleyrand's presence, on a great occasion. M. Welschinger has made out a strong case on this subject; and this is the most original part of his book. Talleyrand had, for some time, been advising Bonaparte that he had become disliked by the extreme Republicans, on account of his certainly unjust conduct on the occasion of the infernal machine, and also because a notion was abroad that he was meditating to play the part of Monk, and to recall the Bourbons to their ancestral throne. When a Royalist plot had been discovered, the politic schemer more than once declared that it was necessary to make a striking example in order to hold the balance even between the factions which threatened the State, and to rally the Revolution to the First Consul's side; and, if we are to trust Savary, he was the most pressing advocate of the severest measures against the Duc d'Enghien at the Council of State before referred to. Unquestionably, too, he justified all that followed, in the celebrated despatch that went the round of Europe after the consummation of the crime of Vincennes; and he insisted, or at least pretended to insist, that the guilt of the Duc had been fully established. Nor are we without more cogent proof: M. d'Haussonville has expressed doubts as to the authenticity of the following letter; but M. Welschinger has, we think, shown that it was written by Talleyrand himself; and if this be correct, he was, beyond dispute, a leading actor in the terrible drama. We can understand how the leprous distilment of these counsels of evil may have infected the angry and suspicious mind of the First Consul; the letter is dated two days only before the decision to arrest the Duc was made:—

‘I have thought much on what you did me the honour to speak about yesterday. The present form of the Government of France is that which is best suited to the usages, the requirements, and the interests of our country. But it is not the less felt in France, and even in Europe—for Europe has an equal interest with France in this—that this admirable order of things depends upon your life, that, apart from you, it cannot exist or be consolidated. Opinion on this subject would be unanimous, if evil-disposed people were not continually spreading about rumours to the effect that your ideas are not

completely determined, and that you might even now turn your eyes towards the Royal Family. They go so far as to give it to be understood that you might be satisfied with the part of Monk. This notion, disseminated perfidiously, does an infinity of mischief. An occasion has presented itself to put an end to these causes of disquiet. Will you allow it to slip? It is offered to you, owing to the affair which will bring before the tribunals of the State the authors and the accomplices of the conspiracy just brought to light. The men of Fructidor are found again with those of La Vendée, who second their designs. A Prince of the House of Bourbon is at their head. The evident purpose is to kill you. You have a right to defend yourself. If Justice is to punish severely, she should punish and make no exception. Think well over it!'

Nor is this all: there is further evidence against Talleyrand even more damning. The *chargé d'affaires* of France at Baden—Ettenheim and Offenbourg were in the Grand Duchy—was M. Massias, a man of character; and this agent wrote to Talleyrand, two days at least before the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, that the whole affair was a terrible mistake, that the name of Thumerey had been confounded with that of Dumouriez, and that the Duc d'Enghien was no contriver of murder. The following letter is of grave significance; it certainly did not reach Napoleon's hands, and we greatly fear it was suppressed by Talleyrand. Comment is superfluous:—

'I owe it to your Excellency to state—and the character of the First Consul is such that I can claim no credit for courage in doing so—that I have received a great deal of information concerning the *ci-devant* Duc d'Enghien. He is a Royalist of the highest honour and good faith; he hates England, and is ashamed to receive a pension from her; he practises economy to enable him to live without it; he lives at Ettenheim in the most simple way, but gives large alms to the poor as befits his station; *he is unfit for intrigues, detests cowards, and abhors assassins.*'

Talleyrand, it should be added, took upon himself to justify the violation of the law of nations caused by the order to seize the Duc d'Enghien. The following is the text of the despatch he sent to the minister of the Grand Duke of Baden, and it appears for the first time in its genuine form. The language, for a State paper, is extremely curious:—

'I had just written you a note with the object of demanding the arrest of the *émigré* committee at Offenbourg, where the First Consul—in consequence of the capture of the ruffians vomited into France by the British Government, and of the results of the State trials being held here—has been made aware of the complicity of the English agents at



Offenburg with the horrible plots formed against his life and against the security of France. He has also learned that the Duc d'Enghien and General Dumouriez were at Ettenheim; and as these persons could not possibly be in that town without the permission of his Electoral Highness, the First Consul has felt the deepest pain in perceiving that a Prince, to whom the friendship of France has been of inestimable benefit as he must feel, could have given an asylum to his worst enemies, and have allowed them quietly to conspire in this unheard-of way. In these circumstances the First Consul has thought it right to order two small detachments of troops to go to Offenburg and Ettenheim, and to arrest the instigators of a crime which from its very nature puts those who have shared in it out of the pale of the law of nations.'

The order for the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien was made by the Council on March 10, and reached Strasbourg in about forty-eight hours. It was repugnant to the feelings of the brave men who were compelled to do a most odious office; and one of the officers, Fririon—he rose in time to high rank—communicated the truth to the intended victim. This is interesting, as it shows what probably was the current opinion in the French army:—

'I was at dinner with M. de Stumpf, formerly an *émigré*, and a relation of my brother-in-law, Doctor Lorentz, when I received by an orderly a command to cross the Rhine during the night, with a detachment of horse, and to arrest the Duc d'Enghien at Ettenheim. I was greatly moved when I read the order, for the violation of friendly territory was involved; and this alone seemed to me unjust in the extreme. Besides, what did the Government wish to do with the Duc d'Enghien? Was it to keep him as a hostage, or to deprive him of life? In any event, this abuse of mere power was intolerable, and was calculated to throw an indelible stain on the French Government, too strong and firmly established for an ambush of the kind which was beneath it. . . . Time was pressing; I did not know the Duc d'Enghien, I had never even seen him; but, at all risks to myself, I did not hesitate to send him warning, and to advise him to fly.'

The Duc not improbably received this message, and he had been warned by more than one friend before. But confident in his innocence, and with a Condé's pride, he refused to leave Ettenheim, or to attempt to escape; and the following, written just before his arrest, even now stirs the heart with regret and sympathy. The letter, it is only fair to say, was never seen by Napoleon:—

'I am aware, my dear General, that measures have been taken to watch those in receipt of pensions from England, and more especially myself. I have been informed of this for some time, but the fear of encountering a rascally paid spy will never make me stir, and I am not sorry, if my letters have been opened, that my way of thinking and

seeing things has been discovered, as well as my constant disapproval of measures unworthy of the cause we support, and already productive of many evils.'

The two French columns had crossed the Rhine by midnight upon March 14, and reached their destination within a few hours. At Offenburg only a few obscure *émigrés* of no importance were to be found; and nothing could be ascertained at Ettenheim respecting Dumouriez and the English agent, neither of whom had ever been near the place. The Duc was arrested, and this volume contains many details about the incident; but we can only refer our readers to them, and we shall merely observe that the Princess Charlotte was in the house, and set off at once to seek for aid from the Grand Duke of Baden. The Duc was unmoved, and calmly asserted his innocence:—

'The papers which have been taken from me, and have been sealed with my own seal in my presence, will, no doubt, be examined. As far as I can judge, letters from my nearest relations, from the King, and copies of my own, will be found. All that, as you know, can only compromise me, so far as my name and political views have already compromised me from the beginning of the Revolution.'

The Duc was brought to Strasbourg on the 15th a prisoner, and on the 18th was sent off to Paris. Meanwhile his papers had been despatched to the First Consul by one or two couriers—we omit details in this book on a point which appears to us of no sort of importance—and no doubt can exist that they reached Napoleon on March 18 and 19, for his own correspondence attests these dates. We have endeavoured to indicate what the papers were that really fell into Napoleon's hands; he certainly studied them with eager care. What, coupled with the surrounding facts, were the conclusions he formed on the whole subject? Undoubtedly, as we have said, passages were to be found that would arouse suspicion in an angry mind; and this must fairly be taken into account. But Napoleon must have known at this very time that the story about a formidable band of *émigrés* at Offenburg was a mere myth; and, what is more important, it had been proved that there was literally nothing to show that Dumouriez or an agent from England had been at Ettenheim. The chief reasons to charge the Duc with a criminal plot had been, therefore, removed; and though the papers suggested grounds for inquiry, the First Consul was far too able a man not to see that they contained nothing that could be made proof of a murderous intent, and that an indictment of the kind could not succeed before any of

the regular tribunals of France, tolerably independent even during his day of power. The correspondence shows that he was aware of this, and M. Welschinger properly refers to a letter of March 19 to his agent Réal—a principal instrument in all that ensued—which contains this most significant remark: 'I recommend you to study these papers secretly ' with Desmaretz. Care must be taken that no observations ' shall be made on the character of the charges—more or ' less—contained in these documents.'

On the other hand, it was a notorious fact that the Duc had served in the field against France, and his letters and other proofs showed that he was eager to take up his arms again, and that he had thought of heading a rising in Alsace. These were, as we have said, offences against his country and the national laws; and history would not have censured the First Consul—apart from the illegality of the arrest—had he put the Duc d'Enghien on his trial, on an indictment of this kind, before one of the tribunals of the State. But, in existing circumstances, it would have been most improbable, for many reasons, that a regular court would have convicted the Duc on such charges. The revolutionary war was a thing of the past; the great mass of the *émigrés* had been amnestied; it had been part of the policy of Bonaparte—a wise, a merciful, and a patriotic policy—to encourage the exiles to return to France; and many of the old soldiers of Condé, and many who had figured at the gatherings of Coblenz, were now in the ranks of the French army or had become ornaments of the Consular Court. An accusation, therefore, that the Duc had fought against France, from 1792 to 1799, would have seemed ridiculous, and must have failed; and it is most likely that he would have been acquitted even on a charge of intending to levy war; for though opinion in Paris, supreme in the law courts, condemned designs against the First Consul's life, it was singularly indifferent at this juncture to alleged offences against the State and the Government, and it had been deemed necessary, on this very ground, to suspend the ordinary procedure in the case of Moreau. If Bonaparte, therefore, had respected law and the requirements of justice, the victim in his grasp would have almost certainly escaped from his toils, and in that event he would have already violated international right to no purpose; he would give the Bourbons and their followers a signal triumph; and—a point on which he was always sensitive—he would have made a false step and exposed himself to the contempt of Paris, and even of

Europe. His resolve was formed, and it was in accord with his inflexible and perfectly unscrupulous character. The charges on which he had caused the Duc to be pitilessly seized had broken down; but it was possible to bring him before a tribunal so constituted that, after a mock trial, he would be found guilty and done to death; and on March 20, 1804, this order issued, under the hand of Bonaparte, equivalent to a doom pronounced beforehand:—

‘The *ci-devant* Duc d'Enghien, accused of having borne arms against the Republic, of having been and of being in the pay of England, and of taking part in conspiracies which that Power has formed against the security of the Republic, at home and abroad, shall be brought before a military commission, composed of seven members named by the General, Governor of Paris, and which will sit at Vincennes.’

M. Welschinger has not sufficiently noticed—the fact, however, is beyond dispute—that all the proceedings from this moment were instituted and directed by the First Consul himself. On the same 20th of March he prepared, with his own hand, and sent to Réal, what may be called the indictment against the Duc d'Enghien, in the form of an interrogatory to the expected prisoner. The charges were, in the main, collected from the papers of the Duc; the reader will note how they would affect the kind of tribunal that was to hear them; and the injunction that ‘what was to be done ‘was to be done quickly,’ speaks for itself:—

‘The Duc d'Enghien has left on the 17th, at midnight. He will, therefore, arrive soon. I have made the decree of which I send this copy. Go at once to Vincennes and interrogate the prisoner.

‘Your interrogatory will be as follows:—

‘I. Have you borne arms against your country?

‘II. Have you been in the pay of England?

‘III. Did you offer your services to England to fight against the army marching under the orders of General Mortier to overrun Hanover?

‘IV. Have you not been in correspondence with the English, and have placed yourself at their disposal, since the beginning of the present war, for any expedition they planned against France, whether in foreign parts or at home, and have you not been so unnatural as to call the French nation your bitterest enemies?

‘V. Have you not proposed to raise an armed force, and to induce the troops of the Republic to desert, saying that, during your stay close to the frontier, for two years, you had been able to entertain relations with the troops upon the Rhine?

‘VI. Are you aware that the English have again taken into their pay, and are giving support to, *émigrés* cantoned at Fribourg, at Offenbach, at Offenburg, and on the right bank of the Rhine?

‘VII. Have you not corresponded with persons who have taken part in these gatherings, and were you not at their head?

'VIII. What have been your relations with Alsace? What with Paris? What with Breda and the army in Holland?

'IX. Were you not cognisant of a plot formed by the English for the overthrow of the Government; and had the plot been successful, were you not to have entered Alsace, and even gone to Paris, according to circumstances?

'X. Do you know one Vaudrecourt, who has been a commissary, and has made war against the Republic?

'You must introduce the Public Prosecutor—he ought to be a major of the *gendarmérie d'élite*—and you must instruct him as to the necessity of *expediting the proceedings and making them rapid.*'

Whether a military commission could take cognisance, by the law of France, of charges like these, is a matter which fairly admits of question. It is certain, however—and this is admitted by M. Thiers, by many degrees the ablest apologist of the First Consul—that the practice of trying even simple offences relating to *émigrés* by military courts had been abandoned for several years; and the proceedings in this instance, as we shall point out, were wholly illegal and perhaps as revolting as any of those conducted by Fouquier Tinville in the worst days of the Jacobin Terror. The Ruler of France shrouded his design in secrecy; he dreaded, in fact, the opinion of Paris, and he would not allow even the governor of Vincennes—Harel, a police spy, and an ancient Jacobin—to know the name of the coming prisoner.

'An individual, whose name must not be disclosed, will be conducted into the fortress entrusted to your care. You will place him in the vacant apartments, and take the necessary precautions for his safe keeping. The intention of the Government is that everything relating to him shall be done as secretly as possible, and that no question shall be put to him as to who he is, and as to the reasons of his detention. You are not to know who he is. You alone are to have any communication with him, and until further orders you will permit no one to see him. He will probably reach you this night.'

Meanwhile the Duc d'Enghien, a close prisoner, had arrived in Paris on March 20. M. Welschinger, following Nongarède de Fayet, says that Talleyrand, Murat, and Réal met and directed the carriage to set off to Vincennes; and he gives ingenious reasons for a theory of his own, that Talleyrand had concocted a letter to Réal for the purpose of showing that he had had no part in this interview and the order that followed:—

'The Minister of Foreign Affairs had wished to make out an *alibi* for himself. But History rejects *alibis*, and her searching inquiry must ascertain true responsibilities.'

This duplicity is not, we think, proved; the evidence adduced is mere conjecture, and the fact is not, indeed, of the least importance. It is all but certain, however, that on March 20 Talleyrand was aware that the Duc d'Enghien had been already destined to a violent death. This must be inferred from the 'Memoirs of M. de Vitrolles,' reviewed in this Journal \* some time ago. We quoted this passage on that occasion, but it is necessary for our purpose to quote it again:—

'At two in the morning (of the 21st) he was at the house of the Vicomtesse de Laval, lying carelessly on a sofa as was his custom. He slowly drew his watch from his pocket, and, without showing the slightest emotion in his voice or on his face, said, "At this moment "the last of the Condés has ceased to exist."'

The Duc d'Enghien had reached Vincennes by the afternoon of March 20. The military commission had been appointed, and M. Welschinger is, we believe, mistaken in stating that it was appointed by Murat. The law, indeed, imposed the duty upon him, for he was general of the division where the commission was to sit; but law was trampled under foot throughout these proceedings, and M. Thiers has, we think, proved that Murat would take no part in a mere deed of blood, and that Napoleon nominated the commission himself. The President was Hulin, one of the assailants of the Bastille, and now a chief of the Consular Guard; and the other members held the rank of colonel, but were almost unknown in the French army. Réal did not make his appearance at Vincennes; but his functions were performed by a Captain Dautancourt, who had evidently been supplied, in substance at least, with the indictment framed by the First Consul. The Duc was awakened at the dead of night, and interrogated by Dautancourt in the sense indicated. His answers were singularly frank and explicit; and while he did not deny that he had been in arms against France, he emphatically asserted, as he had always done, that he was innocent of design against the First Consul's life, and that Pichegru and Dumouriez were unknown to him. He had, however, become aware of his peril; and before he put his hand to the deposition he had made, he was permitted to add the following words:—

'Before signing the *procès verbal*, I earnestly request that I may have an interview with the First Consul. My name, my rank, my

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\* See the 'Edinburgh Review' of July 1884, p. 21.

opinions, and the fearful situation in which I am placed, cause me to hope he will not refuse.'

It was now the early morning of March 21, and the prisoner was led before his judges. The light of torches in one of the rooms of the donjon fell on the faces of the ministers of death; and Justice may still shudder at the atrocious crime that was perpetrated in her august name. A trial at night was in itself unlawful. The Duc was entitled, by military law, to a copy of the charges, to the use of an advocate, and to sufficient time to prepare his defence; but these necessary rights of the accused were denied. Even a formal indictment was not prepared; no evidence worthy of the name was adduced, and the mockery of a trial consisted simply of a cross-examination of the prisoner from his own answers to the interrogatories just put by Dautancourt. The Duc merely repeated what he had already said; but the pride of the Condés may be detected in the replies he made at this supreme moment. He haughtily denied that he had been a conspirator, but declared himself a foe of the First Consul, and ready to overthrow the First Consul's Government. Hulin has left an account of these dreadful proceedings, and the following is not improbably correct:—

'He appeared before us with a noble and confident look. He repudiated the charge of having directly or indirectly taken part in a plot to assassinate the First Consul. But he acknowledged that he had upheld the rights of his family, and that a Condé could only enter France with arms in his hand. "My birth, my opinions," he added, "will always make me the enemy of your Government."

Rude soldiers, prejudiced and ignorant of law, having heard these admissions, thought doubtless, 'What need we any further witness?' Their hearts, however, were touched by the courage of the accused, by his noble presence, by his frank replies, and they wished to comply with the request of the Duc, and to let him have an interview with the First Consul. Here, if we are to give credit to Hulin, a malign influence suddenly interposed; Savary, one of Napoleon's most useful tools, had watched the proceedings by his master's orders, and he forbade the court to send off the message of hope:—

'At this instant a man, who had been all through present while the court was sitting, said, as he approached me, "What are you doing?"

"I am writing to the First Consul," was my answer, "to let him know the wish of the court and of the prisoner."

"Your work has been done," he replied, taking the pen from my hand; "the affair is now mine"!

The sentence was pronounced at two in the morning, the nature of the offence was not set forth in a blank that had been left for the purpose, and the record shows that the only piece of evidence—apart from the statements extracted from the Duc—was the order constituting the court martial! Anything more atrocious it is impossible to conceive:—

‘The President caused the accused to be brought forward, free and unbound, and ordered the captain, who was in charge of the report, to inform him of the proofs in charge and discharge. These were *one*, the order made by the Government on March 20.’

The execution was to be at once, and at night, and this was a flagrant violation of law:—

‘This judgement is to be executed at once, as soon as the captain on duty shall have read the sentence to the accused, in the presence of the troops of the garrison.’

The last scene of the tragedy is well known, and it is beside our purpose to describe its incidents. The secrecy and haste which throughout marked these horrible proceedings were duly observed; the executioners were not told the name of the victim, and the Duc was led into one of the courts of the donjon immediately after the sentence was read. The grim figures of a file of musketeers lowering through the torch-light did not shake the nerve of a warrior who had often looked death in the face; his request for a confessor was brutally refused, and Charlotte de Rohan was his last thought:—

‘He asked for a pair of scissors, cut off a lock of his hair, and put it, with a gold ring, into a letter which he had secretly written on his way from Strasbourg. He requested Noirot to give the packet to the Princesse de Rohan-Rochfort. The officer makes a promise. Supreme and precious memories! the farewell of a husband, the lock of hair, the marriage-token!’

All was quickly despatched, and the body of the Duc was hurriedly buried on the spot where he fell. If Harel is to be believed, a grave had been dug some hours before the trial had begun, a pledge of the murder about to follow.

‘The deposition of Bonnelet, a workman at Vincennes, attests this monstrous circumstance. He declared on oath, before the commission of inquiry charged with the exhumation of the Prince—the date is March 18, 1816—that, on March 20, 1804, at about three in the afternoon, he had been directed by Harel to make a grave at the foot of the Queen’s Tower. The spot indicated by Bonnelet is exactly that where the Duc was executed and interred.’

Attempts have been made by several writers to excuse or



palliate this foul deed of blood. It is really surprising that a grave historian, like M. Thiers, should prefer a plea based on a statement that the First Consul hummed a few lines from a play of Voltaire significant of the grace of clemency at a game of cards on the evening of March 20 ; in view of the facts the inference is absurd ; and if there be any truth in the story, the thing was probably a trick of the *salon* to hold out hopes to the Court at Malmaison, alarmed at the prospect of the approaching tragedy. A more serious apology has been made, founded on an assertion that the First Consul had ordered Réal to go to Vincennes to make a report of the trial on the spot, and to take the evidence to Malmaison ; but Réal, it is alleged, received the message late at night, and after he had retired to rest, and did not reach Vincennes until the deed had been done ; and it is argued from this that it was Napoleon's purpose to review and to set aside the sentence of the Court, and to grant a free pardon to the Duc d'Enghien. M. Welschinger has examined this question at length, and we certainly think it was Napoleon's wish that Réal should have appeared at the trial ; and we may accept the statement, though its truth is doubtful, that Réal arrived at Vincennes too late, the order not having been read in time. But how does this prove that the First Consul ever contemplated sparing the Duc d'Enghien, or that a report of Réal would have changed his purpose ? The stubborn facts of the case refute the notion ; the presence of Savary at the proceedings at Vincennes, and his interposition, are almost conclusive ; and had Réal committed the grave offence of frustrating what his master had meant to do, the excuse that he had not been awakened in time would have been treated as it deserved, and he would have been summarily dismissed from the Consular service. M. Welschinger's account, drawn from that of acquaintances, of what occurred at Malmaison on the morning of the 21st, is certainly true as regards this matter ; and we entirely agree with the inference he has made :—

‘ When Réal made his appearance, the Memoirs of M. de Méneval say, the First Consul asked why he had not been at Vincennes. After hearing the explanation made by Réal and exchanging a few words with him, he fell again into a reverie ; and then, without uttering a word of praise or blame, he took up his hat, said “ Very well,” and left M. Réal surprised and somewhat troubled at his evident preoccupation. This is difficult to understand. What ! the First Consul has nothing but “ Very well ” to say to a man who has not executed his orders, who can only allege sleepiness as an excuse, and who has made an intended act of clemency impossible ! . . . Had Réal had no excuse

but this, he would never have gone near Malmaison. He would have resigned his office; his resignation would have been accepted; and his incarceration would have ensued.'

The absence of Réal from the court martial—apart from the lame excuse he perhaps offered—may, in fact, be explained in two possible ways. The most probable supposition, we think, is that, like many others acquainted with the truth, he was seriously alarmed at what might happen were the Duc d'Enghien cruelly murdered, and was ashamed of the part he was called on to play; and, accordingly, he kept away from the trial, and simply handed over the papers to Dautancourt, who performed the task committed to himself. Another supposition put forward by M. Welschinger, on tolerably fair grounds, is that the absence of Réal was part of a scheme arranged between Napoleon and his servile agent, a scheme designed to furnish an excuse for the mockery of a trial and the resulting crime, and to leave space open for a false statement that the First Consul had clemency in his thoughts. According to this view, the order to Réal to go to Vincennes and to report the proceedings was a mere sham not meant to be obeyed; the trial and the execution were prearranged, and everything happened as had been settled; and the order was a mere pretext to save appearances and to turn the opinion of Paris in a false direction. If there be any truth in this, Napoleon was guilty of hypocrisy in addition to a deed of shame; but, though he was perfectly skilled in a hypocrite's part, the accusation rests on insufficient evidence, and is, we believe, far-fetched and improbable.

Many years have passed since the tragedy of Vincennes, and all who took part in it have gone to their account. In apportioning the guilt of this terrible crime, History, in our judgement, must lay the chief burden of her accusation on the First Consul. In Talleyrand certainly, and perhaps in others, he found officious and falsehearted Huberts; but he felt none of the compunctious visitings of John; and from the moment when he made the order for the arrest, he marked down the Duc d'Enghien as his victim. Before that time his correspondence shows that he was agitated, perplexed, and perhaps alarmed; and though we think it did not affect him much, we make every allowance for the undoubted fact that a conspiracy existed to take away his life. But the motive which chiefly directed his conduct was that fixed and almost satanic resolve to accomplish his ends whatever the means, of which his career gives proof in a hundred instances;

he determined to immolate a Bourbon Prince, and he allowed no obstacle to stand in his way. With this object in view he did not hesitate to invade friendly territory, and to break the law of Europe; with this object in view he had recourse to expedients which as certainly consigned the Duc to death as the orders of Richard slew his nephews in the Tower. His conduct was the more atrocious that he had time for reflection; and the evidence that reached his hands must have assured him that his victim had no designs to compass his death. Undoubtedly the papers of the Duc were suspicious, and disclosed an offence against the law. But the main charge against him was disproved by them; and it was scarcely possible that he would be convicted by a regular tribunal of any crime. Napoleon, however, was not to be balked of his prey; the mock trial in defiance of law, the sentence without evidence and in contempt of justice, the midnight execution, and the grave at Vincennes, followed in succession by his express commands; and the wickedness of the deed was made infinitely worse by giving it a pretended judicial sanction. Napoleon often recurred to the subject; and, as we have said, his powerful mind was at variance with itself in this matter. In his later years, however, he gave up the plea that Talleyrand and Savary had misled him; and almost in his last moments he justified the deed, in no uncertain words, as a necessity of the times, protesting against the sentence of History, like a doomed criminal at the bar of Justice. The crime remains a terrible proof of the lawless violence of that Revolution which Republican France is about to celebrate, a century after its first outbreak, but which, to the sober eye of Reason, appears a succession of troubled events—of grandeur, indeed, and of worldwide interest, but of more than doubtful advantage to France and to Europe.

ART. IV.—1. *Circuit Journeys*. By the late Lord COCKBURN. Edinburgh: 1888.

2. *An Examination of the Trials for Sedition which have hitherto occurred in Scotland*. By the late Lord COCKBURN. In 2 vols. Edinburgh: 1888.

THOSE who are already acquainted with the writings of Lord Cockburn will turn with eager interest to the perusal of the two works named above, which have just been published by Mr. David Douglas, more than thirty years after the death of their author. Few books give a more delightful picture of Scottish and especially Edinburgh cultivated life than Cockburn's 'Memorials of his Time' (1800–1830) and Cockburn's 'Journal, 1830–1854,' whilst his 'Life of Lord Jeffrey' is recognised as one of the very best of those lives of the lawyers which constitute so large and interesting a portion of modern biographical literature. And no one assuredly could have been better fitted than Cockburn to draw a faithful picture of Scottish life during the first half of the present century. A Scotchman himself to the tips of his fingers; by birth and parentage, in his school life and his university career, at the bar and on the bench, deeply interested and taking an active part in those special controversies of his countrymen which few Englishmen care to take the trouble even to understand, yet not withholding, out of any absorption in merely local politics, the exercise of his influence in the wider field of British politics and thought. He loved Edinburgh and Edinburgh life. He delighted in the picturesqueness of the old Scottish capital, and the associations in which it is so rich. Few men were more social than Cockburn. Indeed, he tells us that he doubts whether there was more than one day in the month, throughout his town life, from the date of his marriage for forty years, when he closed the day alone and in his own house. Collecting his friends around him at supper, or enjoying their hospitality, his evenings were almost invariably spent in free social intercourse with men and women who not merely constituted the best set in Edinburgh, but whose attainments and characters would have added lustre and charm to any cultivated society in the world. Thus there is no book better fitted than the 'Memorials' to recall to the mind, one may almost say to the eyes and ears, of readers the quaint persons of bygone judges and philosophers and ministers, the kindly vigorous

old ladies, with their strong individuality and masculine intellects, the racy talk, the social life and fun of old Edinburgh. Whilst in the 'Journal' with much of lighter matter there is to be found one of the very best and fairest accounts that have ever been given of the merits of that bitter politico-ecclesiastical controversy which raged in Scotland during a large portion of Lord Cockburn's judicial life.

Henry Cockburn was born in 1779, at which time his father, a Scottish advocate of note, afterwards Baron of Exchequer, was sheriff of Midlothian. His mother was a daughter of Captain Rennie of Melville, another of whose daughters was the wife of Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. His family connexions and early influences were such as would almost certainly have conducted an ordinary boy along the broad way which led to Toryism. His uncle was the presiding genius for many years of Scottish Toryism. His father's house was a centre where Edinburgh Tories used to congregate, and many a time young Henry Cockburn went off to bed shuddering at the fears and anticipations of excellent gentlemen who had been frightened out of their senses by the excesses of the French Revolution. Fortunately, his keen, active mind brought him in contact in very early manhood with that brilliant set of young men who, resisting every inducement which professional prospects had to offer, and every pressure which social narrowness and exclusion could bring to bear, manfully upheld in Scotland the trodden-down principles of the Whigs, and from Edinburgh itself influenced opinion over the whole United Kingdom by the ability, the brilliancy, and the independent spirit of their writings in the 'Edinburgh Review.'

His early youth gave little promise of his brilliant future. His father's house was situated on the south side of the Meadows, whence at that time the unfenced country stretched to the Pentlands and onwards in almost unbroken moorland to the wild hills of Selkirkshire; and here he acquired in many a ramble of his boyhood that taste for nature and the country, especially for wild country, which was a marked characteristic of the man throughout his life.

Cockburn tells us how in his boyhood he used to watch with reverence and awe the still surviving philosophers and divines of an almost extinct generation—Principal Robertson, Dr. Adam Ferguson, Dr. John Erskine, Dr. Henry the historian, and Sir Henry Moncreiff (who, however, lived for many a later day), and many more.\*

'These men were all great peripatetics, and the Meadows was their academic grove. There has never in my time been any single place in or near Edinburgh which has so distinctly been the resort of our philosophy and our fashion. Under these poor trees walked and talked and meditated all our literary and scientific, and many of our legal worthies. I knew little then of the grounds of their reputation, but saw their outsides with unquestioning and traditionary reverence; and we knew enough of them to make us fear that no such other race of men, so tried by time, such friends of each other and of learning, and all of such amiable manners and such spotless characters, could be expected soon to arise and again ennoble Scotland.'

For four years young Cockburn attended the lower class of the High School, which he describes as rough to a degree, the roughness of the masters in some cases amounting almost to savagery. On an average he was flogged, he tells us, once every ten days throughout the four years, at the end of which time he joined the class of the rector, Dr. Adam, the distinguished author of '*Roman Antiquities*.' Among Cockburn's contemporaries was Francis Horner, who became dux of the class. Yet, in spite of the learning of the rector and the brilliancy of his companions, young Cockburn made poor progress, carrying away from school little but the wise words of the rector's address to his class on leaving, in which he cautioned his successful scholars against overconfidence in their future, and the less fortunate ones against despondency.

To Cockburn at all events, who during his school life never got a prize, and who at the annual public examination had once '*sat boobie*,' these words gave encouragement; and there is much truth in the reflection due to the experience of his later life, that whilst in good schools a boy who rises high '*will rise high in life*, in bad schools it is just the '*reverse*.' So at all events it was with Cockburn and his friends. '*The High School distinctions very speedily vanished; and fully as much by the sinking of the luminaries who had shone in the zenith as by the rising of those who had been lying on the horizon. I have ever since had a distrust of duxes, and thought boobies rather hopeful.*'

It was when Henry Cockburn began to attend the lectures of Dugald Stewart, who then filled the chair of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, that his mind first awoke.

'His lectures were to me like the opening of the heavens. I felt that I had a soul. His noble views unfolded in glorious sentences elevated me into a higher world. I was as much excited and charmed

as any man of cultivated taste would be, who, after being ignorant of their existence, was admitted to all the glories of Milton, and Cicero, and Shakespeare. They changed my whole nature.'

The philosopher himself, who produced this powerful effect on the budding mind of Cockburn, is described as follows in one of those graphic sketches in which the 'Memorials' abound:—

'Dugald Stewart was about middle size, weakly limbed, which gave an air of delicacy to his gait and structure. His forehead was large and bald, his eyebrows bushy, his eyes grey and intelligent and capable of conveying any emotion, from indignation to pity, from serene sense to hearty humour, in which they were powerfully aided by his lips, which, though rather large perhaps, were flexible and expressive. The voice was singularly pleasing, and, as he managed it, a slight burr only made its tones softer. His ear both for music and speech was exquisite. The finest reader I have ever heard.'

Had Dugald Stewart lived in ancient times,

'his memory would have descended to us as that of one of the finest of the old eloquent sages. But his lot was better cast. Flourishing in an age which requires all the dignity of morals to counteract the tendencies of physical pursuits and political convulsion, he has exalted the character of his country and his generation. No intelligent pupil of his ever ceased to respect philosophy, or was false to his principles, without feeling the crime aggravated by the recollection of the morality that Stewart had taught him.'

In 1799 he joined the Speculative Society. Petty, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer and Marquis of Lansdowne, had left it, but Brougham, Horner, Jeffrey, and James Moncreiff regularly attended its debates; and here went on apace that ripening of Cockburn's intellect and powers which Dugald Stewart's lectures had begun. The following year he entered the Faculty of Advocates, 'and with a feeling of 'nothingness paced the Outer House.' There was in truth much to make him despondent; for party feeling was at that time rampant, Tory ascendancy was complete, and though it was impossible to exclude from professional business the brilliant Whig lawyers whose position had become assured before the horrors of the French Revolution had turned men's heads, almost the whole of the junior practice of the time was engrossed by the Tories. Cockburn had joined the Whig lawyers. With them he lounged idly enough year after year at the north end of the Outer House, 'the known haunt 'of these doomed youths,' who, however much they might feel that for them there was no fair competition in the professional race, were yet cast down neither by their want of

business nor by their bad character, and who for the most part in their after lives, by distinction won in many fields, in literature, in politics, and in law, added lustre to their country and the age. It is creditable to Cockburn that, notwithstanding the bitterness of party feeling, he draws so pleasant a picture of the two leading Tory lawyers of the day, Robert Dundas and Charles Hope. Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord Advocate, represented officially the Government in the persecuting policy of the time. Fortunately he was a man of kindly nature, and though he considered resistance to revolution to be his main duty, he obtained and deserved a character for moderation in performing the part of the public accuser. Indeed, throughout the many pages which in his various works Cockburn has devoted to censuring the arbitrary judicial proceedings of his early life, he seldom has any fault to find with the bar. His strictures are reserved for the judges. As to Lord Advocate Dundas, he declares that he might have had transported every political opponent whom he chose to indict, and he is grateful to him for the fewness of the victims that he brought before the courts. In 1803 he was succeeded as Lord Advocate by Charles Hope, afterwards Justice Clerk and Lord President, who, prominent Tory as he was, never lost the personal friendship of a political opponent. Hope was a distinguished volunteer, and even after he had been raised to the Bench he did not find 'the judge's wig incompatible with the 'colonel's cocked hat'—a precedent worth recalling at the present day when the robes of the Lord Justice Clerk do not completely hide from the public view the uniform of a brigadier-general.

The social meal of Edinburgh was the supper. Dinners were more formal entertainments, and were rendered formidable by the prevailing fashion of drinking healths, of giving rounds of toasts, and, worst of all, by the habit of inviting, and almost of compelling, the guests, male and female, to give a 'sentiment.' 'The proper sentiment was a high and pure 'production—a moral motto—and was meant to dignify and 'grace private society.' But ordinary mortals could not maintain 'the sentiment' at so high a level, and it became in general the most hackneyed commonplace. Our author gives as a good 'example of the emetical nature of the stuff swallowed,' the sentiment elaborated by the poor dominie at Arndilly, who, pressed to undertake a duty which was new to him, and observing the sort of sentiment which met with approval, gave out, after much writhing and groaning,



‘The reflection of the Moon in the cawm bosom of the Lake.’

Suppers were far more friendly gatherings.

‘Supper is cheaper than dinner; shorter; less ceremonious; and more poetical. . . . If there be any fun, or heart, or spirit in a man at all, it is then, if ever, that it will appear. So far as I have seen of life, its brightest sunshine has been in the last repast of the day.’

There were the Sunday suppers of old Sir Henry Moncreiff, for example—one of those who always dined ‘between sermons,’ and who might be seen any Sunday afternoon walking back from his house in Queen Street to his church, ‘with his bands, his little cocked hat, his tall cane, and his cardinal air, where he would preach a sensible, practical sermon, and then walk home again in the same style.’ At five he would drink tea, and, after spending some hours in his study, would have family prayers at nine, which, however, were not confined to his own family, and then ‘the whole party sat down to the roasted hens, the goblets of claret, and the powerful talk of their host.’

As may be supposed, the Bar and the Bench did not lag behind the Church in the gaiety of these social gatherings. Amongst the Scotch judges, and often amongst the most distinguished for literary attainments, there have been generally found men who were able to dismiss for the time their professional cares and their arduous studies, and who delighted to mix in the freest and easiest intercourse with each other, and with men and women less busy than themselves. That the drinking of spirituous liquors, even in moderation, could be in itself a vice, was an idea foreign to the minds of our ancestors; and a great deal of the drinking of the day was far from moderate. Lord Cockburn tells a delightful story of the enthusiasm shown for the cause of drink by Lord Hermand, before whom and his brother judges, in Edinburgh, a young man had been convicted of the culpable homicide of his friend. It appeared that the two had been spending the evening together, first at the theatre, and afterwards over their punch, and that, owing to rashness or accident, arising from a kindly wrangle, the one had stabbed the other, without any violence, yet so as nevertheless to cause death. The majority of the court, taking the whole circumstances into consideration, had properly sentenced the survivor to only a short term of imprisonment. Lord Hermand had no sympathy with the weakness of his fellow judges; he would cast no such slur on the cause of drinking; ‘let the prisoner be transported.’

'We are told that he was in liquor. In liquor! why he was drunk! And yet he murdered the very man who had been drinking with him! They had been carousing the whole night, and yet he stabbed him! After drinking a whole bottle of rum with him! Good God, my lords! if he will do this when he's drunk, what will he not do when he's sober!'

Of the old ladies of his youth Cockburn tells several capital anecdotes, illustrating the description he gives of them as a somewhat singular yet delightful race, which has almost disappeared from the more commonplace and humdrum society of the present day.

'Strong-headed, warm-hearted, and high-spirited; the fire of their tempers not always latent; merry even in solitude; very resolute, indifferent about the modes and habits of the modern world; and adhering to their own ways, so as to stand out like primitive rocks, above ordinary society. Their prominent qualities of sense, humour, affection, and spirit were embodied in curious outsides; for they all dressed and spoke and did exactly as they chose; their language, like their habits, entirely Scotch, but without any other vulgarity than what perfect naturalness is sometimes mistaken for.'

What a changed world it was, socially and politically, in the year 1851, when Cockburn's 'Journal' ends, since the day when the young Whig outcast first entered the Parliament House! The dark days of Tory ascendancy had been brightened by the rise of the 'Edinburgh Review,' and some dozen years later by the appearance of a new weekly paper, 'The Scotsman,' which has for seventy years past, through its various stages of weekly, bi-weekly, and daily, upheld, as it still upholds, the cause of Liberalism and rational progress. But in spite of these gleams of sunshine, giving promise of a better time, it was not till 1830, when Lord Grey came into office, when Francis Jeffrey became Lord Advocate, and Henry Cockburn Solicitor-General for Scotland, that the clouds really broke, or till the end of 1832 that they were finally dispelled. The return of Jeffrey and Abercromby for the city of Edinburgh was the grand triumph of the Reformers, and to their opponents Cockburn would not even allow the only consolation they could lay claim to—that their party, if weak in numbers, possessed all the wealth of the city—'for it appeared, on a careful examination, that 'their minority in point of property was as decided as in 'numbers.'\* The Reformers, moreover, had on their side the mind and the conscience of Scotland, and it is little wonder

that a party resting on such a foundation should have been able to secure for many years the prevailing influence in the politics of their country.

There is something singularly attractive in the nature of Cockburn. His life was to him full of interest and happiness. His delight in his friends and in his surroundings shines brightly out of every page of his writings. We can picture to ourselves the gaiety, the good humour, and the geniality which the presence of such a man must have generated in any society in which he moved. To him belonged that complete satisfaction with himself which it is so rare to find unaccompanied with the sense of superiority to others. Of arrogance in Cockburn's nature there was none; of sympathy there was much; and hence his geniality and his good spirits infected his companions, and made him the delight of those social gatherings for which Edinburgh was famous, and which have been described by no one so well as by himself. Whether in society or alone, Cockburn intensely enjoyed his life.

When on his circuit journeys (he became a lord of session in 1834) in the Highlands or on the Borders, north, or south, or west, he is impressed with the ever present consciousness that there is no scenery like that of Scotland, no country whose associations are of deeper interest. The Scottish tongue gives utterance to the 'sweetest and most expressive of living languages,' and he is sorry without affectation for 'the poor one-tongued Englishman,' who is incapable of appreciating the homely humour, the descriptive power and eloquence of the Ettrick Shepherd.

Bonaly, at the foot of the Pentland Hills, where, in 1811, 'he had set up his rural gods,' was 'a paradise' whence nothing less than an avenging angel should ever drive him. Here, he tells us, he

'reached the dignity of a twenty-acred laird. Everything except the two burns, the few old trees, and the mountains are my own work, and to a great extent the work of my own hands. Human nature is incapable of enjoying more happiness than has been my lot here; where the glories of the prospects, and the luxury of the wild retirement, have been all enhanced by the progress of my improvements, of my children, and of myself. I have been too happy, and often tremble in the anticipation that the cloud must come at last. Warburton says there was not a bush in his garden on which he had not hung a speculation. There is not a recess in the valleys of the Pentlands, nor an eminence on their summits, that is not familiar to my solitude. One summer! read every word of Tacitus in the sheltered crevice of a

rock (called my seat) about 800 feet above the level of the sea, with the most magnificent of scenes stretched out before me.'

Some four years after Cockburn settled at Bonaly, Jeffrey established himself in the same neighbourhood, at Craigmuck, a place that became for many years the great centre in Scotland of literary and political thought.

'The Craigmuck Saturdays during the summer session! Escape from the Court and the town, scenery, evergreens, bowls, talk, mirth, friendship, and wine inspire better luxury than that of the Castle of Indolence, without any of its dulness.'

Edinburgh society was then quite at its best. When the peaceful years following 1815 had opened the Continent to Englishmen, many of those who had visited and resided in Edinburgh naturally flocked across the Channel to see something of the European capitals; and thus there was lost to Edinburgh an element which had added considerably to the exceptionally brilliant native society of the time. At all events, it was to that period that Cockburn looked back as the palmiest age of Modern Athens (a name, by the bye, he particularly disliked).

His 'Circuit Journeys,' generally made with his wife, show that he managed to enjoy every scrap of idle time that good fortune put in his way, or which the necessity of travelling from county town to county town necessitated. The busy judge so much enjoys and so vividly describes Loch Fyne, Loch Lomond, the Trossachs, and Iona, that the reader almost fancies that he has before him the account of a holiday tour by some enthusiastic worshipper of nature. He passes a Sunday in September, 1838, on Loch Fyne. 'Being a Scotch Sunday there was no boating,' and the 'minister had gone to a horse fair at Balloch'—

'so we just sauntered on the shore, and talked, and gathered shells, and skiffed flat stones on the surface of the sea, and sat on rocks, and lay on the turf, and played with the clear water, and gazed, unceasingly gazed, on the hills, and watched the shadows of the clouds, and observed how the prospects varied with our positions and with the progress of the sun, and in short had a long luxurious day of repose and enjoyment. The day was so calm that, as I was standing on the beach before breakfast, I distinctly heard the barking of a dog on the other side of the water. . . . Loch Fyne has greatly raised even my admiration of Scotland. The whole of these Argyleshire sea lochs are glorious. The boldness and beauty of their scenery, their strange, savage history, their wild language, and (till lately) their delightful inaccessibility, all give them a character of picturesque romance which

nothing else in this country resembles. But, independently of past associations, what an interest is there in the mere present and external features of Loch Fyne! The picturesque hills, the bright water, the occasional masses and constant fringing of wood, the jutting and overlapping of the headlands, the apparent closing in of the loch, and its streaming away again into scenes of distant beauty; the fishing hamlets, with their boats slumbering in quiet bays and little rude harbours; the long poles loaded with brown nets, resting horizontally on the branches of two trees, springing from the very beach; then sailing under tanned canvas on a calm peaceful evening to set those nets, the boats sometimes lighted at night by hundreds, and sparkling like a moving city, and all moored again by the morning; the intercourse between families and villages by boats, which the narrowness of the loch seems to invite; the bright patches of grain amidst the darkness of the wood, or contrasted by the vapour of the brown hillside; the breeze-varied appearances of the surface of the water, and the shining and roaring of the mountain streams—these things give it an endless and irresistible charm. All this, to be sure, is the fascination of fine weather. But if other places also are to be judged of in bad weather, these lochs have nothing to fear. The worst thing is the contrast between the quiet little Indian-wigwam-looking hamlets, *when seen at a distance*, and their utter abomination when approached. It is horrid that human life should be passed in these disgusting holes. It is true that fishing, especially when combined with curing, cannot be conducted without filth. But there are many proofs that its slobbery nastiness may be concealed and kept apart from the fishers' dwellings, and that a fishing village may be a beautiful thing. But until the lairds be civilised, and cease to be all regularly and systematically bankrupt, it is vain to expect decency or comfort in the domestic habits of their people.\*

Since those days lairds and cottars have much improved their condition, though probably both classes still cherish the illusion that they endure a far harder lot than their ancestors. One cannot read these jottings of Cockburn's daily life as he travelled through Scotland, without being struck by the strides that Scotland has made in comfort and civilisation during the last half-century. People would not nowadays talk of the wretchedness of the houses and the inhabitants of Luss on Loch Lomond as a disgrace, 'an abomination which in such a scene is one of the unanswerable scandals of Scotland;' nor would the visitor to Drumlanrig remark that 'the pitiable state of disrepair,' the 'sacrifice of old timber, whose produce was wasted on 'profligacy in London, . . . and the paltriness of the natural features of the country' would always prevent its becoming a fine place. The proprietor, the effects of whose operations

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\* Circuit Journeys, p. 30.

were still visible fifty years ago to the eyes of Cockburn, was gibbeted by Burns in his stanzas on the destroyed woods of Drumlanrig:—

‘The worm that gnawed my bonny trees,  
That reptile wears a ducal crown.’

But the ill-treated Drumlanrig, under the long reign of a later and a very different duke, a model of an improving landlord, has falsified the prophecy of 1838, and is now by universal consent one of the very finest places of which Great Britain can boast.

In the same year Cockburn blushes at the badness and the fewness of Scottish inns, though tourists were beginning to flock to the Highlands. The inn at the Trossachs might accommodate a dozen people, but he saw a hundred or so apply for admittance, and after horrid altercations fifty or sixty of them were compelled to huddle together all night. ‘They were all of the upper rank, travelling mostly in ‘private carriages . . . but the pigs were as comfortably ‘accommodated.’

The following autumn, that of 1839, and the spring of 1841 find him on the Borders. Driving down ‘the pastoral ‘valley of the Gala,’ dear to him from early associations, he proceeds *via* Melrose to the house of his old friend, Mr. Richardson, at Kirklands, near Ancrum. After spending the Sunday there he disposes of all the cases for trial at Jedburgh on the following day.

‘I never see Jedburgh without pleasure. Its position, its history, and its abbey impress it with that peculiar feeling of softness and of sacredness which pervades all our border scenery, but especially those parts of it which are dignified by fragments of architectural antiquity.’

Morning and evening he lingers over the ruin, and mourns over the atrocity of the conversion of one half of it into a parish church, that the heritors may be saved the expense of building a new one. A pity that Lord Cockburn should not have survived to a day when the feelings with which he was full are shared by all, when the blemishes of which he complains have been removed, and when so much of what he aspired to see accomplished has actually come to pass! It is true ‘that the four abbeys of Roxburghshire are private ‘property;’ but there is every sign that, in the present day, to no people are they so precious as to those very owners, whose ancestors may have been guilty of neglect, but who themselves spare neither pains nor expense in the preserva-

tion of these beautiful and interesting remains of an age that is past.

As we have seen, Cockburn was generally happy. But he positively revelled in the beauty and associations of the Borders. Whether driving from Teviotdale through the quiet pastoral hills by Mossbail to Langholm on the Esk, 'one of the most beautiful drives of the Scottish Lowlands,' or making his way *via* Selkirk and St. Mary's Loch to Moffat, he is charmed alike with the scenery itself and what it brings to his mind, 'the genius of Scott lingering in every valley, and embellishing every feature and every tale.' To Cockburn there was 'inspiration in the very words Newark, Yarrow, and Dryhope.'

We have no space to follow him further in these pleasant rambles, and it is time to give some attention to his work on the sedition trials in Scotland. In all, Lord Cockburn counts only some twenty-five charges of sedition as having been made in Scotland in the course of 146 years, i.e. from 1703 to 1849; and this mere handful of examples constitutes the whole body of sedition law so far as it depends on native precedent. None of them existed in 1793; and it is by the judges in the famous trials of that and the succeeding year that the sedition law of Scotland was created. The two volumes now published give an account of every one of these trials, and contain comments by the learned author on the proceedings in each case.

It is remarkable how strong and enduring was the effect produced on Cockburn's mind by the trials of 1793-94, or rather by the accounts and the reports of them, for when they took place he was too young to interest himself in such matters. Cockburn, though a strong party Whig, was certainly the reverse of a rancorous politician. He constantly deplores the party bitterness and narrowness prevailing in his youth, and he complains that professional neglect and social ostracism awaited the small band of courageous young Whig lawyers who began their careers at the Parliament House in the years immediately following the French Revolution. Doubtless it was bad enough, yet the impression one derives from Cockburn's own descriptions is that, considering all things, the lawyers, at least, of different politics were often on extremely friendly terms. Henry Erskine and Hope were the best of friends; Robert Dundas, Tory Lord Advocate in 1807, made young Cockburn one of his advocate deputies; and Henry Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville), absolute ruler as he was of the Scotch Tory party,

was always personally very popular with many of his political opponents and with the public generally. It often appears in these memoirs that Cockburn regarded with generous admiration and sincere affection those who in politics were most antagonistic to himself. He, indeed, was one of those men who are by nature inclined to like everyone, and whom consequently everyone is inclined to like. Yet he was by no means incapable of a very hearty feeling of dislike, his capacity for which sentiment seems to have been very largely concentrated on one man, namely the famous Robert McQueen, Lord Braxfield, the only personage of the many mentioned in these memoirs of whom Cockburn has no good word to say. A little boy at the time of the trials, Cockburn sixty years afterwards feels the duty incumbent upon him 'never to let Braxfield nor the years 1793-94 'be forgotten.'\* In the 'Memorials' Braxfield is called the 'Jeffreys of Scotland,' and his outward man is drawn with more than even the ordinary power of Cockburn's graphic pen. In the 'Sedition Trials' the Lord Justice Clerk is described as

'a profound practical lawyer, and a powerful man; coarse and illiterate; of debauched habits and grosser talk than suited the taste even of his gross generation; utterly devoid of judicial decorum, and though pure in the administration of civil justice where he was exposed to no temptation, with no other conception of principle in any political case except that the upholding of his party was a duty attaching to his position. Over the five weak men who sat beside him, this coarse and dexterous rufian predominated as he chose. . . . "Bring me prisoners and I'll find you law," was said to be his common answer to his friends, the accusers, when he heard that they were hesitating. . . . Except civil and Scotch law, and probably two or three works of indecency, it may be doubted if he ever read a book in his life. His blameableness far exceeds that of his brethren. They were weak; he was strong. They were frightened; he was not. They followed; he, the head of the Court, led.'

Into the details of the trials themselves it would be impossible to enter here. It cannot be denied that men were put upon their trial for acts which at the present day would at most be thought to render them deserving of public censure for excess of political zeal; that men were convicted in cases where the evidence against them was of the very slightest; and that men so convicted were sentenced to punishment of the harshest and most cruel character, when a light sentence would equally have vindicated the law, and to all appearance

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\* Prefatory note to Sedition Trials.



have equally protected the public. Cockburn reserves his censure, and rightly, for the judges. The bar seem to have done their duty competently and in a proper spirit. The juries, to all intents and purposes chosen by the judges, acted as might have been expected. They acted as men in such a position will act in a time of panic, if not warned against prejudice and encouraged in their duty by the Court. Unfortunately the Court, whose boast it should have been to keep a calm temper and judicial mind in the midst of a public rent with faction and panic-stricken with the terrors of anticipated revolution, instead of checking, actually inflamed the prevailing passions of the moment; and consequently men were transported as criminals, who in happier times came to be looked upon as political martyrs who had fallen in the cause of freedom.

In 1844 the Martyrs' Monument was founded on the Calton Hill in honour of Muir and Palmer and the other victims of the sedition trials of 1793-94. To Cockburn it seemed that the memorial in truth recorded much more effectually the infamous conduct of the judges than the virtues or the public services of those whom they had oppressed. The names of the sufferers are inscribed on the column; 'how is it,' asks Cockburn, 'that the names of the judges are omitted, for it is in truth *their* monument?' \*

In the introduction which Lord Cockburn has prefixed to his examination of 'Trials for Sedition in Scotland,' we have the carefully considered opinion of an experienced judge and of a liberal-minded man, not merely as to what constitutes sedition in law, but also as to what *ought* to be punished as sedition by the wise rulers of a constitutionally governed people. 'Trials for sedition,' he remarks, 'are the remedies' 'of a somewhat orderly age;' for in more barbarous times every opposition to authority is apt to be accounted high treason, and is rigorously suppressed. Before 1793 there is no instance of a trial for pure sedition in Scotland, and if the word was used at all it was rather to describe what amounts to insurrection or rebellion than the modern conception of the offence. The word 'seditio' was more appropriately used in Latin to signify actual riot than an act displaying a seditious intention, and in England the word 'sedition' does not by itself at the present day describe any offence known to the law.† Seditious offences, however, such as seditious words,

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\* Sedition Trials, Appendix, vol. ii.

† See Sir James Stephen's 'History of the Criminal Law,' vol. ii.

sedition libels, seditious conspiracies, are misdemeanours in England, and are in Scotland properly described by the simple term 'sedition.' In both countries the law recognises seditiousness as criminal. In the Scotch trials of 1793-94 the judges had no precedents to guide them. Accordingly they made the law, and our author has little difficulty in showing that neither the temper of the times nor the character of the criminal courts was favourable to the production of wise judicial legislation.

According to Lord Cockburn, the guilt of sedition consists in the disrespect it involves towards the authority of the State, and the crime consists in the wicked publication of such guilty sentiment. There must be an intention to do harm on the part of the accused, including in the word 'intention' a culpable indifference to consequences. Here, as in other cases, a man must be held to intend the natural consequence of his acts. The gist of sedition is the defiance of public authority. 'It consists in the publication of any sentiment intended 'and calculated materially and speedily to obstruct or weaken 'the legal authority of the State.'\* The tendency of the publication must be mischievous, and also the intention of the person publishing, and it is obvious that no absolute rule can be laid down as to what is or is not 'sedition,' since the criminality in any particular case is not solely dependent on the nature of the acts committed. According to Lord Cockburn, if the people had no political rights it would be as easy to define and apply the law of sedition as the law of burglary. 'But they have rights, the exercise of which and the excess 'called sedition is the privilege of every subject of this realm. 'Every person may not only form, he may express, his honest 'opinion of every public principle, every supposed defect, 'every measure, and every public man as such,' and he may even try, under certain restrictions, to bring the public to his own way of thinking. Thus, if an accused is charged with sedition, it is a strictly relevant defence for him to allege that his conduct is politically beneficial, and that his intention is honest and good; and so there is at once introduced into every trial 'the legitimate consideration of political topics 'and occurrences.' Even Lord Chief Justice Holt, friend of freedom as he was, declared in *Tutchin's case* that if the law permitted persons 'to possess the people with an ill 'opinion of the Government (meaning the Ministry) no government could subsist.' Our author, it is scarcely necessary to

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\* Sedition Trials, Introduction.

say, agrees with Hallam and Lord Campbell, and with every modern authority, that such law, if acted upon, would be fatal to the public liberty of discussion at present enjoyed. It is easy enough to give instances of the publication of matter which in the present day would be deemed seditious, and it is equally easy to give examples of what in former times would have been deemed seditious, but in the present day would be considered within the limits of fair public criticism. But where to draw the line and how to lay down a rule capable of general application are questions which Lord Cockburn, it seems to us, does not answer more satisfactorily than his predecessors. Sedition, he says, is of three kinds:—1st. Sedition of insult and defamation of public political bodies or their officers as such. There never was a keener friend of freedom of speech and writing than Lord Cockburn, yet little tenderness does he show to this, ‘the meanest of all seditions. It is the offence of the vulgar, the awkward, and ‘the intemperate, and discredits every respectable cause.’ As the most effective specimen of this kind of sedition, ‘excepting always the insane blackguardism of Ireland,’ he refers to the savage abuse of the Prince Regent and his ministers by Hone in 1820, for which, however, he was never prosecuted. 2nd. Sedition of resistance, which may generally be traced to popular distress, wildness (i.e. temporary political excitement), or wrong. Under this head come those harangues of agitators, those holdings of meetings and getting up of demonstrations, *whose object is the trampling on the law*. 3rd. Sedition of doctrine, where a man publishes error of a kind to endanger the State, and here Lord Cockburn insists that no man can be accounted a criminal for publishing *bona fide* that which is his genuine belief. On the part of the accused there must be ‘moral falsehood, not a mere failure to discover the truth, but the guilt of endangering society by the dissemination of opinions believed to be false.’

Erskine, in defending Paine in 1792, maintains the same law in language quoted by Lord Cockburn, from whom the speech draws no less high praise than that bestowed upon it by Lord Campbell in his ‘Lives of the Chancellors:’—

‘The proposition (said Erskine) which I mean to maintain as the basis of the liberty of the press, and without which it is an empty sound, is this: that every man, not intending to mislead, but seeking to enlighten law.] with what his own reason and conscience, however erroneously, —ve dictated to him as truth, may address himself to the universal person of a whole nation, either upon the subject of governments in

general, or upon that of our own particular country; that he may analyse the principles of its constitution, point out its errors and defects, examine and publish its corruptions, warn his fellow citizens against their ruinous consequences, and exert his whole faculties in pointing out the most advantageous changes in establishments which he considers to be radically defective, or sliding from their object by abuse. All this every subject of this country has a right to do if he contemplates only what he thinks would be for its advantage, and but seeks to change the public mind by the conviction which flows from reasonings dictated by conscience. If, indeed, he writes what he does not think; if, contemplating the misery of others, he wickedly condemns what his own understanding approves, *or even admitting his real disgust against the government or its corruptions, if he calumniates living magistrates, or holds out to individuals that they have a right to run before the public mind in their conduct; that they may oppose by contumacy or force what private reason only disapproves; that they may disobey the law because their judgement condemns it, or resist the public will because they honestly wish to change it—he is then a criminal upon every principle of English justice*, because such person seeks to disunite individuals from their duty to the whole, and excites to overt acts of misconduct in a part of the community, instead of endeavouring to change, by the impulse of reason, that universal assent which in this and every country constitutes the law for all.'

Lord Cockburn discusses the whole matter with much care, yet we cannot think that he succeeds in reducing the uncertainty which inevitably surrounds the practical operation of the law of sedition. Sedition consisting in wickedly producing political mischief, the whole question of what is political mischief is open in every case, and will be honestly answered very differently not only by juries at different periods of our history, but at the same period by different juries. One main element in every charge of sedition must be a mere matter of opinion, about which honest men, whether judges or jurymen, may, and very probably will, differ. Lord Kenyon's famous charge to the jury in Cutbill's case is, of course, a giving up of the attempt to define the crime; yet it does describe most truly what is the practical operation of the law:—

'After all,' said Lord Kenyon, 'the truth of the matter is very simple, when stripped of all the ornaments of speech, and a man of plain common sense may easily understand it. It is neither more nor less than this, that a man may publish anything which twelve of his countrymen may think is not blameable, but that he ought to be punished if he publishes that which is blameable. To tell us that to the law of England liberty of the press is dear, but that licentiousness of the press is odious, helps us little.'

In other words, says Sir James Stephen in commenting on

this charge, the jury are *ex post facto* censors of the press. So they are. And for the liberty of discussion which now prevails we have to thank much more the sentiment of the time shared in by jurymen than any special merit in the law. In Sir James Stephen's 'Digest of the Criminal Law' is to be found the latest attempt to lay down comprehensively the law of sedition (see articles of Digest 91-94). The law so stated received the approval of the very learned judges who constituted the Criminal Law Commission, and was incorporated by them in their draft code, so that it would not be easy to find any general statement of the existing law resting upon higher authority. These articles, after declaring it to be a misdemeanour to publish any matter, by speaking or writing, with a seditious intention, proceed as follows (art. 93):—

'A seditious intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against, the person of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, or the government and constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, or either House of Parliament, or the administration of justice, or to excite her Majesty's subjects to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of any matter in Church or State as by law established, or to raise discontent or disaffection amongst her Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of her Majesty's subjects. An intention to show that her Majesty has been misled or mistaken in her measures, or to point out errors or defects in the government or constitution as by law established, or to point out in order to their removal matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of hatred and ill-will between different classes of her Majesty's subjects, is not a seditious intention.'

The liberty of discussion at present enjoyed in England is certainly not due to the establishment by law, either statute or judge made, of any sweeping principle of freedom to English subjects to write or say what they like without fear of punishment. A century ago the natural right to free communication of thoughts and opinions was proclaimed in France as one of the most valuable 'rights of man.' Nothing of the kind is known to our law. Liberty of discussion with us merely means the right to publish sentiments and opinions without previous license, but subject always to the risk of punishment should the matter published appear to a jury to deserve it; and hence this 'liberty' has varied at different times and seasons from unrestricted license to very severe restraint, according to the state of popular sentiment.\* However carefully lawyers may

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Freedom of discussion is, in England, little else than the right to

endeavour to define sedition, Lord Cockburn is certainly right in declaring that its confines are so easily and unconsciously passed 'that a good deal of the crime must be 'winked at.' It is rarely wise to indict for a single act of sedition, unless that act is a very atrocious one. 'But when 'sedition, by the open repetition of the crime, plainly means 'to throw down the gauntlet to the law, the guilty should 'never get the encouragement of a triumph by the law 'being compelled to decline the challenge.'

The wisdom of prosecuting for sedition evidently depends more upon the effects likely to be produced by a continuance of the sedition than upon the guilt or wickedness of the accused. A strong government can afford to despise words, however criminal and wicked, which do not endanger society or directly tend to a breach of the law. Now, as half a century ago, it is 'the insane blackguardism of Ireland' (to quote Lord Cockburn's expression) which most of all indulges in the language of insult and defamation of public officials. Yet Mr. Balfour would not dream of indicting anyone for mere abuse. When, however, newspapers are poisoning the minds of an excitable people with exhortations to outrage and incitements to rebellion, even Sir George Trevelyan clamours for additional legal restrictions on the liberty of the press.

Lord Cockburn's reflections on the law of sedition appear opportunely, and though they certainly do not make clear for purposes of practical application the line which divides the lawful from the unlawful, they nevertheless throw light on the subject, and deserve the careful consideration of lawyers and statesmen.

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'write or say anything which a jury, consisting of twelve shopkeepers, 'think it expedient should be said or written.' See Professor Dicey's admirable 'Law of the Constitution,' where the whole of this subject is well treated.

**ART. V.—1.** *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Poor Law Relief.* Ordered to be printed July 30, 1888.

**2.** *The English Poor Law System.* By Dr. P. F. ASCHBOTT. Translated by H. PRESTON-THOMAS. London: 1888.

**3.** *Proceedings of Poor Law Conferences, 1877-87.* 10 vols. London.

**A**MONGST the numerous beneficial measures which have been carried since 1830 the reform of the Poor Law bears, more than any other, the character of finality. The Commissioners who reported on the subject in 1834 laid bare a state of things which called for immediate and drastic treatment. They found that in the country districts the administration of the poor laws was bringing about disastrous results. Rent was gradually but surely disappearing, the cultivation of land, nay, civilisation itself, was going the way of rent. Profits were being swallowed up by the rise of poor rates, or destroyed by the inefficiency of labour. The allowance system had lowered wages by enabling the idle and improvident to compete on advantageous terms for employment with the industrious and independent labourer. Population was stimulated by a system which gave a bounty on every child born, whether in or out of wedlock. Throughout England, south of the Trent, the traveller found landlord and tenant involved in a common ruin, whilst the labourer, helpless and demoralised, was yet discontented and riotous. Whatever criticisms may be passed on the legislation to which the celebrated Report of 1834 gave rise, it was, at least, far-reaching in its aims and in its effects. It abolished, as by a stroke of the pen, the system by which wages were augmented from the rates; it instituted a severe test of destitution by attaching to relief in many cases the condition of residence in a workhouse; it introduced more or less of uniformity into the administration of the law by establishing a central Poor Law Board and a rigorous check by inspection and audit: in one word, it laid down broad lines which the administration of the reformed law was to follow in the future, and gave guarantees that those lines should be followed. This is not the place to enter upon a detailed account of the immediate results of that legislation. They have passed into history, and may be studied in the Blue Books of the day, in the literature of successive 'movements,' in contemporary fiction. For a time the poor law

absorbed public attention and monopolised conversation in the country. 'Pray, do not be too long at the Board of 'Guardians to-day,' are the parting words of one of Disraeli's heroines to her neighbour as she leaves the dining-room at Beaumanoir.\* 'Peel, in or out, will support the 'Poor Law,' is Lord Marney's summing up of the political situation.†

To quote a once popular phrase, 'a great deal has happened since then.' We have had Liberal and Conservative Governments, we have seen Chartism come and go and Socialism take its place, population has increased 'by leaps and bounds' and capital has increased yet faster, crisis in commerce has succeeded crisis with a regularity which has seemed to justify a cyclical theory of their appearance, depression has followed in the wake of speculation and with revival has come speculation anew, gold and silver have been appreciated and depreciated by turns, vast numbers of our own labourers have left our shores and a swarm of foreigners have taken their place: in short, there has been a rare variety of phenomena to perplex the economic student; but throughout the reformed poor law has held its own. There have been changes, but they are changes of detail rather than of principle. In a restless age the question of legal relief has been well-nigh suffered to slumber. But there are not wanting signs at the present time of a renewed interest in the subject. The wave of philanthropy which has passed over us in the last few years could hardly help breaking against the almost unique provision which the State in England makes for the destitute. In the recent election to county councils the poor law question was put prominently forward. It has been the subject of conversations and of motions in Parliament, it is once more discussed with much warmth and some knowledge. We cannot say that we augur wholly well of the present movement. Much of what passes in the House of Commons, many of the utterances of the public press, will remind students of history of the discussions which were rife in the closing years of the last century, when the Legislature, reflecting public opinion, sowed the seed that grew with such fearful rapidity, and the harvest of which was reaped in the dismal years immediately preceding reform.

The works at the head of this article are an evidence that public interest is aroused. We have long lacked a com-

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\* Coningsby, book iii. chap. iii.

† Sybil, book ii. chap. i.



pendious, historical, and analytical statement of the English poor law. It must be confessed with something of shame that the execution of the work has been left to a German writer. For Dr. Aschrott's book, in the original and in its English form, we have nothing but praise. It is full of accurate and unimpassioned statement, and, where it becomes critical, the criticisms are uniformly sound and acute. The report of the Lords Committee, as yet confined in the main to London, is a mine of information on the present administration of the law, and on the views of some of its most practised and wise administrators. But for a thorough knowledge of skilled opinion we commend the reader to the reports of Poor Law Conferences. At these conferences, held yearly in every part of England, practical men meet together, read papers, and discuss with copious fluency the whole range of poor law questions. It were idle to say that the results are uniformly equal in value, but they are of the highest interest. It is our purpose in the present article to call attention to a new departure which seems to us full of promise for the future solution of problems which press heavily on legislators and administrators in the field of poor law relief.

It will, we fear, be news to some of our readers that the poor law concerns itself with the destitute, and the destitute only, i.e. with those who lack the 'necessaries' of life; and that with the poor, i.e. those who lack life's comforts, it has nothing to do. Again, the causes of destitution lie wholly outside its field. The poor law, to personify an abstraction, does not ask the how and why of destitution: whether it is caused by idleness or reckless consumption on the one hand, or by depression of trade or infirmity on the other. Nor does it attempt to combat destitution. It does not, cannot, aim at removing its causes by large measures, such as the improvement of the conditions of life, or by individual treatment, as compulsory insurance or friendly counsel. Its horizon is limited to the hard, dull, cruel fact of proved destitution. No doubt, it must be confessed, in actual practice these limits are not always observed. Guardians will often try to distinguish between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' applicants by canons of their own making; or, again, they will endeavour to make the lives of the poor who come before them a little more comfortable. Now, granting that the State has undertaken the relief of destitution, the question arises, How is that destitution to be proved? When is it certain that a person has passed the

almost invisible line which severs destitution from poverty? The experience of nearly four centuries has taught us that the only real and decisive test is the willingness of the applicant to receive relief under circumstances naturally repugnant. A loss of liberty, a spare diet, a prescribed dress, a minute discipline, such are the chief means by which the sincerity of a plea of destitution is tested. Again, if the relief of destitution is to be the work of the State, certain evils are almost inevitable. The system, in spite of every precaution, must infallibly tend to encourage improvidence in all its forms, to undermine the sense of parental and filial responsibility, to disturb what, for lack of a better expression, we may term the labour market, and, lastly, to weaken self-respect. Experience is unanimous in showing that these evils can only be kept within even moderate bounds when relief is accompanied by compulsory sojourn in a workhouse. The strictest administration of outdoor relief is powerless to prevent them. It becomes, almost infallibly, the booty of the idle and the dissolute. It is a powerful agent in discouraging foresight and provision, for it places the improvident in sickness or old age in as good a position as his provident neighbour, who is paying rates out of savings to support him. It lowers wages, and more particularly women's wages, by enabling the recipient to take work for a wage on which the labourer who has no other source of income would starve. Children who will make a real effort to keep their parents out of the workhouse will cheerfully see them put on the out-relief list, and themselves in turn apply for the assistance which they have so often received for others. Nothing is more striking than the evidence given on this point to the Lords Committee; representatives of the central authority, as Sir H. Owen,\* Mr. Henley,† and Mr. Hedley;‡ local officials, as Mr. Jones § of Stepney, and Mr. Vallance || of Whitechapel; skilled and experienced guardians, as Mr. Albert Pell ¶ and Mr. A. G. Crowder; \*\* parochial clergymen, as Mr. Llewellyn Davies †† and Mr. Billing ‡‡ (now Bishop of Bedford); philanthropists, as Miss Octavia Hill, §§ names which command universal confidence, are agreed in their experience. The weight of evidence is overwhelming, there is no escape from

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\* Questions 205-8.

† *Ib.* 593.‡ *Ib.* 672.§ *Ib.* 1246.|| *Ib.* 4448.¶ *Ib.* 1422.\*\* *Ib.* 1832, 1847.†† *Ib.* 1278, 1296.‡‡ *Ib.* 2403.§§ *Ib.* 1665-6.

the verdict. And yet there are cases in which the application of the workhouse test would be to the 'plain, honest man' of old divines almost unbearable. Take, for instance, the case of a family from which the breadwinner has been suddenly called away by accident or unforeseen causes, leaving a widow and several children to fight an uphill battle as best they may : will anyone undertake the responsibility of ordering the whole party into the workhouse as a condition of relief? Or, again, where a couple are on the downward slope of life's hill, and are defrauded of the savings of a lifetime by the knavery of an insurance office clerk: who would be stern enough to condemn them to the confinement and the company of the workhouse? Happily the present generation has found a *via media* between the two alternative courses of out relief, with its inevitable consequences as a system, and a rigid enforcement of the house test.

We have hitherto omitted altogether one great source of relief, we mean public and private charity. The spheres of poor law relief and charity are distinct; the one dealing with proved destitution, the other with poverty. So far as charity sets itself to assist poverty it does not concern us here, but even in dealing with destitution charity may usefully co-operate with poor law. The poor law knows nothing of the causes of destitution, character is beyond its ken. Charity can distinguish the deserving from the undeserving. What is its test? It is paradoxical to say of anyone that he is deserving of charity in the sense that he has a claim upon it, which amounts to a right, and which constitutes a duty in the giver. A man is deserving of help when his past gives ground of hope for the future, when his circumstances are such that he may, by timely aid, be placed once more in a position of independence; he is undeserving when the element of hopefulness is wanting. Now, it is this hopefulness on which charity lays hold. The cases in which it can safely dispense with the test are very few, but it may in some instances appropriately step in and mitigate the sufferings of destitution in old age. Once more, charity may be usefully employed in removing the sources of destitution. The evidence of Miss Octavia Hill \* is in point here when she urges the charitable to combine their efforts to secure large objects, as open spaces and the like, to brighten and improve the general conditions of life for the poor. But, to secure that charity shall perform these duties, two things are

needed. It must be continuous and certain, it must be administered on rational and approved principles. Charitable persons would be the first to confess how soon zeal for a particular person or a particular family waxes cold, how the interest diminishes when new and more striking cases arise. It is not our purpose to speak at length of the evils of indiscriminate charity—they are acknowledged on all hands, they exist mainly through infirmity of purpose rather than want of knowledge.

One instance, indeed, we cannot refrain from quoting. The Mansion House Fund of 1886 is still fresh in the memory of our readers. In the spring of that year the unemployed of London gave expression to their grievances. They met in crowds in public places, they marched through the streets in organised bodies, broke windows, assaulted the passers-by, made property unsafe, and caused general consternation. As so often, the well-to-do tried to make their peace with the mob by a timely sacrifice, much as the Russian traveller throws child after child to the pursuing wolves in the hope of escaping with his own life. The vast sum of 60,000*l.* was collected and entrusted to a committee presided over by the Lord Mayor for distribution among the poor. It is a tribute to the spread of sound principle in the distribution of charity, that at the outset an attempt was made to insist on a labour test; a certain amount of work was to be required to substantiate the claim to charitable assistance. It soon became abundantly evident that this labour test was a sham. A story is told of Archbishop Whately that a tramp once applied to him for work, and he answered with characteristic terseness, ‘My good man, you make a mistake; what you want is not ‘work, but wages.’ The story is in point whenever so-called relief works are demanded as a means of dealing with distress. In other words, the average mind has not grasped the elementary economic truth that employment cannot be increased *ad libitum* without an effort on the part of the employer to increase by saving the funds out of which it is provided, and that least of all can it be increased by a fresh form of spending such as that which is implied by ‘making ‘work.’ But the pretence even of a labour test was soon dropped, and, indeed, without the safeguards which the poor law provides, a labour test is unworkable. The work done by such means is almost always worthless. In one case the directors of public works were reduced to setting the labourers first to remove a large mass of soil, and then

to replace it; in euphemistic language they stated to the town council that 'the works had proved unremunerative.' In London the distribution of this fund became a simple scramble among the idle and dissolute. Money was poured into various districts, in some cases was put in the hands of really capable administrators, in other cases of the most incapable. But the result was in all cases the same, for the able and conscientious were paralysed by the impossibility of doing the work well, and soon lost all control of the distribution. The ultimate results of this stupendous blunder have not yet been realised. The work of years in building up independence of character was undone in a few months. Thus Miss O. Hill notices among the poor in certain districts with which she has an intimate acquaintance an increased tendency to rely more on others. People sit down and wait for 'something to be done for them,' and are discontented and peevish if their hopes are disappointed. They have been taught to regard themselves as the objects of a certain theatrical interest, and they now claim as a right the continuance of assistance which was meant as a sop. Nor can there be any doubt that large numbers of the vagrant and semi-vagrant classes have been attracted to London by the hope of sharing in the good things which were to be had for the asking. From all parts of England the idle and dissolute pressed towards the new El Dorado. In short the supply of charitable assistance created, as it often does, a demand which it could not satisfy. It is much to be feared that large numbers of this class remain in London to compete for employment in a market already overstocked, and to become in time a charge upon the rates. Rarely have economic sins brought a more speedy retribution in their train.

It is worth while to ask, in the same connexion, whether any steps can be taken to deal with the constantly increasing stream of foreign immigrants to London. It is well known that Liverpool and other western seaports have strenuously resisted proposals to abolish the law of settlement in view of the large numbers of Irish paupers whom they now remove, but who would then be quartered upon them. In America vigorous action has been taken to prevent the landing of foreigners who are without the means and prospect of independent subsistence, and still more severe legislation on the subject is contemplated. In England the same problem will shortly have to be faced. We cannot but fear a large addition to our pauper population from abroad, and should any scheme be adopted by which the rent of houses is

reduced below that which results from competition, the number will be indefinitely increased. Prohibition is, in our judgement, out of the question. If the labourer has a recognised right to cheap imported commodities, the manufacturer has no less a right to cheap imported labour. But it might be well that the State should organise some system for removing to their native country such of the immigrants as become destitute and chargeable on the rates.

Now, to guarantee continuous and beneficial or, at any rate, harmless charity, a society is needed, with a corporate existence, with traditions which embody experience, and practical precepts which that experience has formulated. We do not hesitate to say that this function is discharged most admirably by the much-abused Charity Organisation Society; and we venture to think that many of its critics might study to advantage the evidence of its usefulness in the pages of Dr. Aschrott and the report of the Lords Committee.

Of the work of that society we would say a word in passing. Its original object is concisely expressed by its title. It aimed at consolidating and organising charitable effort in London. Thus it undertook to investigate applications and to check imposture, to prevent the waste which is inevitable when several individuals or associations are assisting the same person, unknown to each other. To this it added a statement of the principles on which charity might be administered most usefully. It insisted that thorough knowledge should precede assistance, that all assistance should be adequate (a point on which the poor law is often untrustworthy), and should be so given as to stimulate rather than discourage self-help. Of late years it has gone yet further, and has undertaken the work of relief itself. How far this change has been good is a question on which much difference of opinion exists. No doubt example in such matters is more potent than precept. It is difficult, again, to enlist the service of sympathetic workers in so dry a task as that of organisation alone. Lastly, in a city like London there must always be many charitable persons, who from want of time or inclination are wellnigh obliged to do their charity by proxy, and who want some security that their charity will be well administered; such a security the society gives in the principles on which it distributes relief. On the other side Mr. Pell has some weighty words when he says:

‘I do not object to inquiry by organisation if a man has not time to

make the inquiry himself, but I think that charity that goes far afield to find objects for the exercise of it is very doubtful charity.' \*

We have next to consider how the co-operation of poor law and charity is effected in practice. The procedure naturally divides itself into two parts—the relief of the able-bodied and of the aged or infirm. For the able-bodied, as is well known, the action of guardians is controlled in the country by the Outdoor Relief Prohibitory Order of 1844, and in London by the Outdoor Relief Regulation Order of 1852. In the country the test of destitution for an able-bodied man is his acceptance of an order for the workhouse; in London a labour test may, under certain conditions, be substituted. Now, in the three unions of Stepney, St. George's-in-the-East, and Whitechapel, co-operation on the same lines exists between poor law and charity. In all three it has much the same history. A vast expenditure on outdoor relief has given rise to a growing feeling in favour of its restriction or abolition, and charity has been called in to help in the process. If, for instance, in either of the three an able-bodied man applies for relief, through want of work or other cause, he is referred straightway to the local committee of the Charity Organisation Society. By them his case is investigated, is considered in all its aspects, and finally decided upon. If, on inquiry, the element of hopefulness is found to be present in sufficient strength to justify charitable assistance, a uniform procedure is adopted. If the man will consent to go for a time into the workhouse, charity will provide for his wife and family. By this means a strict workhouse test is secured, and, at the same time, the break-up of the home is avoided. In the case of widows with families, joint action is also taken. A certain number of the children are taken into the poor law school, and then charity is active in helping the mother. It finds employment; it fosters energy; it gives sympathy, advice, and friendship. For the aged, whose circumstances are such as are described above, charity will find a pension which keeps them in tolerable comfort the rest of their days. In the three unions the *modus operandi* is described in almost identical language.

It remains to sum up the advantages of this system, and also to suggest some criticisms.

First of all, the reduction of pauperism is almost incredible, as the following figures show:—

	Indoor	Outdoor	Total
Stepney (1870) . .	1,022	3,126	4,148
" (1888) . .	1,056	26	1,082
Whitechapel (1870) .	1,419	5,339	6,758
" (1888) .	1,356	63	1,419

Here the point which will strike every reader is the enormous reduction of outdoor relief. How far this result could have been attained without the intervention of charity, witnesses are not agreed. Some are of opinion that it is essential; some that it is immaterial; some that it has facilitated a transition, and reconciled public opinion to the new order of things. We shall probably express the truth by saying that the abolition of outdoor relief is possible without co-operation (and the example of the Bradfield Union is in point), but that for the relief of distress charity is indispensable. Secondly, these figures cut away the ground from beneath the old argument that a restriction of outdoor relief will inevitably increase the number of those in the workhouse. In Whitechapel there is an actual decrease in the number so relieved; in Stepney, it is true, there is a small increase; but we must bear in mind that in the total of 1888 are included the inmates of the Metropolitan Asylums for Imbeciles, and of the hospitals for fever and smallpox, whilst in 1870 they were omitted.

And, next, as to the expense. In St. George's-in-the-East the cost of outdoor relief in 1871 was 8,916*l.*; in 1884-5 the district committee of the Charity Organisation Society spent but 657*l.* in all. Nor is the provision of pensions so costly as might be expected. The Tower Hamlets Pension Committee, which covers the three parishes named, including a quarter of a million people, has an income of 280*l.* a year, with which it satisfies all the just claims upon it, and has never been forced to press the public for assistance. The question will, no doubt, be asked how so enormous a reduction is possible. The answer is found to be in the greater elasticity of charity. The poor law is necessarily inelastic; it has no powers of discrimination; it has no means of utilising capacities; it must apply an iron rule. The case is different with charity. Charity not only finds relief, but also opportunities; more than this, it can supply a moral motive power. It raises people 'out of their dead selves;' it 'grasps the skirts of happy chance;' it gives direction to energy. Thus independence is reached in an incredibly short time, and with an incredibly small outlay. Nor, again, does charity throw the same obstacles in the way of providence or develop the same inherited qualities as the poor law system.



It presupposes the first, and it aims before all at rooting out the second. Charity is exceptional in every sense: it meets a crisis; it wards off an imminent disaster; it is never chronic; it has a definite object, and when that object is attained it retires once more into the background. No doubt an ill-administered charity has often fostered expectation, and come to be regarded as a perennial source of income. Such, for instance, was the tendency of the system of distributing endowed charities in small doles. Such, again, is the result of giving alms to tramps. But what is incidental and avoidable in charity is inevitable in the poor law, which comes before the popular mind as a *deus ex machinâ* who can always be invoked. Every guardian of the poor is familiar with the case of individuals who are chronic paupers, and of families which have been 'on the rates' for generations. A striking instance comes from New York in a recent report of the Children's Aid Society in that city. The descendants of a pauper girl and her sisters were traced to the number of 709. Of these, 368 were legitimate, 91 were illegitimate, 250 doubtful, 128 were known prostitutes, 18 kept houses of ill fame, 67 were diseased, and cared for at the public cost, 172 received outdoor relief for 734 years in all, 64 were in almshouses for 96 years in all, 76 were publicly recorded as criminals. On the other hand, but 22 had acquired property of their own, and of these 8 had lost it again.

As one of the causes of its success we may notice that charity can investigate far more fully than a Government official, and investigation is one of the principal functions of organised charity. Not only is this necessary in order to guard against the swarm of impostors, whose organisation is almost as complete as that of charity,\* but also, and chiefly, in order to make sure of knowing the best, most useful form of help. Diagnosis in all cases must go before prescription. But thorough investigation is very difficult for a poor law officer. Partly this is due, in London at any rate, to the large number of cases under the charge of a relieving officer; but even more to the thoroughly English feeling which prompts the poor to see in every official a

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\* In a well-known western city it is said that lists of the charitable are on sale at all the common lodging houses. One of these lists fell into the hands of a gentleman of somewhat reckless generosity, and against his name he read, 'Safe for something, but you must be a distressed mariner.' It is needless to say that none but distressed mariners ever applied to him.

*hostis humani generis*, and treat him accordingly. Neighbour reports favourably of neighbour in the feeling that he may one day need the same help himself; elaborate devices are employed to give a false impression as to an applicant's means. Thus, in Birmingham it has been found necessary to employ a 'cross visitor,' who is constantly paying 'surprise visits' to the recipients of relief. But charitable workers see and know far more of the homes and of the inner life of the poor. They are not necessarily better trained or more experienced, but they have wider sources of knowledge, a more ready sympathy, sometimes a more kindly manner; and they have consequently far more data at their command on which to base a judgement.

We hesitate a little in this connexion to dwell on the purely moral aspects of the question. But it must strike every thoughtful person that a wide distinction exists between help which is claimed as a right, and that which comes as a free gift. The effect on the recipient cannot, perhaps, be very nicely weighed. It is hopeless to attempt to analyse too closely the epithet 'degrading,' and those who know the poor best decline to do so. But charity binds together different classes: it forms social ties, personal, almost family relations between rich and poor; whilst it would hardly be too much to say that the poor law by its action tends to keep them apart.

So far we have spoken of the theoretical and practical advantages of a close co-operation between poor law and charity. Inasmuch as some of its advocates are in favour of a legal recognition and wide extension of the system, we have to consider carefully the other side of the picture. Few things are more striking at the present time than the complete absence of any uniformity in the administration of the poor law. In the parishes which we have taken throughout as examples strictness is the rule, and strictness not only in principle and its application, but in every detail of management. To secure this a great many conditions must be fulfilled. There is needed, first of all, an intelligent and enlightened board of guardians, the members of which know the law which they administer, and know enough of the history of its administration to avoid the mistakes of the past. But there is also needed a well-trained and, if we may so speak, enthusiastic staff, devoted to their duty and loyal to their employers. Lastly, there must also be a thoroughly good plant, a work-house and infirmary replete with modern improvements, schools for the education of children (if these be not boarded

out), and arrangements which admit of thorough classification. It is unnecessary to prove that in the majority of cases these conditions are not fulfilled. In London, for instance, alone, we find great diversities in all these departments. The result is a total want of uniformity. In Whitechapel the outdoor paupers number but 63; in the City of London they are over 2,000; in St. George's-in-the-East paupers are 33·9 per 1,000 of the population; in Holborn 51. Some of the workhouses are magnificent buildings, fitted up with almost comfort; others justify their old description as 'Bastilles.' There is a vast difference in the *personnel*, both in guardians and officials. The result of all these diversities is to inflict a serious hardship on the poor. But if this be so in the poor law administration, are we not forced to conclude that there would be an even greater want of uniformity in charity? Granted that the system of co-operation were extended, what guarantee have we that uniformity would survive at all? The poor law is administered under statutes and the orders of a central authority, whose powers are enormous and effective, and which spreads uniformity by its system of inspection and audit. Substitute for poor law a voluntary uncontrolled charity, liable to gusts of popular feeling, with irresponsible administrators, and what would be the result? To succeed, even as the ally of poor law, charity requires a large body of workers, conspicuous for soundness of judgement as well as warmth of heart. Can we count on any large supply of such? It may be, as Mr. Llewellyn Davies says,\* that an extension of powers and area would increase the responsibility and the efficiency of charitable workers. But when we consider the scanty share of public sympathy which the Charity Organisation Society has gained, the dislike so commonly expressed of its principles and methods alike, the want of wisdom which characterises the charitable world, the forecast of Mr. Davies seems to us unduly sanguine. There is something terribly significant in the advice of Miss Octavia Hill † to subscribe to the investigating branch of the Charity Organisation Society, but not to the funds which it distributes in relief. She, at least, is not frightened by its strictness; on the contrary, she is afraid of its laxity. And secondly, to insure uniformity, there must be a sound, stringent code of principles which the workers follow. Can we say that we have at present any principles which are more than empirical? So long, indeed, as charity is voluntary and

unrecognised, this is immaterial, nay essential; but the case is different when it is proposed to give a status and a legal sanction to its work.

Again, is it possible to extend the system of co-operation generally? The report to which we have referred so often gives only one instance of its successful working outside London, viz. at Oxford, and here the conditions are wholly abnormal. But what of country districts? It is as yet a dream to picture England covered by a network of societies as efficient as that which assigns pensions in the Tower Hamlets, or as trustworthy as the Society for the Relief of Distress has shown itself, with its skilled almoners and its large funds. And can the special circumstances of country life, the isolation of the well-to-do, the parochial system, the inequalities of different districts—can these all be bent into any one system, except that of the poor law? We have seen in the past the evils of indiscriminate out relief; but the evils of ill-administered charity, with large funds, an organisation and a status, but with no check from any central body, and little or no responsibility, might be such as to throw the former evils into the shade.

In the next place, we desire to call public attention to a case in which, so far from any co-operation existing between poor law and charity, there is an active competition. We mean in the provision for the relief of the sick. Of late years there has been a great developement of the poor law infirmary system in London. On all sides have sprung up magnificent pauper hospitals, with a resident medical staff, at which the best medical advice and treatment are given to the inmates. Those who remember the old workhouse infirmary occasionally visited by an overworked general practitioner, with its host of pauper nurses and attendants, its lamentable want of all the conditions of recovery, will welcome the improvement. No one can deny that if the sick poor are to be treated at the public expense, and on a public system, it is the duty of the State, and also the truest economy, that they should be cured as thoroughly and as speedily as possible. So far, so good; but other effects are showing themselves. The infirmary fails now altogether to serve the purpose of a workhouse test. The repugnance to enter it has almost disappeared, and thus it is becoming a source of real danger. At Birmingham,\* for instance, new arrangements have lately been made, by which patients pass geographically through

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\* Lords Committee, Question 381.

the workhouse gates on their way to the infirmary, a change which, it is hoped, will do something to diminish the crowd of applicants. The attractiveness of this form of relief must inevitably in time weaken the feeling against relief in the workhouse itself. And whilst the improvement in workhouse infirmaries is thus tending to undermine independence and provision, an evil not less real is seen in the present state of London hospitals. These are regarded by the poor as a fount of gratuitous medical advice and care and of free medicine. The results are attested by many witnesses. Thus it appears that Guy's Hospital,\* founded for the benefit of the whole of England, draws three-fifths of its patients from the immediate neighbourhood of the hospital. One witness states that the poor of South London have been demoralised for centuries by the two great hospitals in their midst. The London Hospital† is described as the despair of those whose aim it is to make the poor provide, so far as possible, for themselves. Miss O. Hill ‡ notices the difficulty of founding and maintaining a provident dispensary in the neighbourhood of a free hospital. In short, the great hospitals are a terrible agency in pauperising London: instead of providing only for those great crises in life, as accident or infectious disease, against which no foresight can avail, their out-patient wards have become centres for distributing free prescriptions and drugs. More than one witness suggests that a Government inquiry should be held into their condition and working, a suggestion which we heartily endorse. So that we have in the relief of the sick poor the worst of all evils—a competition between two forms of granting gratuitous assistance, with the inevitable tendency to increase the evils they seek to diminish; and yet this very competition suggests a possible co-operation, or even combination.

Let us see, for a moment, how they manage these things elsewhere. In France a different system is adopted. With us the poor law covers the whole ground of destitution; it is not, in theory, assisted by charity at all.§ Relief is obligatory in character, i.e. the poor law authority measures its rate by the amount of destitution for which it has to provide.

\* Lords Committee, Question 1459.

† *Ib.* 1460.

‡ *Ib.* 1755, 1671-3.

§ The logical character of the nation is well seen in a proposal of Laroche-foucauld's Committee in 1791 to prohibit all private charity, on the ground that the relief of the poor is properly the work of the State.

In France, on the other hand, the sum raised by taxation is but an insignificant part of the total sum distributed, whilst voluntary contributions and endowments are largely used. As a result, the relief is not obligatory but facultative, i.e. it is measured by the funds available. All institutions, whether *hospitaux* for the sick, or *hospices* for the aged, are controlled by official boards nominated by the prefect. We may note, in passing, that there is no semblance of a work-house test; admission to an institution is eagerly sought, and the board relies upon inquiry into circumstances to sift the applicants. So, too, outdoor relief is administered by *bureaux de bienfaisance* (of which there are some 12,000 in all), consisting of the *maire*, four nominated members, and two elected by the local council. These also rely principally upon endowments and charitable contributions, together with a comparatively small sum raised by a tax of 10 per cent. on tickets for places of amusement. By this system the charitable are guaranteed a more or less consistent and responsible administration, and they largely avail themselves of it. It is worth while to ask whether we have anything to learn from France in this matter. No doubt the conditions in the two countries are so dissimilar as to make it impossible to borrow wholesale, but there are some points which deserve attention. Can we, for instance, look forward to a time when our great charitable institutions will be under the control of recognised and responsible authorities, who will administer them on definite principles? We have a precedent in the powers and action of the Charity Commission, a body whose unpopularity is perhaps the best evidence of its efficiency. The Commissioners have introduced such a system, in part, wherever they have issued schemes for local charity trustees. They have also themselves been entrusted with the administration of vast funds in the case of the City charities. And if the system were extended more generally, what results would follow? Would it lead to a close co-operation between the new boards and the poor law guardians, facilitating a strict administration of the poor law, and bringing in charity to supply its inevitable shortcomings? Should we see less of overlapping and of pauperism, a greater economy and a greater efficiency? Or would the sources of charity be dried up in consequence of our national hatred of officialism? Again, could anything of the kind be devised to amalgamate and control the thousand and one forms of charity at the applicant's home? We cannot pretend to the gift of prophecy. We do no more than

indicate the lines which reform might follow. That it is urgently needed the state of our London hospitals amply proves. But the point on which we would insist is this, that it is of but little use improving our poor law administration, if the work is undone and the benefits neutralised by ill-considered charity.

Meanwhile, we cannot but feel alarm at the immediate prospect. Nothing is more characteristic of the present generation than the reckless ease with which it forgets the arguments which satisfied its predecessors. The craze for protection is one instance; the desire to relax the poor law system is another. Nor, if report may be trusted, is that craze confined to the *dilettanti* among philanthropists, or to bidders for popular support on the hustings. There is, we are informed, a ground swell of discontent among the poor themselves at the increasing strictness of boards of guardians. The words of the poet, it is said, are likely to be realised when he describes how

‘ Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion, creeping nigher,  
Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly dying fire.’

We are not ourselves inclined to give much attention to these gloomy prophecies. The last twenty-five years have seen a great increase in the number of working men who are occupiers of houses, or even owners, and consequently ratepayers, and who have made their own provision for sickness and old age. This fact, together with their growing knowledge and intelligence, encourages us to hope that they will be opposed to any revival on a large scale of the out-relief system. It is much to be desired, first, that all occupiers should be ratepayers, and so the charge for pauperism brought home to every citizen; and, secondly, that some opportunity should be afforded to every class in the community of being represented on boards of guardians. But unless we are once again to go through all the dismal experience of the early years of the century, we must have a more robust and stricter spirit among our administrators. More knowledge is needed of the problems and history of the poor law; much false sentiment must be reasoned away, and men must be brought to see clearly the terrible evils which a reaction against the present poor law system would involve; above all, more moral strength is needed in resisting ignorant and interested clamour. Meanwhile charity must go its way, increasing the number of its skilled workers, improving its principles, justifying

itself by its successful discharge of its great and perplexing duties, establishing a stronger and stronger claim on public confidence. And then a time may come when the relations between poor law and charity will be more clearly understood, and it will be possible to formulate them. But it would be premature to take any such step at present. We have seen a steady improvement during the last fifty years in the action of poor law guardians: the exercise of power has had its proper educational effect. If only they are not hampered by legislative folly, we may look for a yet greater and more extended growth. The same is true of charity. But this progress may be fatally crushed on the one side by an attempt to reopen old questions in a reactionary spirit, and on the other by a premature recognition of a system which owes much of its value to the fact that it is spontaneous and tentative.

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ART. VI.—1. *The Recluse*. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.  
London: First published in 1888.

2. *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*.  
With an Introduction by JOHN MORLEY. London: 1888.

3. *Wordsworthiana*. A selection from papers read to the  
Wordsworth Society. Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT.  
London: 1889.

THE latest edition of Wordsworth's poetry is in four respects distinguished from most of its predecessors. In the first place it contains an introduction by Mr. John Morley, which, in spite of its coldness, inspires us with genuine regret that the author should have so long strayed from the fields of literature. Secondly, the chronological arrangement is adopted which is followed by Professor Knight in his splendid library edition of Wordsworth. The poet himself distributed his works according to the far-fetched categories of a misty psychology. Matthew Arnold classified them on principles of art. But no poet ever wrote verse which gathers more closely round his personal life, and chronology is the only grouping which really assists the student by the light that it casts upon the mind of the author at the dates of the different compositions. The arrangement adopted in this edition becomes a poetical biography of Wordsworth, revealing his mental growth and picturing the few vicissitudes of his uneventful life. But while the grouping in order of time is, in our opinion, the only natural and useful



arrangement, it is much to be regretted, and it is almost the only serious drawback to the present edition, that Wordsworth's own classification has not been preserved in one of the appendices. As we have mentioned this defect, another omission may be here noted. In all the poems, but especially in 'The Excursion' or 'The Prelude,' each consisting of many thousand lines, the lines should be numbered for convenience of reference. If this were done throughout, the utility of the edition would be greatly increased.

The third distinguishing feature is that, as in Professor Knight's edition, the poet's notes are added of the scenes or events which suggested the different poems. The addition of these notes brings out the creative power of the true seer, who gives us the harvest of the quiet eye not as a mental idealisation but as a reality of vision. Through these notes we realise how firmly the poet linked himself to hills and brooks and valleys with those associations that unite ordinary men only to the personal friends whom they love; through them we appreciate the strength of the impressions produced not merely by the habitual expression of Nature, but by her most transient glances—as well by the abiding parapet of Loughrigg Fell as by a particular branch of fern carried off in the wind; through them we are able to test the veracity of observation which, when not combined with the imagination, becomes prosaic, but which in co-operation with feeling stamps his most ideal visions with the impress of reality.

Lastly, and chiefly, the present edition is the first and the only complete edition in existence. Thirty-eight years after Wordsworth's death 'The Recluse,' a poem of upwards of eight hundred lines, forming with 'The Prelude' and 'The Excursion' a portion of an unfinished whole, and written, as internal evidence seems to show, in the very springtime of the poet's genius, is here for the first time printed in its entirety. This latest legacy of Wordsworth's mind suggests, like some fossil relic, an extinct era. It is a voice from the grave speaking to us across the chasm of nearly ninety wonder-working years, renewing the infancy of the century, carrying us back to the poetic maturity of Coleridge and Scott and to the youth of Byron and Shelley, recalling the death-throes of the revolutionary wars and the eager excitement when the news of battles by sea and land, on which were staked the fates of empires, was slowly filtered through country districts by passing mail coaches.

Suppose that another three hundred lines of 'The Rape of the Lock' had been discovered, or a new canto of

'Childe Harold,' or a conclusion to 'The Triumph of Life,' or the completion of 'Hyperion,' should we have been more or less grateful than we are for this book of 'The Recluse'? A fairer way to put this question is this. Wordsworth quotes to Lady Beaumont a remark made by Coleridge 'that every great or original author, in proportion as he is great or original, must himself create the taste by which he is relished.' No poet has done work of so special a character; none has struck upon a more virgin vein of thought and feeling; none has been more independent in the creation of his own materials. Has Wordsworth, then, succeeded in creating the taste by which he is enjoyed?

An affirmative answer would afford a most encouraging sign of human progress. Such a reply would mean the growth of a taste disciplined to prefer truth to colour, the diffusion of refinement and delicacy of feeling, the increase of the number of those whose minds are not merely the minds of their eyes, but who see also with their souls, and recognise the worth of ideals that transcend the seen and visible. Popular, in the ordinary sense of the word, Wordsworth can never be. Of his own work it is probably true that, as he said himself, 'there neither is, nor can be, any genuine enjoyment of poetry among nineteen out of twenty of those persons who live, or wish to live, in the broad light of the world, among those who either are, or are striving to make themselves, people of consideration in society.' 'Remember,' he writes to Sir George Beaumont, 'that no poem of mine will ever be popular.' But it is not without justification that he trusted his fame to posterity. Thousands of men and women have recognised the same sacred debt which Coleridge, Whewell, Mill, Sir Henry Taylor, Matthew Arnold, and George Eliot acknowledge that they owe to Wordsworth, and, like them, count the perusal of his poems an era in their lives. His work has faithfully fulfilled the office which he hoped it would perform—'to console the afflicted; to add sunshine to daylight by making the happy happier; to teach the young and gracious of every age to see, to think, and to feel, and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous.' From 1820 onwards Wordsworth's influence grew rapidly. After Scott had turned novelist, and after Keats and Shelley and, above all, Byron were dead, he had no rival, for Tennyson was not yet recognised as a poet. His reputation culminated in 1839, when he received his unparalleled ovation from the University of Oxford. That date is the high-water mark

of his popularity. Yet his audience, though few, has been fit. The greatest minds of the century have acknowledged the 'healing power' of his verse. Their opinion is a higher test of merit than the votes of the mass. To quote Wordsworth once more: 'Nor can there be given to any thinking man any higher or wiser rule than this—to trust to the judgement of those who from all ages have been reckoned great; and if he finds that any disparity or difference exists between his judgement and theirs, let him, in all modesty, take it for granted that the fault lies in him and not in them.' The recently published volume of 'Wordsworthiana' is a striking declaration of the judgement of some of the most prominent men among our living contemporaries, and it may well cause others to reflect on the value of the poet's teaching.

His poetry is what the highest poetry so often is—a protest against the tendencies of the day; a protest against material and utilitarian tyranny; a protest against the omnipotence of the motto 'work' on which Carlyle insisted with such grim earnestness; a protest in favour of being as superior to doing or thinking; a protest against that sacrifice of the individual to society which is the price the century pays for progress and civilisation; a protest against the theory that wealth outweighs the dignity of man's primitive nature, or that the living soul is absorbed in the factory 'hand;' a protest, finally, against that exclusive dominion of science which threatens to enslave the human spirit in the fetters of inexorable laws. For the fever of modern existence his poetry is the truest febrifuge. No poet and few philosophers have grappled more firmly with the problems of man, nature, and human life. No poet has exercised a more invigorating influence on all who are afflicted by a 'wilful disesteem' of life, or tortured by the riddle of the painful earth, or conscious that their birthright of freedom is subjugated by the tyranny of petty circumstances. No poet has braced more minds to live in the light of high endeavour, to mark out a loftier standard of conduct, to seek some more determined aim of thought or reading, to transmute into good the heaviest sorrows and disappointments. His 'healing power' ministers to minds diseased by disposing them to feel interest in the common emotions and common destiny of humanity. He does for others what Nature did for him. He eases the pressure and calms the pain of the mystery. He opens to men an inner world in which they cease to deplore the burden of existence; reveals

the wells of refreshment hidden in their own breasts; touches concealed chords of feeling which when struck vibrate in harmony and awaken kindred thoughts of purity, innocence, and moral strength.

Wordsworth's art is not the skill to fashion into delightful verse the passionate rapture of love. His trade is not the 'moving accident;' his strain is not the idle breath of the pipe that is attuned to pastoral fancies; his gift is not the Tyrtæan song of battle; his charm is not the exquisite finish of cultured indifference; his enthusiasm finds no expression in the defiant reproaches of a rebellious spirit. Here are no mouthings of euphuistic dialects, no devices to arrest attention or extort admiration. Here is no 'pageant of the bleeding heart,' no fiery stimulant, no morbid melancholy, no superficial violence impressed to do duty for the language of genuine passion. Here is no dance of bright phantoms, which thread the maze of ætherial thought to the melody of entrancing music. For all these, each in their different ways so attractive, we must look elsewhere. Wordsworth has not the martial fire of Scott, the stormy discontent of Byron, the magnetic ardour of Shelley, the sensuous luxuriance of Keats. Prophet and moralist, as well as singer, deeply conscious of his mission as a *vates sacer*, a seer whose office was less to please than to teach, he consecrated his life to the task of showing that poetry was not merely exciting or stimulating, but serious, wise, and inspiring. The more exalted the view of the province of poetry, the higher the estimate of Wordsworth. He makes a demand no less on the moral than on the intellectual strength of his readers. But for those who can endure the bleakness of the northern air there is a rapture in the lonely altitudes to which he rises, that gives new life to high endeavour. There is the charm of poetic sensibility held in control, of systematised thought, of poised energy, of power displayed in reserve, of passion expressed in reticence. There is the simplicity which justifies, the sincerity which ennobles, the pleasure that is ministered. In place of the dazzling gifts exhibited by his great contemporaries there is a divination of the spirit of Nature, a deep-set sympathy for humanity, a large hopefulness, an imaginative piety, an intense tranquillity. His poetry is not merely a sanctuary in which fugitives may escape the pursuit of the world's anxieties or distractions; it makes of the world within and without a temple in which mankind may worship and adore. It is a confessional in which penitents are stripped of all artificial and conventional disguises, and are taught to estimate every-

thing at the value which it possesses in the region of the simplest affections. It is a religious retreat, in which the votaries, laying aside all secondary interests, and standing face to face with the bare essentials of humanity, are disciplined in truthfulness, dignity, and self-respect. Plain and austere though it is, his verse affords the purest, and therefore the most enduring, poetic pleasure. For those who love it, it retains its beauty throughout life; its freshness never fades with reflective age; it rather unfolds new petals as we advance in the seriousness of years. As morn passes into noon, and noon into eve, its charm is still as potent, nay,

‘in sooth  
More beautiful as being a thing more holy.’

Much has been written about Wordsworth as a man and as a poet and a moralist; but the tone has too often been either the indiscriminate eulogy of fervent admirers, or the mystical obscurities of the initiated, or the extravagant depreciation of the profane. We claim neither to stand within the inner circle of zealous Wordsworthians, nor to join the band of flippant critics whose easy task it is to ridicule. Any one of the papers printed in ‘Wordsworthiana’ might be expanded into a separate article. We might, for instance, take Mr. Rawnsley’s ‘Reminiscences of Wordsworth among the West-‘moreland Peasantry’—the freshest and most interesting of the papers—as the text of an article on Wordsworth’s life and character; or we might choose Mr. Aubrey de Vere’s address, or Mr. Hutton’s paper on the poet’s ‘Earlier and Later ‘Styles,’ and write on the general character of his poetry; or we might select the Dean of Salisbury’s ‘Wordsworth as an ‘Ethical Teacher,’ or Mr. Veitch’s essay on ‘The Theism of ‘Wordsworth,’ and discuss the poet’s title to be called a moralist. The field we have selected is in one sense narrower and less ambitious than any of the three. Our present object is not to institute comparisons between rival poets, but to assist, so far as we can, those who desire to appreciate the higher beauties of Wordsworth’s poetry, and of ‘The Recluse’ in particular. With this aim before us we propose, first, to notice the faults of his poetry which present the most serious obstacles to the reader, and often repel him even on the threshold; secondly, to trace the growth of the poet’s conceptions of man and Nature, and of their moral relations; and lastly, to exemplify from ‘The Recluse’ the peculiar power which Wordsworth derived from his poetic philosophy.

Nothing has proved more prejudicial to Wordsworth’s fame,

nothing more destructive of the enjoyment of his readers, than the inequality and patchwork character of his work. He rises and falls with precipitous abruptness, apparently unconscious whether he is up or down. Passages which raise him to Olympian heights are followed by others that depress him below the level of second-rate poets. Bald stretches of prose extend their interminable wastes, and the oases of surpassing beauty gleam so rarely in the desert that the rewards of patience scarcely compensate for its trials. Stanzas of laconic beauty, which in precision of outline and totality of impression recall no other poet among his contemporaries except Goethe, alternate with wanton doggerel in which he is perversely and affectedly silly. Here is a piece of striking reflection, of meditative passion, of mystical grandeur, of austere imagination; and next to it a prolix passage of dull, flat, didactic prose. Here a nugget, there a mass of clay; here a pearl, and there the heap of oyster-shells; here a block of Parian marble, and there the coarse rubble which serves as mortar; now nectar gleaming with star fire, and now the smallest table beer; here matter which glows with the white heat of poetic intensity, there the mass of coal over which the flame has never passed. To the rich arras woven with the silk and gold of sublime imagination is botched the coarse huckaback of plain prose. This amalgam of the imaginative and the prosaic, and this fusion of unconventional simplicity with puerility of phrase and subject, constitute serious defects in Wordsworth's poetry. Few persons will deny that he would profit by the ‘art to blot,’ by retrenchment, condensation, and the rejection of inferior thoughts and expressions. But the faults which produce these defects, though differing in origin and in result, are closely allied to two of his most characteristic excellences — his intense sincerity and his genuine simplicity.

All Wordsworth's longer poems are marked by diffuseness, prolixity, languor in developement of thought, and a preference for prosaic expressions. The presence of these elements is partly due to his view of the poetic inspiration, partly to his singlehearted devotion to his art. He believed that the creative power descends upon the minds that wait in wise passiveness for its reception. At times Æolian visitations touch his harp; at others the banded host of harmony struggles in disarray. Now the gift is bestowed in a measure that has rarely been exceeded; now it entirely deserts him. The other source of the prosaic element in his verse is his determination to avoid artifices and to admit nothing that is unreal, nothing

that is conventional, nothing that is not the original product of his own mind. It is this same determination which in happier moments inspires passages of polished terseness and laconic brevity, passages in which no word could be added or withdrawn, and in which the hand of Art seems guided by the spirit of Nature. But the combined result of this theory of inspiration and this worship of the art is seen in a perplexed mixture of poetry and prose. Most writers cast away the slag, and present us only with the metal. Wordsworth preserves both. It is the prose which stirred Byron to speak of

'A drowzy frowzy poem, called "The Excursion,"  
Writ in a manner that is my aversion.'

It is the treasure of poetry which rewards the patient digger that moved Landor to write :

'Large lumps of precious metal lie engulph't  
In gravelly beds, whence you must delve them out,  
And thirst sometimes and hunger; shudder not  
To wield the pickaxe and to shake the sieve.'

Nor, after the first moment of repulsion, is the impression produced by this juxtaposition of the striking and the commonplace wholly unattractive. It inspires the feeling of absolute confidence. The whole process of the poet is revealed. He employs no rhetorical device to conceal the fitful visits of his inspiration: he lavishes no ornament on the inferior metal to pass it off as the pure gold of the imagination. He raises himself by no ingenious mechanism of ropes or pulleys. If he rises from the ground, it is by no artificial contrivance; he is swept off his feet, if at all, by a divine possession. Thus it is that he is able to sustain a tone of majesty which no poet who is conscious of a falsity of sentiment could venture to assume; thus also his best lines bear the ineffaceable stamp of authenticity, the sign-manual of genuine inspiration.

The blending of prose and poetry in matter is not more striking than the union of prose and poetry in manner. His pure and classic diction never attracts attention from the thought to the style; yet it is able to sustain homely feeling or sublime imagination with appropriate simplicity or dignity. This adequacy of expression to thought makes the contrast more striking between stanzas of faultless purity and what can only be described as doggerel.

Yet here it is necessary to distinguish between the love of simplicity which is exaggerated or distorted by mental defects or mental habits, and the excess of simplicity which has its

origin in affectation. The love of simplicity carried to extremes occasionally pervades all his poetry; the affected excess of simplicity is only noticeable in a particular section. In the first case the exaggeration or distortion is due partly to the same republican fervour which drives him to choose for his subjects the humble lives of common men, or prompts him to hymn the daisy or the mountain gentian, and never, so far as we are aware, to praise the beauty of a cultivated flower; partly to the absence of humour or any perception of the ludicrous which resulted in inability to detect incongruities; partly to the mental habit of a solitary for whom familiar objects assume a microscopic magnitude, or who in the abstraction of a capacious intellect acknowledges the equal claims of everything to attention. In the second case the affected excess of simplicity is but little due to any of these causes; and it is then that the doggerel becomes wanton and the ‘drivel’ grows ‘perverse.’ Fortunately only a small portion of his poetry, written to illustrate a theory, is marred by this defect. In this section the uncertainty of tone and indecision of manner spring from affectation and not from exaggerated or distorted worship of an excellent virtue. The poet is untrue to himself and tampers with his own genius. The result is confusion, incongruity of parts, dissimilarity of successive lines. In those poems which Wordsworth composed to protest against artificiality of thought and feeling, he meets affectation by affectation. He is even driven to follow the device of the poets whom he attacked. Like them he raises some low theme to the required level by describing not the commonplace topic itself, but some subject which it suggests. ‘Peter Bell’ is full of exquisite poetry, but it is obtained by describing rather what Peter Bell was not than what he was. It is not that he is too simple or too natural, but that his elaborate homeliness of phrase and studied puerility of subject is neither one nor the other. When he deliberately set himself to write nursery rhymes, he only combated the affectation of meretricious ornament by the equal affectation of silliness. Here he is insincere, disloyal to his love for his art as the splendour of truth, fixing his eyes not on his work but on the public, preferring particular effects to the patient effort to express the actual vision of his soul, neglecting the natural impulses of his mind in order to affect a singularity.

Unfortunately for the immediate and posthumous fame of Wordsworth, it was—and to a great extent still is—on this small and affected portion of his poetry that critics, whether



friendly or hostile, fastened with most avidity. With it was associated the angry controversy which gathered round the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*. In that preface Wordsworth expressed the militant theories of a radical reformer who caricatures truths to crucify corruptions. He braves contempt in the spirit of John Wesley with his 'God forbid that we should not be the laughing-stock of mankind.' The prominence which he himself thus gave to this one section of poetry, which was written to illustrate his exaggerated principles, was accepted by friends and foes alike. In the ludicrous examples of his practice hostile critics found the most abundant food for ridicule; on the ultimate triumph of that portion of his theories which was founded on good sense his friends asserted his claim to be the founder of a new school. The substance was in both cases dropped for the shadow. Affected singularities of style were considered more characteristic of the man than the deeper peculiarities of his thought. His admirers feared to condemn the doggerel because they were taught to consider it representative of the poet, and not only was Wordsworth's position in English literature misinterpreted, but the means by which it was won misunderstood.

Mr. John Morley, as well as the 'too zealous Wordsworthians' whom he combats in his preface, seem to us to have fallen into the same error. Both parties rely on the theory, which has passed into a literary commonplace, that Wordsworth swept away the cold artificialities of the followers of Pope, and gave new life to the mechanical art of versification with its arbitrary rules and proprieties, its stereotyped forms and conventional diction. According as their views incline them, one side depreciates the eighteenth century in order to enhance the reputation of Wordsworth; while the other, without denying his merits, defends the rationalistic century from undue disparagement. To us it seems equally unnecessary to attack or defend the followers of Pope. De Quincey's theory, that Wordsworth effected the deliverance from the reigning taste of the eighteenth century, has, as we believe, no foundation in fact. In its wholesale depreciation of the so-called classic school it is unjust; as an historical account of the reaction it is untrue; in attributing any widespread influence to Wordsworth on the reigning taste at the commencement of this century it is unfounded; and, lastly, while it appears to enhance, it really depreciates, the importance of Wordsworth. His true fame is not that, a hundred years ago, in a period of literary decrepitude, he destroyed the conventions which were passing fashions, but that the originality and indepen-

dence of his genius are a living power to this day, shaping the minds of his successors and moulding the future literature of the country.

Wordsworth stands, as it seems to us, midway between two schools of poetry. He unites the sober thought and home-bred subjects of the poets of the eighteenth century with the passion and the freshness of the poets of the Revolution. Like the older school he is a worshipper of his art; like them again he is animated by the didactic impulse; like them he accepts the theory that any subject is capable of poetic treatment; like them he adopts the classic style. On the other hand he writes as, and what, he felt, with his eye perpetually on the object, in living contact with man and nature, penetrating beneath the surface of both by the use of faculties that hitherto lay dormant. He rejects alike the insincerities and artificialities of the old school and the convulsive hyperbolical tone of the new. Unlike Scott, he is essentially a poet of the revolutionary era, but he has no sympathy with its literary aberrations. He is the poet of Nature not of destruction, serene not morbid, no misanthrope but confident in humanity, able to recognise in present good the promise of futurity. His rivals, in their fanatical worship of the goddess of the Revolution, despised their art, were rough instead of smooth, unrestrained not self-controlled, careless instead of labouring to be correct; they ransacked the past or compassed sea and land to find picturesque subjects, and swarms of pirates, bandits, and border chieftains invaded the land; they donned variegated robes of foreign stuffs, or aired Italian graces, or revelled in the rich colouring of mediæval pigments. They created a love for all that was strained, vehement, and violent; their poetry appealed to the senses or to the passions; it became a feverish fire, a luscious delicacy, a species of mental intoxication which transports us to another sphere but ends in satiety because it draws its influence from excitement. Wordsworth, on the other hand, loved his art no less than Nature. He revered his office too sincerely not to carry conscience into his work; his simplicity results from prolonged labour, and all that he wrote was the best he could produce. It is his lasting honour that he mastered the passions and desires which swept Byron or Shelley hither and thither, that he led men back to the simple drama of English domestic life, to the reproduction of familiar feelings, to the delineation of home scenery; that he repressed within safe bounds the wild current of youthful energy which the Revolution had set loose, and substituted for strained vehemence a

controlled and chastened expression of wise and elevating sentiments. If this were Wordsworth's only claim to the gratitude of posterity, it would justify the statement that with faults that are peculiarly obvious and irritating, with little power of haunting the fancy, forcing on the ear his solemn harmonies, or gratifying the eye with glowing colours, he has exercised upon the literature of this country an enduring and lasting influence.

But there still remains another side of his poetry to be considered. In moral teaching he has no rival among his contemporaries. He understood more completely than any English poet of his day the new conditions and requirements of modern poetry. Heroic enterprise, strong passion, warlike pomp, or the beauty of women will always offer the most tempting topics for poetry. Subjects like these Wordsworth revolved in his mind only to reject. Scott, belonging by character to the previous generation and never penetrating beyond the barriers of the French Revolution, could, and did, revive the spell of chivalry; but when Wordsworth weighed its picturesque effects against its unreality, it kicked the beam. He saw the world strewn with the wrecks of old opinions and blighted hopes. The old answers had failed, the new seemed equally futile. As he stands midway between two schools of poetry, so he stands midway between two schools of thought. He does not with Byron raise the note of failure; he does not join with Shelley in the '*Sursum corda*' of wild idealism; he does not echo the mournful cry of Keats that the 'old was 'better.' He throws himself manfully into the struggle to reconcile facts with ideals, experience with eternal truths. The sphere of life's battle was transferred from without to within. The mind was the modern arena of conflict. The poet who sought to interpret his age, who desired to travel before men as well as at their sides, must enter this new battlefield, where the tide of victory still ebbed and flowed tumultuously, where contending armies assembled silently beneath opposite banners instead of rallying to resounding war-cries, where deadly hurts were given and received though no sword flashes or arrow hurtles through the air. Wordsworth felt that poets must, if true to themselves, sing the Iliad of the struggle between the champions of the old world and the new, between the rival forces of concrete experience and abstract reason. And not this only. They must dedicate their visions, intuitions, and imaginations to the solution of the same problems which exercised the powers of men of science and philosophers. These were the holy services to

which Wordsworth felt himself consecrated ; to these purposes he devoted all his energies ; he desired to be considered ‘as a teacher or as nothing,’ and he gave himself up in heart and intellect to the task of rendering men’s feelings ‘more sane and permanent.’

But the craving to explore the hidden depths of nature, the spirit of intense reflection on the great central mystery of life, the search for an intelligible scheme of things in which the world and the individual may find their fitting place—these passions, if too exclusively gratified, generate the disease of dreaminess. To some extent the poet must unite the sources of objective and subjective inspiration, and join the streams of epic and metaphysic. He must clothe his abstract thought in concrete symbols, and apply his philosophical ideas to character and conduct. Wordsworth’s strong grasp of facts and of the wider aspects of human nature, his skill both in analysis and synthesis, his gift of collecting particulars and gathering universals, his combination of microscopic realism and imaginative idealism, counterbalanced his want of dramatic power and enabled him to invest his thought with human interest, to move in the two worlds of the visible and invisible, to see the truth and yet to hope. He does not dwell apart in that obscure region of the mind where darkness baffles inquiry, but gives daily life and its affairs their due prominence, mingling with his facts an undercurrent of reflection, dwelling on the unseen and unknown, yet using ordinary incidents as his canvas. We may accept or reject his teaching. We may admit that it is charged with much of the optimism and ethical uncertainty of other apostles of nature. But it is to his powerful grasp of living difficulties, and to the eternal principles on which the independent product of his thought is based, that he owes his enduring freshness. Scott and Coleridge escaped from the problems which he confronted : the one because he did not feel their pressure, the other because he eluded them in the mazes of metaphysical inquiry. Byron, Shelley, and Keats were each conscious of the difficulty. They all three make revelations of themselves, depict the world through the lenses of their minds, express the pride and the despair of thought. Byron, without hope of the future, half-hearted in his admiration of the past, reviles the present with misanthropic cynicism. Shelley, soaring into the cloud-lands of the future, creates an unsubstantial dream of the new world in which man shall be as God. Keats forgets both present and future in the gorgeous pageantry which he paints of an imaginary past. Wordsworth’s attitude is widely different.

For present evil and for future good he preaches the old remedy of trust in Heaven, patience, and resolution. He seeks not to aggravate but to subdue the mental strife, not to lull the mind to rest by opiates but to steel it to brave endurance and high endeavour. He bids men take their fate in their hands—not to despair of the present, but to dedicate life to noble ends and manly purposes; not to sigh for an impossible dream of future liberty, but to find genuine freedom in self-government; not to lament weakly for an irrevocable past, but to 'express the image of better times, more wise desires, and simpler manners.'

How Wordsworth taught these lessons—what, in other words, was his philosophy—it will be our purpose to inquire. His views of man and Nature, and of their moral relations, are the 'vital soul' of his poetry and his ethical teaching, the fuel of his intellectual passion, the creative impulse of his sublime imagination. No apology is, therefore, needed for the space devoted to the development of his theories, though one is fairly due for the many points that are necessarily omitted. A few dates of external events will serve as useful guides to the mental history. Wordsworth was born at Cockermouth in 1770, the year of Chatterton's death. In 1778 his mother died; five years later the death of his father left him an orphan. The period from 1778 to 1787 he spent at Hawkshead Grammar School, close to the little lake of Esthwaite. In 1787 he went up to Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1791. One of his long vacations he spent in a walking tour through France, Switzerland, and Northern Italy, leaving Dover on the 13th of July, 1790, the eve of the day on which Louis XVI. took the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. A few months after taking his degree, he returned to France, and remained there from November 1791 till the close of 1792, while the committees of public safety were sitting, while the king was imprisoned and the monarchy abolished, and while the September massacres were perpetrated. For the next seven years he had no permanent home. After several changes of residence, he returned to his native mountains in 1799, never to leave them again. In 1802 he married Mary Hutchinson, and in 1850 he died at his house at Rydal Mount.

Eighty years more barren of incident can hardly be conceived. Few landmarks indicate his progress to the calm existence which was to be his when he was worthy of himself. One fierce youthful fever of enthusiasm, one stormy chapter of disappointment, one brief outlook on the world, and he retired to meditate in lifelong seclusion. But bare though

the chronicle is, it marks distinctly enough the influences which shaped the growth of his mind. The impressions of boyhood, humanised by his revolutionary enthusiasm and deepened by lonely meditation, were the parents of those ideas of life in Nature, that sense of the elemental dignity of man, and that view of the moral relations between man and Nature, which is the core of his poetic thought and his ethical teaching. The conscious realisation of the kinship between man and Nature is the new and original element which Wordsworth introduced into English poetry. His interpretation of Nature differs from the unreflective delight of earlier poetry; it does not depend on the associations of natural beauty with historic incident which to Scott constituted its charm. It is unlike the feeling which searches Nature for apt illustrations of human life and conduct. It is not akin to the realism of the eighteenth century, for to Thomson the lines on which man and Nature move seemed parallel; with Wordsworth they converge. It differs finally from the view of Coleridge, who saw in Nature only the projection of his mind, the shroud or wedding garment of his own thought. Wordsworth conceives of man and Nature as two distinct and separate, yet kindred and reciprocal, manifestations of the mind of God; the complement rather than the counterpart of each other, concentric rather than coincident, each imperfect without the other, and consummating in their preordained harmony the *pleroma*, the ideal perfection of both. The revelation of this underlying unity is the keynote alike of his poetry and his ethics. It is the fuel which feeds his intellectual passion, a passion which is always latent, though it sometimes eludes notice by the white intensity of its heat. In handling this subject the whole man was working; reason co-operated with imagination, heart with intellect, feeling with reflection; and

‘poetic numbers came  
Spontaneously to clothe in priestly robe  
A renovated spirit singled out,  
Such hope was mine, for holy services.’

When, as in time it did, the fire of humanitarian enthusiasm ceased to burn in his veins, the vital soul died within him; the glow of inspiration was chilled; the intuition which tears away the veil of sense becomes a didactic impulse; the metre grows vague, the thought desultory; we pass from the deep sea of imaginative poetry into the shallows of declamation and of eloquence.

'The Prelude' is the introduction, 'The Excursion' the second book, of Wordsworth's unfinished poem on man, nature, and society. The whole poem was to be called 'The Recluse,' and was designed to consist of three parts, of which the second only was completed. The first book of the first part of 'The Recluse' is now, as we have said, for the first time printed in its entirety. It is a record of the feelings with which Wordsworth in 1799 retired to Grasmere to meditate upon the theme which he had selected:

'Paradise, and groves  
Elysian, Fortunate fields—like those of old  
Sought in the Atlantic Main—why should they be  
A history only of departed things,  
Or a mere fiction of what never was?  
For the discerning intellect of Man,  
When wedded to this goodly universe  
In love and holy passion, shall find these  
A simple produce of the common day.  
—I, long before the blissful hour arrives,  
Would chant, in lonely peace, the spousal verse  
Of this great consummation;—and, by words  
Which speak of nothing more than what we are,  
Would I arouse the sensual from their sleep  
Of Death, and win the vacant and the vain  
To noble raptures; while my voice proclaims  
How exquisitely the individual Mind  
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less  
Of the whole species) to the external World  
Is fitted;—and how exquisitely, too—  
Theme this but little heard of among men—  
The external World is fitted to the Mind;  
And the creation (by no lower name  
Can it be called) which they with blended might  
Accomplish;—this is our high argument.'

This passage from 'The Recluse' supplies the key to the creative impulse of Wordsworth's imagination, in the exercise of which he has had no rival since the days of Milton. It condenses into a few lines the essence of his conceptions of man, Nature, and society, which are expanded and illustrated in all his finest work. No one to whom the passage is obscure is able to criticise 'The Recluse' from the poet's own point of view, still less to pass an adequate judgement on the ethical merits of his teaching. Yet it is probable that to all except close students of his verse the lines convey no very definite meaning. If this be so, the best assistance that can be given to the general appreciation of this beautiful and characteristic poem, which bears on every line the

impress of his ethical teaching, is to trace the growth of the conceptions here embodied, and to follow the steps by which Wordsworth himself became 'wedded to this goodly universe 'in love and holy passion.'

The full explanation of the passage records the growth of Wordsworth's 'interpretative instinct,' the developement of his spirit of divination, the training of the 'inward eye,' on the keenness and penetrating power of which rest his claims both as a poet and a teacher. In the germ, in the embryo, this same interpretative instinct is the latent possession of most men. But with Wordsworth it was, in its origin, abnormally powerful from the natural richness of his sensuous equipment, and it was never suffered to remain quiescent or to be impaired by disuse, but was from the first cultivated by assiduous exercise to the utmost possible pitch of perfection. Thus trained, it becomes the power of direct vision with which he penetrates Nature's 'open secret,' and apprehends, in the world without, a soul outside himself, and not the projected image of his own mind. It is by the exercise of this power that he spanned, as he believed, the gulf—deep, wide, and bottomless as science makes it—which separates man from Nature. Nature's forms interpret him to himself; her symbols express his subtlest thought; she has correspondences for his most soaring aspirations, affinities for his most elevated moods, answers for his deepest questionings. She explains to him his own significance. And as with arrowy glance he passes from grade to grade among the forms of Nature, stripping from each their accidents till his eye rested on their essential life, he grasps her unity in the midst of her diversity; he sees in her what, from analogy to himself, he calls a soul; he receives mystic hints of personality; he catches flashes from a living will akin to his own. Such a report rests on no formal proof, and proceeds on no principles of scientific discovery. It is brought by vision, by intuition, by feeling, not given by reasoning or by demonstration. It is an immediate, not a cumulative, result, seizing rather than verifying truth. Yet who will affirm, beyond all shade of doubt or question, that what the seer sees has no existence? that his vision cannot penetrate where processes of reasoning fail? that the eye of the imaginative poet, trained and disciplined to abnormal power, may not discern shapes where the intellect alone reports only darkness? in a word, that his poetry is not, as Wordsworth himself said it ought to be, 'the breath and 'finer spirit of all knowledge'?



On the scientific use of Wordsworth's imagination, on the reality of the truths which he reported, on the value of his revelations of the moral relations of man with Nature, no opinion is here offered. The record of the growth of the intuitional faculty is the present object. Its history is briefly this. He starts from the instinctive feelings of childhood, the simple gladness mingled with vague fear in the presence of Nature. Thence he passes into the boy's exuberant delight in physical existence, and, as a dim sense of her personal life grows upon him, to the calmer pleasures of her companionship. Who has not felt himself now soothed or agitated, now solemnised or alarmed, now awed or attracted, now charmed or repelled, now saddened or exhilarated, by the moods and aspects of Nature? Whence do these effects arise if not from a correspondence between the mind of Nature and the mind of man? This unconscious sense of kinship is the secret of the child's simple delight, of the boy's wild joy. When instinct becomes reason and impulse principle, when the relationship is consciously and intellectually realised, when, that is, Wordsworth perceives the reciprocal influence which he and Nature exercise over one another, these unconscious feelings pass into love. It is love founded on mutual understanding; love based upon the thought that each scene bears a definite expression which is the index of character, and that the spirit of every spot, leaf, or stone converses with his own spirit. And so he reaches forward through the diversity to the underlying unity, and conceives the idea that Nature is one vast organic being breathing life through all its myriad forms, by which he can hold communion with the spirit of the whole. And here his love of Nature is humanised by his humanitarian enthusiasm. The consciousness of the working of his own mind upon Nature and of her reciprocal influence upon himself leads him from his relations to Nature to his relations to his fellow men. Driven down, as will be presently explained, to the primitive elements of humanity, he there finds the same unity in diversity which he had already discovered in Nature, and the same correspondences of feeling which he had felt between himself and the spirit of the universe. Both man and Nature are manifestations of the thought of the same being, in the one case individualised, in the other localised. And so he reaches the conclusion that the soul of man and the soul of Nature are fitted by eternal affinities to one another, each the complement of the other each interpreting and educating the other towards

that complete union which is the consummation of the ideal perfection of both. His mystical feeling for Nature is thus deepened by his moral faith in man, and he blends the two together in a spiritual religion which worships a personal God as the lifegiving source of all creation. Hand in hand with this poetic belief advances his ethical teaching. The two proceed *pari passu*, and cannot be separated. The 'spousal consummation' of which he speaks is only possible when men consciously obey the elemental instincts of their primitive nature, renewing the innocence and love and purity of childhood, neither contaminated by the artificialities of life, nor sucked into the eddy of its haste, its rivalries, and its competitions.

This is a brief analysis of Wordsworth's view of man and Nature, and of their moral relations to each other. We propose to trace its growth in fuller detail.

Even in infancy, and as a babe in arms, the river Derwent, blending with his nurse's song, had given him

'A foretaste, a dim earnest of the calm  
That Nature breathes among the hills and groves.'

Already he experienced, though he knew it not, the affinity of the forces within him and without. Already he felt the primitive instinct, the innate mysterious faculty which drew him towards Nature. The same stream became his playmate when he made 'one long bathing of a summer's day,' and under this silent constant education the child grew in years. At Hawkshead school we see him a twofold creature. On the one side is the ordinary schoolboy, the young barbarian climbing the Yewdale crags to take the raven's nest, setting springes for woodcock, flying his kite on the hilltops, fishing up the course of mountain brooks, hissing over the glassy surface of Esthwaite upon skates till every icy crag tinkled with iron, sweeping over the plain of Windermere in the rivalry of a boat race, or, when his purse was full, scouring the country on horseback. On the other side we see the imaginative visionary child, gazing on the face of Nature with simple unreflecting gladness, lying awake on summer nights to watch the moon couched in all her splendour among the leaves of the tall ash that grew near the cottage, creeping from the door to watch the dawn steal over sky and earth, contemplating the lights and shades as they marched and countermarched upon the fells, fleeing from the shadow of the huge peak of Wetherlam that strode after him like a living thing, wandering through the quiet woods till he felt his

presence an intrusion on their calm, pursued by sounds of undistinguishable motion, which followed with steps almost as silent as the turf they strode, listening to the ghostly language of the ancient earth, seeing the visions of the hills, standing among the presences of Nature, or communing in reverence, yet also in mighty fear, with the souls of lonely places, having none to whom he might confess the things he saw and heard. So, gradually, he learns to treat each form of Nature as a living thing, a person distinct from himself, endowed with will and character, feelings and plans, joys and sorrows, similar to, yet not identical with, his own. At first this sense of unknown, invisible modes of being is dim and undetermined, and the feeling of union which attracts is hardly stronger than the fear which repels. Then, in lonely intercourse, vague dread dies away. To it succeeds a wild delight, an extrinsic passion. This is the time when the colours and forms of Nature were to him appetites, sources of immediate joy, that stood in need of no 'remoter charm by 'thought supplied.' It is the season of his 'dizzy raptures.' He feels the pulse of Nature's life bound in time with his own; her heart, as he holds her forms to his embrace, throbs against his, and swells the tumultuous joy of physical existence,

'and thus did make  
The surface of the universal earth,  
With triumph and delight, with hope and fear,  
Work like a sea.'

Such influences of Nature upon human sensibility are common enough. But we are far removed from the simplicity of Chaucer's childlike gladness, and in these days of introverted thinking the physical ecstasy it induces is often dangerous. It stimulates voluptuous thought, or enervates the mind with the languor of swoon. Keats, with his delicate physical organisation tremblingly alive to every outward influence, could *feel* the daisies growing over him; Shelley, 'dizzy, lost, yet unbewailing,' was content to lose self-consciousness in the presence of Nature's majesty. But with Wordsworth the physical delight was only a stage in mental growth. Even in unconscious childhood Nature's calmer influence tempered and subdued the physical rapture of his animal being. Even then the harvest of the bodily eye had sometimes seemed like something in himself, a prospect of the mind. At such moments he felt, though he did not consciously realise, her intellectual charm. At such times, with sudden influx she suggested thoughts to him, moulded

his feelings, influenced his mind and character. In the midst of boyish games the beauty and stillness of Nature would sink into his heart and hold him like a dream. Hitherto she had sought him, and not he her—sought him in the shocks of mild surprise, in chance collisions and quaint accidents. Now he passes from a timorous sense of the life of Nature, and from animal delight in her companionship, to a love which is based on a mutual understanding, a love which banishes fear and purifies pleasure, breathing in their place more elevated moods, and inspiring higher ideals. She no longer interrupts his sports with some incidental charm, subduing his ‘vulgar joy’ with solemn imagery; but he woos her with the persistency of a lover. He strives to read the meaning of each of her varying moods, to collect the different shades of character which each change of expression designated, to apprehend the inner spirit of every spot, to seize the invisible thing, the type, the heart of every scene. She occupies the first, and not a secondary, place in his affections. And these shadowy feelings grow distinct as the unconscious sense expands into a conscious realisation. As the mirror enlarges which everywhere reflects humanity; as the intercommunion becomes daily more intimate, and the harmony more sympathetic; as the impressions which emanated from particular scenes or aspects become living existences, responding with fuller answer to his deepening emotions; as the images of his own creation find their ready counterpart in the symbols of inanimate forms, and draw from them the life they gave, two results are produced. In the first place he grasps the idea of Nature as a breathing whole, an organic being with whom he can hold converse. She presents herself to his mind as a system, interpenetrated by law, in her unity as well as in her diversity; and he recognises a soul of Nature animating by its will the myriad forms of the universe, which draw their life from the same all-comprehending source. And in the second place he perceives the reciprocal influence that his mind exercises over Nature; through her he learns to know his own faculties; he sees that he is both a creator and a receiver, working in alliance with the works which he beholds, adding intensity and solemnity to their immediate effects. An ‘auxiliar light’ from his mind bestows new splendour on the setting sun, a deeper music to the songs of birds or the melodies of brooks, an intenser blackness to the midnight storm.

Day by day his loving intercourse grows more intimate; mind and Nature co-operate; each gives and receives some-

thing. The forms of the inanimate world answer to and awaken the images of the soul, and these in turn go forth from himself to evolve fresh harmonies in Nature. To all her aspects he became

‘as sensitive as waters are  
To the sky’s influence in a kindred mood  
Of passion; was obedient as a lute  
That waits upon the touches of the wind.’

In his intercourse with Nature he has preserved the glory of his child’s delight in all its freshness; the unconscious instinct has passed into the conscious love. He seeks what before came unsought; his blind faith becomes Argus-eyed, yet loses none of its warmth. And the action and reaction, as of living beings upon each other, kindle the fire of natural religion. He acknowledges the moral lessons that he gathered in communion with Nature. She had taught him, before he consciously realised the fact, her independence and repose, aroused his wonder and reverence, sharpened his instinct of worship. Through her he knew his own faculties; she developed his conscience, trained his imagination, elevated his soul with a sense of sublimity, and kindled it with the upward strivings of a noble restlessness. Hers was the gift that his youth was pure, ‘content with modest ‘pleasures,’ removed from ‘little enmities and low desires;’ hers too the gift of ‘more than Roman confidence,’ the faith

‘That fails not, in all sorrow my support,  
The blessings of my life; the gift is yours,  
Ye winds and sounding cataracts! ‘tis yours,  
Ye mountains! thine, O Nature! Thou hast fed  
My lofty speculations; and in thee,  
From this uneasy heart of ours, I find  
A never failing principle of joy  
And purest passion.’

Thus Wordsworth through boyish impressions passed without a break from instinct to conviction, from intuition to perception, from apprehension to comprehension, from unreflective gladness to conscious love for Nature as a living separate being. On the other hand, it was mainly the French Revolution which added a human-heartedness to this love, and gave it an ethical value. So powerful was the effect of that movement that it revolutionised Wordsworth’s view of life. Hitherto Nature was all in all to him; but the world in which he lived was exclusively his own; the riches he discovered were his private store, his individual possession. The time was at hand when the selfish love of Nature was

dethroned from its sovereignty, and made way for the broader enthusiasm of humanity. Yet here, too, Nature was his earliest teacher. His first ideal of man was unconsciously modelled on the homeliness, simplicity, freedom, and independence of the shepherds of his native mountains. Their traditions were associated with many of Nature's shrines; their figures served as foregrounds to her pictures, and upon their characters she seemed to bestow some of her own sanctities. The instinctive ideal once rooted in his sturdy mind survived the contact of reality both at Cambridge and in London. It grew up among the primitive instincts of his soul, associated with the recollections of childhood, drawing its strength from the 'genial faith,' the 'natural piety' of youth. And as his love of Nature passed from instinct to reasoning love, so his faith in humanity grew from intuition into conviction. Looking, as he did, for universal things in the inanimate world, and scanning the common countenance of earth and sky for vestiges of the first Paradise, he had seen the unity of Nature in the midst of her variety. So now in the common attributes of humanity he found the elemental unity, the universal mould. His instinct was sanctioned by reason. As nature's unity was represented in one living soul, so also the universal brotherhood of man sprang from a universal fatherhood. He saw the golden side of the shield. He clung to his confidence in human potentialities for good, and round his pastoral ideal of human innocence collected the new hopes which were nourished by his deepening sense of the brotherhood of nations and of individuals.

Thus far Wordsworth's strong independent mind had advanced alone and without a guide. He was but one among the millions to whose inarticulate yearnings the French Revolution gave definite expression. Like Rousseau he felt the unheeded harmonies that link the soul of man to the soul of Nature; like him again, he realised the supreme importance of the primary affections of mankind; like him he returned to the universal attributes, the common elements both of man and Nature, in order to find the *Etre Suprême* to whom alone he acknowledged obedience. The essential dignity and godlike power of man, as well as the superiority of simple over artificial life, were the chaotic ideas of his mind to which the French Revolution gave shape and meaning. Steeped in the republicanism of Nature, and nurtured in mountain liberty, he despised external differences of rank or wealth, and hated scenes of civilised life because they seemed to him to close the avenues of feeling, and to destroy

the child's heart of love, delight, wonder, and awe. Is it, then, surprising that liberty, equality, and fraternity came to him like a new revelation of the Gospel? It spoke the language of his 'dear native region,' revived memories of the unchartered liberty of his boyhood, recalled the pastoral virtues of the dalesmen and shepherds. It breathed upon his face with the fresh free air of the Westmoreland hills. Thus it is that his poetry gives the most vivid picture, painted by one who was an actor and not a mere spectator, of that marvellous time when men awakened from a charmed sleep to see

'France standing on the top of golden hours.'

Like many men of his time he believed that he stood between two worlds, the one foot lingering on the ruins of the older age, the other touching the threshold of the new. And as yet he knew not that though the one might perish, the other was powerless to be born. He saw the future sleeping in the present, the deathlike dream of beauty ready to start to life from the unhewn masses of rugged humanity. From the wreck of the Bastille rose before his excited eyes 'a golden palace, the appointed seat of equitable law and mild 'paternal sway.' In the vision of a regenerated world, in the bright haze of the prospect that stretched illimitably before him, he ignored the dark side to the picture. He snatched fresh hope from transitory death, and even rejoiced in the defeats and disasters of England. Like Victor Hugo he saw the wall of the ages shake, totter, crumble, fall; the eternal barrier was rent; through the wide aperture glowed the golden treasures of futurity, a sinless Eden, an earthly Paradise bathed in the sunshine of millennial hope.

Then follows the reaction of bitter disappointment. The Reign of Terror, the war between England and France, the rise of Napoleon, turned enthusiasm to deep despondency. His romantic ideal was shattered. How did he bear the shock? Did it drive him, like Coleridge, to the labyrinth of metaphysical speculation to escape the phantom which had mocked his hopes, the Frankenstein of his own creation that he had unloosed but could not bind? Did it destroy his faith or make him a sceptic as it did Byron? Did it inflame the vehemence of his hope in the Gospel of his youth till he throws, like Shelley, present actualities to the winds? For a time he tells us that his heart lay dead. He ceased to feel, and exercised only his understanding or his observation. He lost his sense of universal humanity, and with it his feel-

ing of the living soul of Nature. He analysed, divided, isolated phenomena, and so

‘substitutes a universe of death  
For that which moves with light and life informed,  
Actual, divine and true.’

For the time he lapsed into a mere critic. On the side of Nature he became a superficial observer of outside beauty, an analyst of combinations of colours and proportions; on the side of humanity an abstract theorist, a political philosopher, a speculator on social problems, a constructor of Utopias and Pantisocracies. Like his own Solitary he sighed for the Mississippi or the Susquehannah. He ceased to employ his heart, sat in judgement upon natural scenes, fell under the absolute dominion of the bodily eye. His inner faculties were laid to sleep.

Once more Nature saved him from this thralldom of the senses. His sister Dorothy and the study of abstract science aided him to throw off the burden of his unnatural self. Mathematics and geometry, dealing with truths that are independent of time and space, telling of relations not necessarily connected with weight or quality, restored his sense of the eternal. They taught him again to recognise in the ordered beauty of Nature a simplicity which condemns temporal and visible artificialities. They exhibited real and everlasting laws which reprove the distractions and survive the fluctuations of human life. Under these influences his love renewed its youth as he aspired beyond the seen and visible. He closed the barren leaves of art, and went forth into the inanimate world with ‘a heart that watches and receives.’ Once again the breath of heaven stirs a correspondent breeze within his soul; he feels again the intelligent influence which the spirit of the universe exercises upon the mind, hears again the note to which mankind may tune its perplexed variations. And with the revival of his saving intercourse with Nature, he regained his trust and confidence in man. His extravagant hopes assumed more just proportions; his sanguine schemes of regenerating the world were abandoned; abstract rights and theories lost their temporary hold upon his mind; he learned to discover present good in the familiar world around him, and on this to build his hopes of the future.

The French Revolution had humanised his love of Nature; its failure deepened his views of her moral relations to man. First unconsciously, then consciously, Nature had moulded



his character, stirring within him ennobling thoughts, presenting him with her affinities to all that was morally sublime and beautiful, till every object was symbolic of some elemental virtue, every sound eloquent of primitive emotions, every scene significant of some higher meaning. The promptings of Nature were in fact identical with the most elevated form of reason; the natural impulses of the one were the purest dictates of the other. In both he saw signs of a Divine order in the world. As he had passed from unconscious delight in Nature to conscious love, and from intuitions to reasoned convictions of man's essential dignity, so morally the problem of the ethical teacher was to develop instincts into principles, to give to Nature's impulses the sanction of reason. Nature and man were thus fitted to be the complement of each other. And these innate affinities, these implanted correspondences, could alone proceed from identity of origin. Both the promptings of Nature and the dictates of reason were manifestations of a Supreme Being who had designed in their blended voices a majestic symphony. To recognise the kinship of Nature, to obey her instincts as principles of reason, was to conform to the Divine order of the universe; this conformity was the 'spousal consummation,' this was man's wedding to this 'goodly universe' not only 'in love' but in 'holy passion' also. Thus Wordsworth's moral faith deepened his mystical feeling for Nature till he passed from natural piety to spiritual religion, recognising in the symbolism of Nature and the corresponding emotions of the heart the voice of a personal God. If a pantheistic tone may be here and there detected in his poetry, it is but the poet's confession of his difficulty to realise the unity of Nature. The real habit of Wordsworth's mind is to recognise a personal Creator. In each of the myriad forms of Nature lived, and was continuously working, the creative energy of His thought, revealing to us His love in Nature's interchange of unselfish sympathy, His ineffable calm in her deep tranquillity, His joy in all His works in the gladness of her jocund company.

'O then how beautiful, how bright, appeared  
The written promise! Early had he learned  
To reverence the volume that displays  
The mystery, the life which cannot die;  
But in the mountains did he *feel* his faith.

Thus in 1799, the date when 'The Recluse' was ostensibly written, Wordsworth returns to his native hills, there to build up his moral being, free from the petty pursuits of the

busy world, translating instinct into reason by the light of the associations of his childhood, using even his heaviest sorrows as stepping-stones of progress, dedicating all his gifts to the revelation of what Nature might become to man as a power of good and as a strength of life.

‘Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak  
A lasting inspiration, sanctified  
By reason, blest by faith ; what we have loved,  
Others will love, and we will teach them how ;  
Instruct them how the mind of man becomes  
A thousand times more beautiful than the earth  
On which he dwells, above this frame of things  
(Which, ’mid all revolution in the hopes  
And fears of men, doth still remain unchanged)  
In beauty exalted, as it is itself  
Of quality and fabric more Divine.’

And what light does this sketch of the growth of Wordsworth’s poetic philosophy throw upon the meaning of ‘*The Recluse*,’ and on the mental condition of the poet at the time it was written?

After the lapse of many years the poet returns to Grasmere, there to make his permanent home. First Nature invited, and now Reason sanctions the choice. Originally he had reached the spot one golden summer holiday, a thoughtless, roving schoolboy. He had gazed upon the scene with unreflective pleasure, the simple gladness of youth. And yet, with a shock of mild surprise, a sudden influx of more elevated feeling, Nature subdued the exuberant rapture of his unconscious delight. She held him spell-bound with a sense of her seclusion, and, sighing, he had said :

‘What happy fortune were it here to live !  
And if a thought of dying, if a thought  
Of mortal separation, could intrude,  
With Paradise before him, here to die !’

Here was Nature seeking him out, teaching him to know and realise her, taming the wilder emotions, the vulgar joys of his boyish heart. The sense of seclusion sinking into his mind, holding it like a dream, and solemnising his feelings, was like the calm which subdued to the stillness of the scene the frolics of the band of water fowl that gambolled on the lake, or like the voice of the lordly birds that, heard from the sky, admonished man of the silence of the heavens. As she had taken the child Lucy to be ‘a lady of her own,’ so Nature had selected him, not, indeed, to be her ‘darling,’ but for the holy office of her high priest. She kindled and

restrained his feelings, made him conscious of the silence and the calm of mute insensate things, and, already his impulse, was soon to be his law. She was dealing with him

‘as with a turbulent stream,  
Some nursling of the mountains which she leads  
Through quiet meadows, after he has learnt  
His strength, and had his triumph and his joy,  
His desperate course of tumult and of glee.’

The boy was no prophet to foretell the future. The wish seemed but a passing fancy, a pleasing thought. Yet Nature had prompted it, and now the unconscious wish was a deliberate choice. Nature's invitation was the dictate of enlightened reason. His coming was the translation of instinct into resolution, the transformation of impulse into a determined principle of action. A choice thus prompted by Nature and sanctioned by Reason could never mislead. No lover of Wordsworth's poetry requires to be reminded how much of his finest verse turns on those implanted intuitions, those primary facts of our spiritual existence, which give to childhood its deep interest, and invest early associations, or, to speak more correctly, early affinities, with their surprising power. To obey instinct as a principle of action was to conform to the Divine order, and to carry out the preordained harmony.

The keynote of the poem is struck, and Wordsworth proceeds to show that the doubts which the prudent man of the world might express on the wisdom of the step are needless. He is confident in the divine wisdom of the choice; his childish hope is fulfilled; his dear imaginations are realised even beyond their own measure. Here he finds seclusion without solitude. The thought of the Vale of Grasmere had never left him. To his mind's eye it was ever as beautiful as it had been to the bodily eye. It was even more beautiful. For thought had worked on the visible scene, stripped it of all its accidents, given it emotional intensity, added the charm of feeling, read the peculiar character of which the general expression was the index, and discovered the special spirit that tenanted the Vale. And so when he describes Grasmere it is this imaginative creation that he reproduces; he makes no inventory of the beauties of the spot, but reveals the essential spirit of the scene.

‘Tis, but I cannot name it, 'tis the sense  
Of majesty, and beauty, and repose,  
A blended holiness of earth and sky,  
Something that makes the individual spot,

This small abiding place of many men,  
A termination, and a last retreat,  
A centre, come from wheresoe'er you will,  
A whole without dependence or defect,  
Made for itself, and happy in itself,  
Perfect contentment, Unity entire.'

This imaginative rendering of Nature is one of Wordsworth's highest gifts. It is a new element in English poetry. Nor was it possible that it should be introduced so long as delight was unreflective, or so long as man and Nature seemed to move in parallel not converging lines. But when the sense of kinship between man and Nature was consciously realised, when their affinities were recognised, when their reciprocal influences were perceived, then the imagination working upon the passive impression blended thought and matter, produced the new creation, and added

'the gleam,  
The light that never was, on sea or land,  
The consecration, and the Poet's dream.'

But this creative work of the imagination is only possible when the relations of Nature with man are felt to be similar but not identical, akin yet not alike, corresponding rather than coincident. Wordsworth's strong grasp of this separation between two similar but distinct modes of being produced two characteristic excellences—the freshness and healthiness of its tone. It would be difficult to mention one indisputable instance in all his poetry of what Mr. Ruskin has called the 'pathetic fallacy.' Wordsworth never, that is, imputes to Nature his own feelings and moods. He uses the same terms to express the similarity of human and natural life. Language admits of no other. But Nature remains outside himself, preserving her own independent will, passions, and emotions, refusing to allow man to impose himself upon her. If he is perturbed she sends him her mood of calm; if angered her love, if sorrowful her joy. Thus it is that Wordsworth forgets himself in Nature, converses with her as with a human friend, consults her as the wisest of teachers. And hence there is nothing morbid in his poetry; but it is always fresh, healthy, invigorating.

The companionship of Nature as a distinct being for himself is the chief guarantee against solitude in his seclusion, and as such is the subject of half the poem. But there is one passage in 'The Recluse' which forcibly illustrates the difference between herself and Wordsworth, and how she preserves her independence from the imposition of his feel-

ings. It is the passage beginning, 'Stern was the face of 'Nature,' and continuing for the next twenty lines. It describes how the two wanderers, Wordsworth and his sister, enter the valley and are received by Nature. Ready sympathy with the newcomers is the feeling that Wordsworth would naturally wish, if he projected his own mind on Nature, to impute to trees, and brooks, and shower, and the spirit of the Vale. But she is much too human in her moods, too separate from himself. Her face is almost forbidding; she is suspicious of the travellers; she rejects their overtures; for two long months she puts them to the test, and only when she finds them true begins to love them.

Yet while thus recognising the separation he is keenly alive to the similarity. Nature reflects man; she is the mirror in which he sees himself. And seeing how deeply impressed he was with these reciprocal affinities and the borrowed charm with which thought invests natural beauty, it is not fanciful to trace to this feeling his many references to the pictures painted in the water or on the ice with the added softness of the substance which reflects. Thus in the exquisite description of the swallows he notes how they

' Tempt the smooth water, or the gleaming ice,  
To show them a fair image,—'tis themselves,  
Their own fair forms upon the glimmering plain  
Painted more soft and fair as they descend,  
Almost to touch.'

Or again :

' See yonder the same pageant, and again  
Behold the universal imagery  
Inverted, all its sun-bright features touched  
As with the varnish and the gloss of dreams.  
Dreamlike the blending also of the whole  
Harmonious landscape; all along the shore  
The boundary lost—the line invisible  
That parts the image from reality :  
And the clear hills, as high as they ascend  
Heavenward, so deep piercing the lake below.'

There is, then, no solitude in the Vale of Grasmere. All Nature is alive and instinct with feeling. The hills are not the repellent antisocial beings they might have appeared to Byron, but the framework of a pastoral community, its guardians and protectors. The Vale itself smiles with pleasure at the sight of her own beauty, and loves the poet whom she finds faithful.

And besides inanimate Nature he has for his companion

man—man, free, independent, manly; untutored, it may be, yet capable of high feeling, his selfishness refined by his surroundings, his self-interest redeemed by love. Every spot, field, or tree is sanctified by human interests, or has afforded matter for human thought. And so the whole Vale is alive with human interests—

‘Swarms with sensation, as with gleams of sunshine,  
Shadows or breezes, scents or sounds.’

Wordsworth’s poetry is so often treated either from the human or from the natural side that it is worth while calling attention to this passage, because it illustrates how Wordsworth never divides man from Nature. In his mind they are always blended.

Nor are the trees and brooks and mountains of the Vale or its human inmates his only companions. He has his animal friends, the small grey horse that bears the paralytic man, and equally the ass on which the maimed cripple rides, the famous sheep dog of the Vale, and no less the blind man’s neglected cur, the thrush, the blackbird, the eagles from Helvellyn, the owl of Owlet Crag, the heifer in the croft, the swans upon the lake—all these, high and low alike, will be his friends.

Here, then, he can be secluded yet not alone. Secure, even in solitude, of companionship either with man or animate or inanimate Nature, he returned to Grasmere. And if there was much which on its poetic side drew him to the spot, the moral attractions were scarcely less strong. Wordsworth had left behind him his ambitions; his vision of immediate liberty had vanished; he had dismissed his Arcadian dreams and golden fancies. Man among the hills is but the common creature of the brotherhood, differing little from man elsewhere. He has now no romantic hope of perfect love, no visionary expectation that the inhabitants of these valleys are sanctified by the sanctities of Nature, the hallowed dwellers in a holy place. He knows the world to which he comes, knows it to be one where life is not unruffled nor manners untainted. His heart is not depressed by ‘unwelcome things;’ he neither fears nor overlooks the truth. Yet he believes that, if true to himself, he will recognise that the dwellers are not unworthy of their dwelling. He compares himself to the stranger who, journeying through some ‘Helvetian dell,’ finds

‘In every quarter something visible  
Half seen or wholly, lost and found again,  
Alternate progress and impediment,  
And yet a growing prospect in the main.’

From extravagant hopes the disappointment of the French Revolution had set him free; he had recognised the impossibility of his social theories based upon abstract rights. He will take life as a whole, and make the best of it. Yet, though his ideal of pastoral innocence is shattered, the spot in which it was first conceived still possesses many advantages. The social machine of cities does not here destroy the individual, nor its busy life absorb him in petty pursuits, nor the vastness of its misery overwhelm his humanity by a sense of helplessness. Here society is a true community, a household under paternal sway for men and brutes, for high and low. Here labour is a glad function natural to man and rosy with health, not an arbitrary task, destroying the living souls of the pale inmates of crowded courts. Here extremes of penury are unknown: misery is not too vast for pity, nor humanity overwhelmed by numbers. Here each tiller of the soil is master of the field he tills, and is nurtured in manly independence. In such surroundings he finds a wealth of joy.

'Yet 'tis not to enjoy that we exist,  
For that end only : something must be done.'

He hears the call to impart to others the thoughts that are his sole exclusive possession; he feels that he is divinely taught and privileged to speak

'Of what in man is human or divine.'

For this office he was trained by Nature. She turned his mind from feats of daring, forlorn enterprises, or deadly conflicts. These were not to be the subjects of his song. And now

'That which in stealth by Nature was performed,  
Hath Reason sanctioned; her deliberate Voice  
Hath said; be mild, and cleave to gentle things,  
Thy glory and thy happiness be there.  
Nor fear, though thou confide in me, a want  
Of aspirations that have been—of foes  
To wrestle with, and victory to complete,  
Bounds to be leapt, darkness to be explored;  
All that inflamed thy infant heart, the love,  
The longing, the contempt, the undaunted quest,  
All shall survive, though changed their office, all  
Shall live, it is not in their power to die.'

As his return to Grasmere was a natural instinct converted into deliberate choice, so now the subject of his verse was dictated to him alike by Nature and by Reason. The choice was divinely ordained. There could be no chance of error. Therefore he bids farewell to the hopes of youth, and devotes

himself to that theme of Man and Nature and Human Life which the divine voice without him and within has selected. He will sing

‘Of Truth, of Grandeur, Beauty, Love, and Hope,  
And melancholy Fear subdued by Faith;  
Of blessed consolations in distress;  
Of moral strength, and intellectual Power;  
Of joy in widest commonalty spread;  
Of the individual Mind that keeps her own  
Inviolable retirement, subject there  
To Conscience only, and the law supreme  
Of that Intelligence which governs all.’

Then follows the passage which we quoted at the beginning of our sketch of Wordsworth’s poetic philosophy. The mind of man and beauty, the living presence of the earth, shall be ‘the haunt and the main region’ of his song, and when man is thus

‘wedded to this goodly universe  
In love and holy passion,’

he shall find that Paradise and Elysian groves and Fortunate Fields are the ‘simple produce of the common day.’

To this high argument, prompted by Nature and led by Reason, he dedicates himself, and thus concludes with a prayer, which in his life was most abundantly granted, to the ‘dread Power’

‘Whose gracious favour is the primal source  
Of all illumination—may my Life  
Express the image of a better time,  
More wise desires and simpler manners;—nurse  
My Heart in genuine freedom; all pure thoughts  
Be with me;—so shall thy unfailing love  
Guide, and support, and cheer me to the end!’



- ART. VII.—1. *Origin of Cultivated Plants*. By ALPHONSE DE CANDOLLE. London: 1884.
2. *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from their first Home*. By VICTOR HEHN. Edited by JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS. London: 1885.
3. *Report of the Fifty-third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at York, 1881. Address on Geographical Distribution*. By Sir J. D. HOOKER. London: 1882.
4. *Island Life; or, the Phenomena and Causes of Insular Faunas and Floras, including a Revision and attempted Solution of the Problem of Geological Climates*. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE. London: 1880.

ALTHOUGH the origin of the most useful plants is, as Humboldt observed, lost in obscurity, great advances have been made within the past thirty years in our knowledge of the history of plants and of those natural migrations by which they have been distributed over the surface of the globe.

We can strongly recommend Sir Joseph D. Hooker's presidential address to the geographical section of the British Association in 1881 as a capital *résumé* of the successful labours by which the history of plant distribution and the botany of the various countries of the world have been step by step unfolded. With the exception of De Candolle's latest book, all the leading modern works on the origin of species and the alliances of widely separated families of plants had been published in 1881, including the whole of Darwin's and Wallace's books. Sir Joseph Hooker's own work as a distinguished explorer of plant life in several extensive countries had been accomplished, and the lapse of eight more years would hardly have put him in a better position for delivering an address on botanical geography.

The science of the subject just named seems to have had its germ in the ingenious ideas of the learned French botanist and traveller, Tournefort, who first observed in ascending the mountains of Armenia in the interest of the *Jardin des Plantes* that the vegetations met with in such ascents represent those of successive higher latitudes. This idea of Tournefort's was further developed by Linnæus in his '*Stationes et Coloniae Plantarum*,' and it formed the first step in botanical geography. Linnæus, who was, like all

discoverers in this department, a traveller, was the first who gave attention to the topography of plants, defining, in the two books just named, their habitats and their stations, or the physical nature of their habitats, and even sketching pretty accurately an outline of the distribution of various plants as determined by climate, latitude, &c., as well as indicating the means of transport by wind, birds, and various other agencies—a kind of knowledge which has constantly increased at the hands of numerous observers, and to which Darwin devoted many pages in his chapters on geographical distribution in the ‘*Origin of Species*.’

The next great generaliser was the indefatigable and ever attractive Humboldt, who in one of the earlier works from his prolific pen dwelt on the floras he had met with in advancing from the equator to the poles, and in ascending mountains. He had found that some kinds of plants increase in numbers relatively to others in proceeding from the equator to the poles, as ferns, grasses, and trees bearing catkins, such as the alder, birch, and willow; others decrease, as Rubiaceæ, Malvaceæ, and Compositæ; whilst others, such as Labiatae and Cruciferae, are most abundant in temperate regions, and decrease in both directions. As the result of his researches, pursued with astonishing powers of observation and reflection and extraordinary industry and sagacity, Humboldt was enabled to lay down those isothermal lines which students of botanical distribution owe to him, and to become substantially the founder of a new department of geographical science.

Little further progress could now be made so long as the old ideas of the unalterable character of the surfaces and climates of the globe prevailed. Sir Charles Lyell’s works, however, were destined to disperse these old beliefs. In his ‘*Principles of Geology*’ he showed that the fauna of Sicily was older than the island it inhabits, having migrated thither before its separation from the continent of Italy. Darwin had made the same discovery when he recorded in his ‘*Journal of Researches*,’ 1839, the migration of animals into America in prehistoric times. ‘We may safely look,’ he says, ‘at this quarter [Behring’s Strait] as the line of communication (now interrupted by the steady progress of geological change) by which the elephant, the ox, and the horse entered America, and peopled its wide extent.’

Edward Forbes was another naturalist of genius who aided the work of these early pioneers. In several papers and

memoirs written more than fifty years ago he demonstrated that our British flora consisted of several assemblages of plants which had immigrated at periods when these islands were united to the adjacent continent, and which had still remained more or less localised. The oldest of these assemblages he described as the Pyrenean group, peculiar to the west of Ireland, which it entered along a chain of now submerged mountains that extended across the Atlantic from Spain to Ireland. A second assemblage characteristic of the south-west of France now prevails in Devon, Cornwall, and the Channel Islands; a third belongs to the north-east of France, whence it passed into our south-eastern counties in the era of the mammaliferous crag; a fourth was introduced from Scandinavia by the floating ice of the glacial period, when the mountain tops of our submerged country formed part of a chain of islands in the glacial sea connecting us with Norway. This assemblage consists of the alpine plants of Scotch, English, and Welsh mountains. Besides these there is the Germanic group of plants which entered these islands before their separation from the continent and during their upheaval from the glacial ocean, when the temperature was increasing, and which are still more abundant on the eastern side though spread throughout the kingdom.

At these stages of investigation, when the modes of dispersion of species, genera, and families had been traced, the representation of species, and the alliances which exist between groups of plants widely and effectually separated, were mysteries which had not been accounted for. Species being permanent and special creations in the popular belief, it was maintained that the different localities in which they were found must have presented conditions so similar that they favoured the creation of similar organisms. Unfortunately for this theory, it was found that in numerous cases no such similarity of physical conditions existed.

It is needless to dwell on pre-Darwinian theories formed in the dark. In remarking on the doctrine of the orderly evolution of species under known laws, and on those recognised principles of the science of geographical distribution which must guide all who enter on its pursuit, Sir Joseph Hooker mentions the three greatest names in this department in the following apt sentence: 'As Humboldt was its founder, and 'Forbes its reformer, so we must regard Darwin as its latest 'and greatest lawgiver.' In showing that the modification of species after migration and isolation is only a question

of time and changed physical conditions, he explained the leading facts of distribution—

‘such as the multiplication of new forms, the importance of barriers in forming and separating zoological and botanical provinces, the concentration of related species in the same area, the linking together under different latitudes of the inhabitants of the plains and mountains, of the forests, marshes, and deserts, and the linking of these with the extinct beings which formerly inhabited the same areas; and the fact of different forms of life occurring in areas having nearly the same physical conditions.’

In ‘Island Life’ Mr. A. Russel Wallace endeavours to determine those conditions of the globe which existed anterior to our epoch, and which affected the distribution both of plants and animals over its surface. That Ireland was united with Britain, and Britain with the Continent, is proved by a variety of evidence; by the shallowness of the intervening seas, the submerged forests of the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, of the Bristol Channel, and at Cromer in Norfolk; and by the evidence of caves containing antlers of the reindeer, and the remains of animals which had been devoured by bears and hyænas on the face of the high sea cliffs of Glamorganshire. An interesting chapter in ‘Island Life’ is devoted to evidence of this kind, and to the effect of a former union with the Continent on the migration of plants. It is remarkable that there are no species of plants accepted by botanists as good species peculiar to the British Isles. The half-dozen good species of brambles of Professor Babington’s British Rubi are not accepted by other botanists as true species; while the few flowering plants peculiar to these islands are either varieties or subspecies, such as *Helianthemum Breweri*, an annual rock rose, found only in Anglesea and Holyhead Island; *Rosa hibernica*, found only in North Britain and Ireland; *Enanthe fluviatilis*, a water dropwort, found only in the south of England and in one locality in Ireland; and *Hieracium iricum*, a hawkweed of North Britain and Ireland.

There are, however, two species of plants found respectively in the north-west and west of Ireland, which do not occur in the European flora, and are natives of North America, and with these we may class the Irish filmy fern, *Trichomanes radicans*, which is found in the south-west of Ireland and Wales, was formerly extant in Yorkshire, and has no station in Continental Europe, except, perhaps, the south-west of Spain, though it is common in the Azores, Madeira, and the Canary Islands, and in many tropical countries. As these

plants are truly indigenous, and were not introduced by human agency, we have named them as conspicuous examples of natural migration, and of the difficulties attending our subject. Even in the case of twenty species or subspecies of flowering plants named by Mr. Wallace, and chiefly continental, it is not easy to explain why they should be found in Ireland and not in Britain. Mr. Wallace's explanation is that 'they probably had a wider range in mild preglacial times, and have been preserved in the south and west of Ireland owing to its milder climate. It must be remembered that during the height of the glacial epoch Ireland was continental, so that these plants may have followed the retreating ice to their present stations, and survived the subsequent depression. This seems more probable than that so many species should have reached Ireland for the first time during the last union with the continent, subsequent to the glacial epoch.'

As an isolated volcanic mass built up from the edge of a profound oceanic gulf 17,160 feet deep, St. Helena owes none of its indigenous vegetation to a former union with any continent, and its characteristics must be precisely the opposite to those of Britain. We should expect to find a native flora of a very ancient type, and accordingly Sir Joseph Hooker tells us that forty of the fifty indigenous flowering plants of St. Helena, and ten of the twenty-six ferns, are absolutely peculiar to the island, and, 'with scarcely an exception, cannot be regarded as very close specific allies of any other plants at all. Seventeen of them belong to peculiar genera, and of the others all differ so markedly as species from their congeners that not one comes under the category of being an insular form of a continental species.' As to the original source of the vegetation of St. Helena we can only suggest the route of the earliest migration of some species of the ferns. Sixteen of these are not peculiar to the island, but are common either to Africa, India, or America; and this suggests migration of species carried by the wind. The identity of species of ferns found in countries widely separated from St. Helena does not imply a recent origin of the island, for such is the great stability of some of the generic and specific forms of ferns that many of those which have been fossilised and preserved in miocene strata of Switzerland were found by the surprised botanist who first compared them to present the slightest possible divergence from living species.

Sir Joseph Hooker believes that the affinities of the flora

of St. Helena generally are mainly African; and when we consider that in spite of ocean currents and of large seeds which have been stranded on the shores of St. Helena, and have germinated there after floating round the Cape of Good Hope from Madagascar or Mauritius, no existing or known method of migration can be suggested to account for the earliest evergreen mantle which covered this luxuriant island, we are borne to the conclusion that there must have been earlier mutations of the globe's surface than those which the geological maps of the world make us acquainted with. Moderate changes, however, might have sufficed, and especially that which geologic evidence confirms, the existence of intermediary islands which have now disappeared, though their sites are indicated by the presence of shoals in deep oceans.

It is evident that the earliest distribution of animal and vegetable life in a country must have been determined by geological changes, and on this hypothesis it is no longer mysterious that some plants should be natives alike of North America and of Europe, and of Europe and Australia, though they are absent from all the intervening countries. It ceases to surprise us that some of the Alpine species, primulas and saxifrages, are common both to the Arctic and Antarctic regions, having the wide world and its tropics between them, that the aquatic plants should be so widely dispersed although one system of water is as completely isolated from another as those various areas of land which are separated by barriers that appear insurmountable, that three cedars growing in English shrubberies now side by side, the Deodar, the Cedar of Lebanon, and the African Silver Cedar, which, according to Dr. Hooker, are but forms of one species, should have their original stations as far apart as the slopes of the mountains of Northern India, Syria, and the upper plateaus of the Atlas mountains.

The presence of Arctic plants in southern floras is one of those wonders of the plant world which are due to migrations that have left no trace of their history. By what route could plants have travelled by their own volition so that fifty-eight species should be identical in New Zealand and Europe? By what means was an interchange effected between South America and New Zealand, so that eleven species are identical in the two countries besides thirty-two which are closely allied? That great authority on the flora of Australia, Sir Joseph Hooker, states that thirty-eight species of the plants of Europe and Northern Asia are not found in the warmer

and intermediate regions, though they reappear in Australia. The same authority makes the following remarks, in his introductory essay on the 'Flora of Australia,' on the capacity for migration which the hardy plants of Scandinavia possess in common with the human population of that strength-imparting region.

'When I take a comprehensive view of the vegetation of the Old World, I am struck with the appearance it presents of there being a continuous current of vegetation (if I may so fancifully express myself) from Scandinavia to Tasmania; along, in short, the whole extent of that arc of the terrestrial sphere which presents the greatest continuity of land. In the first place Scandinavian genera, and even species, reappear everywhere from Lapland and Ireland to the tops of the Tasmanian Alps, in rapidly diminishing numbers it is true, but in vigorous development throughout. They abound on the Alps and Pyrenees, pass on to the Caucasus and Himalayas, thence they extend along the Khasia mountains and those of the peninsula of India to those of Ceylon and the Malayan Archipelago (Java and Borneo), and after a hiatus of thirty degrees they appear on the alps of New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania, and beyond these again are those of New Zealand and the Antarctic Islands, many of the species remaining unchanged throughout. It matters not what the vegetation of the bases and flanks of these mountains may be; the northern species may be associated with alpine forms of Germanic, Siberian, Oriental, Chinese, American, Malayan, and finally Australian and Antarctic types; but whereas these are all, more or less, local assemblages, the Scandinavian asserts his prerogative of ubiquity from Britain to beyond its antipodes.'

The remarkable fact thus strikingly conveyed may be attributed to what Mr. Wallace calls that 'aggressive and 'colonising power of the Scandinavian flora' which has enabled 150 species to settle successfully in New Zealand, about as many in Australia, and nearly as many in the Atlantic States of America, while half the European species which have colonised Australia have also established themselves in those deep-sea islands, the Azores, 800 miles from Europe across an ocean so deep that the existence at any time of intermediate islands is not suspected.

If speculation may be hazarded on such a subject, it would seem that the immigrants in question must have found the antipodes less completely clothed with vegetation than it is at present, for plants do not readily win their way on ground that is already occupied. This is a law which may possibly not apply to the hardy denizens of the north, whose powers of competition may enable them to do battle with established rivals successfully. But such capacity for aggression is given to few, and Sir Joseph Hooker gives an interesting

example when he states, 'I am informed that the late Mr. Bidwell habitually scattered Australian seeds during his 'extensive travels in New Zealand,' but they failed to take possession, and such characteristic groups as those which furnish the wellknown eucalyptus and acacia of Australia are not found in the indigenous flora of New Zealand. The Scandinavian flora, on the contrary, has established itself in every temperate country to which it has had access, and its powers of migration are as remarkable as its powers of aggression.

The natural migration of plants, that is, the extension of species beyond the limits of their former homes without human agency, may be effected by various means, by rivers or ocean currents, by wind, which may waft the spores and light seeds of plants to immense distances, or by birds, which may transport them either as fruits which they have swallowed or as seeds clinging to the dirt adhering to their feet. The wind is a very common agent in the dissemination of species, especially in mountainous countries, where light seeds are readily transported from the higher levels to those which are lower. In Switzerland, when the valleys are torn by the force of the north wind, seeds are often driven to a great height, together with snow and dust. M. Boussingault has witnessed the driving of seeds to a height of 5,400 feet during such storms, and one can easily see that valleys and ravines would be crossed by such seeds, and that the same agency of wind might also plant the crevices of the most lofty and inaccessible cliffs. The spores of cryptogamic plants might cross the English Channel, the Mediterranean, and even the Atlantic, since they are lighter even than ashes, and it is known that the ashes of volcanoes have been driven by wind 290 leagues, or as far as from Vesuvius to Constantinople, during an eruption, and in 1845 from Hecla in Iceland to the Faroe Islands and the Orkneys, and even as far as Ireland and England.

Among his wonderful experiments Mr. Darwin found that the small portions of earth attaching to the feet of migrating birds contained seed. Nine grains of earth on the leg of a woodcock contained a seed of the toad rush. From 6½ ounces of earth rolled into a ball and adhering to the leg of a wounded partridge he raised eighty-two separate plants of five species. Migrating birds often frequent the edges of ponds ere their departure, and in 6½ ounces of such mud he raised under glass 537 plants. Seeds furnished with crowns, hooks, or prickles readily stick to the plumage of birds,



which all such birds, and especially such wanderers as the albatross, might carry long distances.

Applying these facts to the case of the Azores, Mr. Wallace found that most of the plants of the Azorean flora are well adapted to be carried by the methods just suggested—forty-five of the 439 flowering plants belonging to genera that have either pappus or winged seeds, sixty-five to such as have minute seeds, thirty to those with fleshy fruits which are greedily eaten by birds, some have hispid seeds, and eighty-four are glumaceous plants well suited to conveyance by winds and currents. The only trees and shrubs of this isolated group are bearers of small berries, such as the Portugal laurel, myrtle, laurustinus, and elder, while those with heavy berries, which could not be conveyed by the means suggested, oaks, chestnuts, hazels, apples, beeches, alders, firs, are absent, common as they are in Europe. The character of the flora is that of the south-western peninsula of Europe, and, if we assume that one half of its species is indigenous, the other introduced by European settlers, there is still a rich and varied flora which Mr. Wallace thinks has been recently carried over 900 miles of ocean by the means just indicated. There is probably no better example of ocean migration than that offered by the Azores, and it is believed that the phenomena in question are still in progress, and that 900 miles do not form the limit of the distance to which this same ocean carriage of plants extends.

An interesting assortment of drift fruits collected in the spit of land enclosing Kingston Harbour in Jamaica, by Mr. D. Morris, may be seen in the museums at Kew. The character of these fruits indicates that they were brought by the Gulf Stream current from the mouths of the Amazon and Orinoco—a long migration on the part of these windfalls from the central parts of South America, but not so long as that effected by numerous specimens of the same kinds of living and yet waterproof drift which have found their way across the Atlantic to our south-western coasts. The active part played by the sea in aiding migration has been made more prominent since the publication of the ‘*Botany of the Challenger*,’ which contains\* a summary, in which Mr. Hemsley brings to light some interesting facts bearing on our subject.

Since the publication of Darwin’s personal observations on the methods of migration, and of Hooker’s account of the

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\* Appendix, vol. i. pp. 277–304.

vegetation of the Falkland, Kerguelen, Auckland, and other islands, and of Wallace's 'Island Life,' the origin and composition of the vegetation of remote islands has engaged the attention of many botanists and travellers. But we have not met with a more interesting contribution to the literature of insular floras than a letter of Mr. Hemsley's, on the new vegetation of a surface destroyed by volcanic action, which appeared in the 'Field,' September 29, 1888. Five years ago the island of Krakatoa, in the Sunda Strait, was the scene of a most violent volcanic eruption, in the course of which that part of the island which did not totally disappear was covered with a deep deposit of cinders and pumice-stone. The intense heat must alone have been sufficient to destroy every germ of life, and therefore this island, covered as it now is with new vegetation, offers a perfect example of the unaided immigration of its several existing plants, the sole agents of the movement having been in this case winds, waves, and birds. The account of what has happened may best be given in Mr. Hemsley's own words. After stating that Krakatoa is situated twenty miles from both Java and Sumatra, and half that distance from the nearest spot—a small island only—where terrestrial vegetation existed, he says:—

'The first phase of the new vegetation was a thin film of microscopic freshwater algae, forming a green, slimy coating, such as may often be seen on damp rocks, and furnishing a hygroscopic condition, in the absence of which it is doubtful whether the ferns by which they were followed could have established themselves. Both algae and ferns are reproduced from microscopic spores, which are readily conveyed long distances by winds. Eleven species of fern were found, all of very wide distribution, and some of them had already become common the fourth year after the eruption. Scattered here and there among the ferns were isolated individuals of flowering plants, belonging to such kinds as have succulent seed vessels eaten by birds, or such as have a light, feathery seed vessel like the dandelion, and a host of others, and are wafted from place to place by the winds.

'On the seashore there were young plants and seeds (or seed vessels containing seeds) of upwards of a dozen other herbs, shrubs, and trees, all of them common on coral islands and on the seashore of the Malayan islands, and all known to have seeds capable of bearing long immersion in sea water without injury. Among the established seedlings were those of several large trees, and a convolvulus that grows on almost all tropical coasts, often forming runners one hundred yards in length. There were cocoanuts also, though none had germinated.'

It is evident from the rapid advance of a new and exotic vegetation that the winds, and other agents we have named,

had all been busy in the performance of their allotted tasks ; and as growth and decay are alike rapid in the tropics, we may imagine that the increasing attractions of the spot and the larger production of food plants will induce an increased number of winged visitants to alight on the island, and some of these probably will add to the variety of the vegetation. In the end man himself will come with more seeds in his pocket, and thenceforward the plants of culture introduced or at least protected by him will dominate over those planted by Nature.

It cannot often have happened—and only in the near neighbourhood of other shores—that any island denuded of its vegetation, or rising naked from the waters, could have received a large number of species in the course of only five years. The floras of more distant islands would be far longer in their arrival, and they would be poorer. The seeds of flowering plants could seldom reach a distant island with unimpaired germinating powers. But a single vagrant seed arriving and taking hold in a hundred years would people the island in time. Mr. Hemsley, who is quite at home with drift seeds at Kew, points out that the Keeling Islands are a case in point. Darwin found the native vegetation contained only about twenty kinds of flowering plants, some of them very rare ; but they had spread all over the islands, and now the islands are covered with profitable plantations of coconut trees.

We have now dealt very briefly with the prehistoric period of our short history of distribution, showing by sufficiently clear evidence the slow action of natural forces in spreading, and sometimes destroying and redispersing, the vegetation of the globe over its surface, from island to island, and continent to continent. But within the comparatively short period of his history, man has been an active agent in dispersing plants. A paper was read last autumn by a local botanist at Penzance, in which he described a number of foreign plants which he had found growing in the neighbourhood of that town. It seems that all these plants were strangers to Cornwall till recently, when their seeds were introduced with the imports of foreign corn. The same phenomenon has been observed in many other parts of the country, and in many other countries where seeds from suitable climates have, one way or another, been introduced unintentionally by way of the sea. The story has been often told of imported weeds, which have proved as noxious in Australia as those terrible pests the rabbits ; and in another

hemisphere, the American naturalist, the late Asa Gray, gave a pathetic account in one of his works of the most troublesome weeds of the United States, which he declared to have been 'mostly of British origin.'

There are certain weeds which possess great colonising tact. The shepherd's purse, for instance, has dispersed itself throughout the world, succeeding everywhere, and a British grass, *Poa annua*, one of the commonest of weeds, thriving often in the less used streets of towns, has been observed by a recent traveller, Mr. John Ball, in the Andes, the Straits of Magellan, and within the tropics of Brazil.

These are examples of accidental, or rather of incidental, migrations. There are others in which the most useful plants known to man have followed his steps in his various excursions and rambles. We learn from the earliest history of mankind that certain dominant nations, having first taken advantage of the susceptibility of some plants to useful developement in the places where Nature had planted them, have, in the course of their various migrations, trading voyages, travels, and conquests, taken their cultures with them. Those who are interested in records of this kind will find, probably, all that is known on the subject in the delightful volumes on the 'Origin of Cultivated Plants' and the 'Wanderings of Plants and Animals,' respectively written by M. de Candolle and Professor Hehn, the last-named work having been edited by Mr. J. S. Stallybrass.

Since the publication of M. de Candolle's 'Géographie 'Botanique,'\* more than thirty years ago, the work of exploring habitats and tracing migrations, the discoveries in botanical and archæological science, and the labours of Mr. Darwin and others, have, as already indicated, considerably increased our knowledge of the history of plants. M. de Candolle, therefore, had no difficulty in finding materials for compiling substantially a new work. In the present volume he has applied himself, with the aid of great knowledge and unwearied industry, to the task of determining the period during which each species has been in cultivation, and how its culture spread in different directions, limiting his attention to those plants which are cultivated for economic purposes, and leaving both wild plants and plants of ornament unnoticed. His first aim has been, he says, to discover the condition and habitat of each species before it was cultivated, and in making this attempt the method of proceeding has been to deter-

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\* This work was reviewed by Mr. Bentham in this Journal in 1856.

mine which of the numerous varieties of a species is probably the most ancient, and whence it came. That is the task which M. de Candolle has undertaken, confining his inquiries, as he himself says, 'to the examination of each species since its cultivation, or in the time immediately before it.' Until a very recent period—perhaps we may say until the publication of M. de Candolle's '*Géographie Botanique*'—little progress had been made in tracing plants to their original homes. Three out of four of the guesses of Linnæus on this subject are now known to have been about as accurate as the legends of those older writers who attributed the olive to Minerva, the vine to Osiris, and the rose to the goddess of love. A great advance has certainly been accomplished, but one would still like to be assured whether the cereals and certain other important plants were modified by culture and the art of early plant improvers, or whether such plants were conferred by Nature on favoured countries, whence they were afterwards distributed. In either case the original wildings, or rather their original forms, may not now exist in the neighbourhood which gave them birth. During the present century, a Frenchman named Olivier imagined that he had discovered wild wheat on the banks of the Euphrates. But the general belief now is that his wildings were merely specimens of cultivated wheat, which had escaped from their fields.

'The lentil and chick pea probably no longer exist in nature,' says our author; and when he adds that 'other species, as wheat, maize, the broad bean, carthamus, very rarely found wild, appear to be in course of extinction,' we feel bound to remark that if Mr. Darwin, the most impartial of inquirers, shows at any time the slightest anxiety to discover examples of evolution, attributing wheat and other cereals to the gradual improvement of uncultivated grasses, our author is assuredly a little over-sanguine as to his discovery of original forms. Wheat, he thinks, may have been indigenous in Mesopotamia, and in his account of maize he says, 'Settled populations can only have been formed where nutritious species existed naturally in soil of easy cultivation.' The potato, the sweet potato, and maize, according to our author, fulfilled these conditions in America; 'and as the great populations of this part of the world existed first in the high grounds of Chili and Mexico, it is there probably that wild maize existed.'

It is singular that the name of Darwin is only once or

twice mentioned in the volume before us. But this shows the limited character of the task its author has undertaken, and some persons probably would have thought his work more satisfactory if he had altogether avoided the abstruse inquiries of that naturalist, confining himself entirely to the department of the botanist and man of letters.

M. de Candolle says that 'selection, that great factor ' which Darwin had the merit of introducing so happily ' into science, plays an important part when agriculture is ' established; but in every epoch, and especially in its ' earliest stage, the choice of species is more important than ' the selection of varieties.' In accordance with this view, he adds that 'the lowest savages know the plants of their ' country; but the example of the Australians and Patagonians shows that if they do not consider them productive ' and easy to rear, they do not entertain the idea of cultivating them.'

Accordingly, M. de Candolle makes the distribution of the populations of the globe dependent on the spontaneous character of the food plants of various regions. Australia was thinly populated because, in spite of its favourable climate, Nature had not endowed it with productive species of plants. 'There must be valuable qualities in a wild ' plant in order to lead to its cultivation,' and the indigenous flora was so poor, as regards its capability of improvement by culture, that, although Sir Joseph Hooker has enumerated more than a hundred species which may be used in some way, they were not, as a matter of fact, cultivated by the natives; and, in spite of the improved methods of the colonists, no one does cultivate them. So says M. de Candolle, and he applies the same reasoning to the plants of South Africa and of Patagonia, countries which were naturally poor, he says, in the productive species, while their isolation from regions which Nature had treated more liberally, and their unfortunate exclusion due to distance, drought, or deserts, prevented the migrations of useful plants from reaching them. On the contrary, in other countries a number of useful species easily cultivated were found from the beginning—rice and the several leguminous plants of Southern Asia, and barley and wheat in their native land of Mesopotamia. M. de Candolle thinks that the earliest empires of the world with their enormous populations were reared in certain districts to which Nature had granted as a special gift productive species of plants, together with a favourable climate. In

America the maize, the potato, the sweet potato, and manioc take the place of the earliest food plants of the East; but these productive species were not improved by the hand of man as population grew, or at any rate not so much so as to have lost their original forms; they were the cause which enabled these regions to support that population. Consistently with this view he finds wheat and maize growing spontaneously in their respective centres from which these useful species were diffused.

M. de Candolle does not appear to have abandoned the opinion expressed in '*Géographie Botanique raisonnée*,' that plants have rarely been so much modified by culture that they cannot be identified with their wild prototypes. We need scarcely observe that such a theory is diametrically opposed to the teaching of Mr. Darwin. M. de Candolle holds that our most prolific cereals, as well as other plants, were the gift of Nature to certain regions, and that the great populations of the world accumulated in particular sites in consequence of these gifts; while Darwin thought that the varying forms of florists' flowers and garden vegetables must convince us that selection is everything, and the choice of the particular species to be operated upon is by comparison nothing. You can convert such common subjects as pelargoniums and potatoes, turnips, radishes, and carnations to every size, shape, and colour by a few years' breeding and selection. In accordance with this view, the most useful food plants may have been developed from obscure grasses and other unproductive forms of plants, and great populations may have been everywhere founded on plant improvement. Mr. Darwin himself, in referring to the theory which De Candolle had avowed in his '*Géographie Botanique*,' remarks that

'on this view, considering that savages would not have chosen rare plants for cultivation, that useful plants are generally conspicuous, and that they could not have been the inhabitants of deserts or of remote and recently discovered islands, it appears to me strange that so many of our cultivated plants should be still unknown, or only doubtfully known in the wild state.'

But if they have been profoundly modified by culture, the difficulty disappears, as it does provided they had been exterminated during the progress of civilisation, which M. de Candolle himself states can have rarely happened, for the earliest earth-tillers in any country having selected one of M. de Candolle's highly endowed species, its growth would then be carried on within the boundaries of cultivation, and

its extirpation from the waste lands would be less likely to occur, as it would cease to be an object of search. It seems to us that our author has not given due weight to the fact that the earliest cultivators were savages waging war with Nature with tools rudely pointed with flints, or at a still earlier date with finger-nails only. Mr. Darwin has recited in 'Animals and Plants under Domestication' the accounts of travellers of the wretched food collected by savages in Australia, Sikhim, South Africa, and other places. As to the cereals, if the present size of the grains was not acquired under cultivation, some countries were greatly blessed compared with others. Barth's 'Travels in Central Africa' is cited by Mr. Darwin for the account of several tribes in the central region who collect the seeds of wild grasses for food. Livingstone described the natives near Tete as collecting the seeds of a wild grass. There are numerous kinds of grasses with seeds of small size which are used as food—for example, in the deserts of the Punjaub, where the seeds of four genera are so used, namely, of *Agrostis*, *Panicum*, *Cenchrus*, and *Pennisetum*—as well as the seeds of four other genera belonging to distinct families.

As to the absence of any useful plant in Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, New Zealand, or America, south of La Plata, as also from all uninhabited islands, these are facts entirely opposed to M. de Candolle's view that nearly all our useful plants, natives of Europe, Asia, and South America, had originally existed in their present condition. As the various introduced plants find in these countries a suitable soil and climate, it is astonishing that nothing useful should have been naturally produced under such favourable circumstances. We are, in fact, driven by a process of logical exhaustion to conclude that the chief food plants were not created as we find them, and that non-improvement of natural species indicates the absence of population or of motive for improvement. The inhabitants of Australia and the Cape of Good Hope did not cultivate the ground at all, and in those particular parts of America which have been referred to as originally barren of useful plants, the ground was very imperfectly cultivated, the inhabitants being hunters or fishermen. In the case of New Zealand, Mr. Darwin explains that the Polynesian colonists brought with them seeds and roots as well as the dog, so that the early colonists, like the later European migrants, had no particular inducement to cultivate and improve the aboriginal plants, which could not possibly compete with



those which they brought with them, and which had been for ages grown and perfected in the more populous and civilised parts of the world.

The same reasoning applies to the seats of ancient empires, which were both civilised and thickly peopled; as, for example, Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Brazil, where cultivation and other arts were practised before the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese voyagers. As in the Old World, so in the New, there was no want of native food plants; and, says Mr. Darwin—

‘Had North America been civilised for as long a period and as thickly peopled as Asia or Europe, it is probable that the native vines, mulberries, crabs, and plums, would have given rise after a long course of cultivation to a multitude of varieties, some extremely different from their parent stocks; and escaped seedlings would have caused in the New as in the Old World much perplexity with respect to their specific distinctness and parentage.’

Having already suggested the methods of the prehistoric dispersal of plants, our next and chief concern is to render an account of their subsequent movements. This is, in fact, the task which M. de Candolle has undertaken, and with all his great resources of learning, diligence, and care he has found it sufficiently involved. The history of the introduced plants of a country is often as obscure as that of its people. We know historically that neither the Scotch, nor English, nor Welsh are indigenous races, and we know something of the nations that preceded them. In like manner we know the history of most of our cultivated plants, whether Roman generals brought them, or the explorers of the New World, or the collectors of the great nursery firms who are ransacking the globe at the present time and importing novelties every day. But some of the more ancient travels of plants are far more obscure.

It is easy to conceive that the earliest colonists of the world carried with them in their migrations those species of their own cultivated plants, as well as domestic animals, which suited the new regions, and in proportion to the want of civilisation among them would be the small number of the introductions. As population became more dense, and agriculture and art improved, the introduction of a larger number would be accomplished. So long as people lived by the chase, or by depasturing their flocks and herds throughout an extensive country, they would require few cultivated plants; but as the population became more dense and civilised, their wants in this respect would necessarily be

increased. It is easy to imagine what would happen when an energetic race had established a great empire having communications, as the Romans had, with the whole world so far as it was known. Such a race in their earlier period would be collectors of useful plants for the support of their increasing population, and later on they would be distributors. It is evident, therefore, that two great civilisers of the ancient world—war and commerce—must have spread the most useful plants wherever their influence extended.

In his present work M. de Candolle includes 247 species of plants of utility most commonly cultivated, of which the Old World has furnished 199, America 45, while three are still uncertain. He thinks it surprising that the United States with their vast territory, which will soon support hundreds of millions of inhabitants, only yielded two native species of food plants—the Jerusalem artichoke and the gourds. Within the past two thousand years there has been no discovery, not even to the extent of a single species, which can rival the older food plants—maize, rice, the potato, sweet potato, bread fruit, date, cereals, millets, sorghums, the banana, and the soy bean of China and Japan—which have all been cultivated from three to five thousand years.

After all, the plants of utility are few. About one hundred thousand species of flowering plants are known to botanists, and only 247 of these render direct and important services, or are in any degree indispensable, to man. About forty-four species, however, have been made the special subjects of man's care, and have accompanied his migrations from an unknown period of history. Very few useful plants were common to both hemispheres till their distribution by man had made them so. None were indigenous to the Arctic or Antarctic region, nor to Patagonia or the Cape of Good Hope, nor to Australia, if we except that very indifferent vegetable *Tetragona expansa* and the blue gum, *Eucalyptus globulus*.

It may be accepted as a general conclusion that the most essential plants come on the stage first, so that their history includes that of the earliest agriculture and of the most ancient people of the world. At a later stage we may presume that other plants were found useful, such as the artificial fodder plants which began to be cultivated for cattle when the purely pastoral system of husbandry by nomad tribes came to an end, just as cattle ranchings will do in America at no distant date, it is said. The cultivation of medicinal plants would follow, in the course of time,

with that of edible fruits and garden vegetables, and of aromatic leaves and seeds, such as tea and coffee. Tea, it is true, is so old in Chinese history that no record exists of the earliest cultivation of the plant, and the only account of its origin is purely legendary. If tea and coffee had been more essential to us in this country, they would have been here before the seventeenth century.

Among the plants of prehistoric cultivation, rice perhaps should take precedence, since it has probably supplied the means of subsistence to a greater number of the human race than any other cereal. It is conjectured that the earliest agriculture originated in dry eastern countries, and therefore for the most part on the banks of rivers where irrigation could be easily supplied. As an aquatic plant, rice may have grown spontaneously on the numerous river banks of China and of India; at any rate, the Chinese emperor, Chin-nong, sowed it ceremoniously with his own hands at a festival instituted by him 2800 B.C. It was cultivated in the valley of the Euphrates 400 B.C., and was transported a thousand years later to the irrigated parts of Syria, thence to Egypt, and thence, in comparatively modern times, and by routes which will occur to the reader, to Spain and to America.

The oldest agriculture was that of China, Egypt, and the adjacent countries of Asia, and notwithstanding the advanced state of the agriculture of China as far back as 2700 B.C., the earliest migration of a number of useful plants from Western Asia, their original home perhaps, into the Celestial Empire, only occurred in the second century before the Christian era, at the period of the mission of Chang-Kien. That famous ambassador, who is said to have remained two years in the West, carried home with him the bean, cucumber, lucern, saffron, sesame, the walnut, pea, spinach, water melon, and other plants. The Mongolians could hardly have introduced many new and useful plants into China, since their immigration was from the wrong quarter, that is, from a country too cold to have originated them.

M. de Candolle discusses the migrations between China and the West with much learning. In his detailed account of the peach and apricot, in another part of the work, he states that the Chinese knew the latter plant 'two or three thousand years before the Christian era,' and that Chang-Kien, who went as far as Bactriana, first made the West known to the Celestials, and that 'it was then, perhaps, that the apricot was introduced to Western Asia.' In

treating of the peach he says, 'I formerly attributed a 'Chinese origin to the peach, a contrary opinion to that 'which prevailed at the time, and which people who are not 'on a par with modern science continue to reproduce.' He then proceeds to enforce his view that different varieties of the peach, besides two wild forms, had certainly been known in China 'for thousands of years' before the Christian era, before its introduction into the Greco-Roman world, and for a thousand years, perhaps, before its introduction into the lands of the Sanskrit-speaking race.

The history of the peach, like that of the apricot, is particularly interesting. They both came from a part of the interior of Asia more distant than the city of Cerasus, the earliest home of the cherry, which, at the triumph of Lucullus, heralded the arrival of other fruits from further inland, Rome proving always a halfway station from which Western Europe received them. Neither Cato, Varro, Cicero, nor any author of Republican Rome, nor poet of the Augustan age, nor the elder Greeks whose works have been preserved, mention the peach or apricot. We have already noticed conquest as an impulse of migration, and accordingly the extension of the 'Roman world' eastward formed an epoch in the history of plant migration. As Professor Hehn observes, 'It was only when the Roman Empire, 'after the overthrow of Mithridates, began to extend, directly 'or indirectly, to the valleys of Armenia and the southern 'margin of the Caspian Sea, that the natural treasures of 'these strange and fertile regions were gradually disclosed, 'and bit by bit conveyed to Italy.' Towards the middle of the first century of the Christian era the gardeners of Italy had planted for profit 'the Persian apple' and Armenian plum, i.e. the peach, *Amygdalus persica* and *Prunus armeniaca*. M. de Candolle's ingenious theory of the Chinese origin of the peach is entirely at variance with the explanation suggested by Mr. Darwin and adopted by his followers. The peach, he says, is not mentioned by Xenophon, though it must have been heard of about the time of the retreat of the ten thousand, and possibly became known by report after the expedition of Alexander, for Theophrastus mentions it as a Persian fruit 332 B.C. It is not mentioned in the Hebrew writings, and has no Sanskrit name, and as the Sanskrit-speaking peoples, as well as the early Greeks and Hebrews, all migrated from the upper part of the Euphrates valley, M. de Candolle concludes that it could not have been an aboriginal of Western Asia, and that it came from China. The

Chinese, he says, had early discovered the route over the mountains to Kashmir, Bokhara, and Persia, and by this road the first peach stones may have travelled. M. de Candolle refers to the fact that the peach has been found wild in different parts of Asia, and he observes very justly that this does not prove it to be indigenous, since the wildings may have sprung from the stones of cultivated fruit. The same remark applies to wheat, maize, and many other plants for which M. de Candolle is inclined sometimes to claim an indigenous as well as spontaneous existence. Mr. Darwin,\* on the contrary, accepts the opinion of T. A. Knight and other horticulturists that the peach is a modified almond, which acquired its present character at a comparatively late period. This, Mr. Darwin believes, would account for the several facts brought forward by our author, 'on the same principle that the nectarine, the offspring of the peach, has few native names, and became known in Europe at a still later period.'

It is evident that however ancient the agriculture of China may have been, and whatever improvements were effected by culture in its food plants or fruits, the isolation of the country must have checked their migration. It was not so, however, with the plants of that vast region which stretches from the Ganges to Armenia and the Nile. History has placed in this part of the world the cradle of the human race, and if the plants of chief utility and ornament were originated, as we believe they were, by selection and the long-exerted skill of early plant improvers—of whom Ceres may have been a successful prototype—then this part of Asia must have been the birth-place of the best plants as well as of the most civilised nations. We approach now to historic times, when the Turanian, Aryan, and Semitic races engaged in constant wars, with frequent great migrations of men, and no doubt of plants, when the first Assyrian and Egyptian empires were founded, and when the Aryan tribes migrated to the west and south, carrying, no doubt, some of their best plants with them.

Wheat, which is now the bread corn of twelve European nations, and is fast supplanting maize in America and several inferior grains in India, was no doubt widely grown in the prehistoric world. The Chinese cultivated it 2700 B.C. as a gift direct from heaven, the Egyptians attributed its origin

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\* *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. i. p. 357.

to Isis, and the Greeks to Ceres. A classic account of the distribution of wheat over the primeval world shows that Ceres, having taught her favourite Triptolemus agriculture and the art of breadmaking, gave him her chariot, a celestial vehicle which he used in useful travels for the purpose of distributing corn to all nations. Ancient monuments show that the cultivation of wheat had been established in Egypt before the invasion of the shepherds, and there is evidence that more productive varieties of wheat have taken the place of one, at least, of the ancient sorts.

Innumerable varieties exist of common wheat. Colonel Le Couteur, of Jersey, cultivated 150 varieties, Mr. Darwin mentions a French gentleman who had collected 322 varieties, and the great firm of French seed merchants, Vilmorin-Andrieux et Cie., cultivate about twice as many in their trial grounds near Paris. In their recent work on 'Les Meilleurs 'Blés,' M. Henry L. de Vilmorin has described sixty-eight varieties of best wheat, which he has classed into seven groups, though these groups can hardly be called distinct species, since M. Henry L. de Vilmorin has crossbred three of them, *Triticum vulgare*, *T. turgidum*, and *T. durum*, and has found the offspring fertile.

Three smallgrained varieties of common wheat were cultivated by the first lake dwellers of Switzerland (time of Trojan war) as well as by the less ancient lake dwellers of Western Switzerland and of Italy, by the people of Hungary in the stone age, and by the Egyptians on the evidence of a brick of a pyramid in which a grain was embedded, and to which the date of 3359 B.C. has been assigned. The existence of names for wheat in the most ancient languages confirms this evidence of the antiquity of its culture in all the more temperate parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, but it seems improbable that wheat has ever been found growing persistently in a wild state, although the fact has often been asserted by poets, travellers, and historians. In the Odyssey, for example, we are told that wheat grew in Sicily without the aid of man, but a blind poet could not have seen this himself, and a botanical fact can hardly be accepted from a writer whose own existence has been contested. Diodorus repeats the tradition that Osiris found wheat and barley growing promiscuously in Palestine, but neither this nor other discoveries of persistent wild wheat seem to us to be credible, seeing that wheat does not appear to be endowed with a power of persistency except under culture. Sir John

Lawes has shown at Rothamsted that wheat, like other domesticated plants, does not survive many years when exposed to the rivalry of wild competitors. He left the upper end of a wheat field uncut and uncropped, and allowed the grain to fall when ripe; and in three years there was hardly a single ear of corn left, while those which could be found were short in the stalk, with perhaps a single grain, instead of thirty or forty, in the ear. In the struggle for existence on untilled ground weeds invariably destroy wheat. Cultivated plants are dominant only when protected. Our food plants, in short, are artificial in their present forms, and in a state of nature they would rapidly disappear. The fittest survivals in nature are the hardiest and most robust—that is, the weeds; and cereals, selected and modified as they were with the object of attaining size and prolificacy, could not win their way amongst such competitors without a great deal of help, hoeing, and manure.

The agriculture of the Euphrates was probably as ancient as that of the Nile, and although the history of the Dravidian and the Malay peoples does not reach far back, M. de Candolle assigns as old an agriculture to India and the Malay Archipelago. Possessing as we do evidence of Egyptian and Phœnician visits to various stations in the Mediterranean regions and even to countries far beyond, we may be sure that they carried useful plants with them, but we have no historical record of the actual arrival of any of the cereals in England or the northern coasts of Europe, and the kitchen middens of the Danish dwellings in the age before metals had reached Denmark have exhibited no sign of the practice of agriculture at that time. The age may not have been more remote than that of Pericles or of the palmy days of the Roman Republic, and the Scandinavians of the period may have subsisted on the animal food obtained by fishing and hunting, with cabbages and other indigenous vegetables which would not require cultivation. The Aryan nations, whose migrations to Europe began from 2,500 to 2,000 years B.C., probably increased the list of European plants, though we learn from names occurring in tongues older than these migrations, such as Finn, Basque, Berber, and the language of the Guanchos of the Canary Islands, that several plants from the East must have been cultivated in Europe prior to those migrations. In later times, when the use of bronze had reached as far north as Sweden, we meet with the first evidence of agriculture at that period in the carving

of a cart drawn by two oxen, among the remains of the inhabitants.

In other parts of Europe an earlier agriculture existed. Professor Heer has described the seeds of cereals found in the midden heaps of the lake dwellers of Eastern Switzerland, showing that plants had been imported as early as the stone age or the siege of Troy from the countries south of the Alps. M. de Candolle adds that they may have received plants cultivated by the Iberians who occupied Gaul before the Kelts. At a later period, when these same lake dwellers of Switzerland and Savoy possessed bronze, their agriculture was more varied, and they then cultivated a larger number of species than the lake dwellers of Italy when in possession of the same metal, but this might have been due to a greater antiquity or to local circumstances. In continuing this analysis M. de Candolle adds :—

‘The remains of the lake dwellers of Laybach and of the Mondsee in Austria prove likewise a completely primitive agriculture ; no cereals have been found at Laybach, and but a single grain of wheat at the Mondsee. The backward condition of agriculture in this eastern part of Europe is contrary to the hypothesis based on a few words used by ancient historians, that the Aryans sojourned first in the region of the Danube, and that Thrace was civilised before Greece. In spite of this example, agriculture appears in general to have been more ancient in the temperate parts of Europe than we should be inclined to believe from the Greeks, who were disposed, like certain modern writers, to attribute all progress to their own nation.’

The agriculture of the New World coincides with its name, the earliest civilisation of Mexico and Peru being subsequent to the Christian era ; still we may argue from the widespread cultivation of the most useful plants of America at the time of its discovery that M. de Candolle is not mistaken in claiming at least two thousand years as the period of their domestication. The clearest evidence exists that cultivated and other plants have travelled very widely, and also that they have sometimes flourished better in their new homes than they had done in the older ones, so that, however suitable soil and climate may be for particular plants in any given country, it does not follow that they ever grew there in a state of nature. On the contrary, some productive regions, such as Australia, only received the gift of useful plants in modern times. Our own history is older, still none of our most useful plants are native, and, in fact, most of the vegetation seen in the course of a stroll on a summer’s day is actually of foreign origin. All our cultivated crops are



so, as, for instance, the cereals and turnips, most of the clovers, the cattle cabbage, and the mangold wurzel, which were all introduced either from Europe, or, perhaps in the case of the cereals and flax, direct from the far East by one of the early Aryan races, who appear to have taught Europe her first steps in agriculture.

In the hedgerows several of the so-called native trees and shrubs are really foreign in their origin. The discovery of the submerged forest off Cromer, stretching away under the shallow waters of the German Ocean towards the opposite coast, has brought to light prehistoric and yet visible evidence as to the trees which are native, and at the same time it has suggested routes by which we now know that some of our so-called native plants reached these islands in a former order of the world. Plants, as already said, are not necessarily native because they flourish and seem at home. The oak, yew, beech, and Scotch fir were undoubtedly among the trees of our prehistoric forests, but our 'hedgerow elms' are not all native, and the commonest of the several sorts growing south of the Trent, the old English elm, is not an indigenous species. The aspect of our own country must have been almost as much changed by the introduction of the elm and plane, the spruce, larch, silver fir, and other foreign conifers, as well as the laurel and numerous shrubs grown in the precincts of dwellings, as that of Portugal has been in recent times by the introduction of camellias, oranges, the Australian gum tree, and the loquat from China, a tree which has proved particularly acceptable in a sunny climate, since as a giver of shade it surpasses even the fig.\*

Europe seems to have been originally bare both of cereals and of other useful plants. Her native fruits were merely nuts and poor berries, masts, sorbs, and crabs; the rest came from the East by various routes, which have been already indicated. Within the historic period Rome was the great emporium, and owing to her conquests in the earliest cultivated countries of the East, the cradle of the oldest and best plants, her generals became the chief introducers of vegetable novelties. They conferred on France, for example, the means of producing her exquisite wines and the best of her cognac, and they planted the vine even in England. Cæsar found in Britain, according to his 'Commentaries,' apples of indifferent quality, and a very poor catalogue of other fruits, such as the hazel, bullace, wild raspberry, sloe, elder, and blackberry.

The generals who succeeded him left us, at quitting, the pear, peach, cherry, vine, fig, mulberry, damson, medlar, and walnut, with many ornamental shrubs. They were men of taste and luxury, and some of those who resided long in this country sent to Rome for any novelty suited to the climate, planted probably the first orchards—at least, of superior fruits—the earliest rose gardens, and among other trees the bay, the English elm, the plane, which had passed from Asia into Italy, and had reached the northern shores of Gaul, as Pliny states, about A.D. 79.

Among similar examples of what pioneers and conquerors have done, the Moors brought to Western Europe that most valuable milk and butter making forage plant, lucern, and the sugarcane, as well as many flowers and other plants of Arabia. The most remarkable gifts of this kind are conferred from an instinctive desire to render the earth more productive, as when Sir Walter Raleigh planted at Youghal the American tuber, which has proved at once a blessing and a curse, the food plant of millions, but unfortunately a lamentable agent of improvidence.

It is, of course, by the activity of man—the explorer of every corner of the world—that the migrations of useful plants have been effected, so that the history of man's migrations would include that of the plants he has taken with him. We have already referred to some of the older wanderings of nations, and to their work in distributing plants throughout the world. As examples of more modern wanderings we may take the rice plant and maize, one of them the most important food plant of the New World, the other holding a similar position among the most populous countries of the East. In the time of Columbus maize was confined to America. It travelled into several old countries by routes which need not be given in detail. It will suffice to say that it travelled on its merits, as the most productive of all cereals, quickly, and that seeds were sown early in the sixteenth century in Spanish, Italian, French, German, and English gardens. Soon afterwards it spread into the fields of various countries. The Venetians transported it to the East, and it became naturalised in Turkey, the Danubian countries, Hungary, and in the Levant and South Europe generally, where it now forms the principal bread corn of the people. Following the routes of commerce, it has travelled to China and Japan, and it has even penetrated to the heart of Africa in company with missionaries or with persons engaged in trade—the slave trade perhaps.

Rice being an Old World plant has an ancient history and a Sanskrit name, *vr̥hi*, which became in the Iranic languages *br̥si*, a root, whence came the Greek name for rice, and the Latin *oryza*. Herodotus, who had heard of the wool which grew on trees (cotton), had also heard of rice as a food plant of India. The Macedonian conquest of Asia made the plant known to the Greeks, but it was during the Persian dominion that it first migrated as a useful plant from the banks of the Indus to the Oxus and Euphrates. The Arabs brought it to Europe. Having been long acquainted with the grain through their Indo-Ethiopian trade, they introduced its cultivation in the delta of the Nile after their conquest of Egypt; and the Moors afterwards pursued the same kind of farming, with the aid of irrigation, in the lowlands of Spain, especially in the basins of the Guadalquivir and Guadiana, and in the rich marshlands of Valencia. Spain proved a halfway station in the passage of this grain from Asia to America, and rice and maize were soon growing side by side in both hemispheres.

Tea, sugar, coffee, and cotton have all travelled far from home. The first-named plant was transported in Wardian cases from China to Assam, where, within British possessions, the plant and its culture have become naturalised. As to sugar our story must be brief. Its primitive range, M. de Candolle thinks, extended from Bengal to Cochin China, and perhaps included the Sunda Isles and the Moluccas, whose climate is similar. Its extension from India westwards is not difficult to trace. The Greco-Roman world was only slightly acquainted with the sugarcane, and the Hebrew writings do not mention it. The cultivation of the plant probably did not exist west of the Indus at the time of the Jewish captivity at Babylon. Egypt, Sicily, and the south of Spain owed it to the Moors in the Middle Ages, and it flourished in those countries till its great success in the new colonies of Spain caused the abandonment of its culture in Europe. From Sicily the sugarcane was transported to Madeira by Don Henriquez; it accompanied the Portuguese into Brazil, the English into Barbadoes and Jamaica in the seventeenth century, and the French into Bourbon and Mauritius.

Returning to the Old World, we find the use of coffee unknown in Arabia, its indigenous country, till a mufti of Aden acquired a taste for it in Persia, and made known its use to his countrymen at home. It had reached Constantinople in 1550, and there after a while it was for political

and economical reasons forbidden, tolerated, and taxed in turn. The Venetians brought the berry westwards in 1615, and the cafés of Paris and establishments of the same class in London were opened soon afterwards. But in these cases the berry only wandered, while its culture remained behind. A touching story has been told of the travels and dangers of a coffee plant. The first specimen of the plant rooted in French soil in a hothouse in the Royal Gardens of Versailles in 1703, but it died from ill-treatment. A little later another plant was received at the same gardens as a present from Amsterdam, the Dutch being then great traders with the East. It flourished, and was propagated by cuttings, one of which was given by Antoine de Jussieu to the Chevalier Déclieux, a naval officer, who undertook to convey it to the French colony at Martinique, where it was hoped coffee might become a commercial product. Aided by gods and men we know how plants have travelled and survived great dangers, sometimes encountering a latitude too cold for them, and sometimes, like the bread fruit on board the 'Bounty,' surviving the dangers of a mutiny. M. Déclieux's coffee plant was nearly lost through a failure in the store of water during the voyage. Only one glassful daily could be spared for each person on board, and none for the coffee plant, which must inevitably have perished but for the Chevalier's devotion to it. Anxious that the valuable plant entrusted to him should be landed in safety, he bestowed upon it daily half his allowance of water, and, at the cost of much suffering to himself, saved its life.

There are several species of cotton, some of them indigenous to the New, some to the Old World. On the discovery of America, the Spaniards found Barbadoes cotton, *Gossypium barbadense*, in cultivation and in use from the West India Islands to Peru and from Mexico to Brazil. Seeds of this sort have since been scattered in India, Java, and other hot countries of the East, where their offspring have increased the confusion arising from the existence of several species, and the difficulty of distinguishing between them. *Gossypium herbaceum* is, however, an ancient species in Asiatic plantations, indigenous in Burma and the Indian Archipelago, but not identical with the tree cotton, *G. arboreum*, of Upper Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus, Dioscorides, and Theophrastus. Even in the time of Pliny it does not appear that any kind of cotton was cultivated in Lower Egypt, though a hundred years later it had migrated into that part of the country. Pliny was mistaken in

supposing that the dress of the Egyptian priests and the grave-clothes of the mummies were of cotton. In modern times the microscope has shown them to be of linen, as were the priestly robes of the Jews, in accordance with divine behests received not long after their departure from Egypt. The commonest cultivated cotton now in all countries, including the United States, is *G. herbaceum*, a native of this hemisphere, which followed the migration of men and plants to America in company with sugar.

There is no trailing plant which has entwined itself more persistently into the affections of numerous nations than the vine, whose native country seems to be between the Black and Caspian Seas, where immense quantities of wild vines grow to this day, and where in ancient times Noah made wine. In Egypt it is probable that the arts of grape growing and wine making were practised five or six thousand years ago, but in China and the east of Asia only two thousand years ago. M. de Candolle believes that both Semitic and Aryan nations knew the use of wine, and distributed the vine in all the countries into which they migrated, including India, Egypt, and Europe. Its further distribution by Greeks and Romans is well known, and we shall pass over those classic travels, as well as the more modern movements into America and into our several colonies. Professor Hehn's essay on the vine is a long one, full of interest and curious research.

The common cabbage, *Brassica oleracea* of Linnæus, exists in the wild state in two distinct regions of Europe—the Mediterranean coast near Nice, Genoa, and Lucca, and those of the United Kingdom and Denmark and some other spots. It is not quite certain whether the plant is indigenous in these sites or the result of self-sowing from cultivation, so that the facts of geographical botany are rather bare with regard to this useful plant. On the contrary, historical and philological data afford clear evidence of the comparatively modern and European origin of the countless varieties of cabbage which cultivation has produced. Most of these modifications have been effected since the days of the ancient Greeks. Theophrastus distinguished three forms of the cabbage; Pliny, double that number; Tournefort, twenty; De Candolle, more than thirty. That these 'improvements' of the tough and hardy straggler of Shakespeare's Cliff and many similar seaside stations were effected by European cultivators seems certain, inasmuch as their common names are numerous in European languages and rare or modern in

those of Asia. There are five or six ancient roots from which the European names are derived. (1) *Kap* or *kab* in several Keltic or Slav names, which with the French name *cabus* clearly owns the same origin as *caput*, a term derived from the head-shaped form of the cabbage. (2) *Caul*, *kohl*, in several Latin, German, and Keltic languages (*caulis*, stem or cabbage); *choli* in old German, *kohl* in modern German, *kaal* in Danish, *kaol* and *kol* in Breton, *cal* in Irish. (3) *Bresic*, *bresych*, *brassic* of the Keltic and Latin languages, from which perhaps were derived *berza* and *verza* of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and *varza* of the Roumanians. (4) *Aza* of the Basques (Iberians) differs little from the preceding.

After showing that the various names of the cabbage in the Keltic languages prove the existence of the species on the west coast of Europe, M. de Candolle says:—

‘If the Aryan Kelts had brought the plant from Asia, they would probably not have invented names taken from three different sources. It is easy to admit, on the contrary, that the Aryan nations, seeing the cabbage wild, and perhaps already used in Europe by the Iberians or the Ligurians, either invented names or adopted those of the earlier inhabitants.’

M. de Candolle has no doubt that the wild plant was gathered before it was cultivated, and that the period of its earliest cultivation is more ancient than that of the Aryan invasions.

Unlike the cabbage, the beetroot (*Beta maritima*) does exist in western temperate Asia; but the nations of the Aryan race do not appear to have brought it with them, as there is no name for it common to the Indo-European languages. No Hebrew name is known for it; and however indispensable sugar beet and mangold may be at the present time in the agriculture respectively of France and England, the improvement and cultivation of the plant commenced probably three or four centuries before the Christian era.

In ‘Wanderings of Plants and Animals,’ Professor Hehn treats his subject as a scholar, not as a naturalist, and solely in relation to European civilisation. He takes his stand on philology, as his editor, Mr. Stallybrass, intimates in the following sentence:—

‘If he [the scientific man] finds a plant flourishing pretty abundantly in Greece or Italy now, and knows of no climatic or geological changes that would exclude its having flourished there 5,000 years ago, he will

at once pronounce it indigenous, and scout the notion of its having been imported. But now listen to the scholar, and he may tell you that Homer never mentions such a plant; that later poets speak of it in a vague way, as something very choice and very holy, and always in connexion with some particular deity; they may have tasted its fruit, may have seen the figure of its flowers (probably conventional) in emblematic painting or carving, but have not the faintest notion of its shape or size, whether it be a grass, a shrub, or a tree; till at last, in the time of Alexander or Darius, the plant itself emerges into clear visibility. Your inference will be that it came to Greece within historic times.'

We are convinced that Mr. Stallybrass's 'scientific man' would not plead guilty to the charge of jumping to conclusions in the manner he suggests. The botanist is quite accustomed to the finding of plants flourishing amazingly a long way from their native home, and he has his own method of deciding whether they are foreign or not. For example, all the fruits and vegetables of temperate and subtropical countries have been planted in Australia and New Zealand, and many of them thrive—as the watercress does in the last-named island—better in their new homes than in the older countries. But the botanist finds no alliance between the immigrants and the indigenous vegetation, and he can detect each imported species by the aid of science alone, without the help of history. He does not mistake the Mexican agave, the American opuntias, and the African palms, for plants indigenous to the neighbourhood of Monaco, though they grow there freely. Numberless examples of this kind might be cited, and in fact the botanist is as often puzzled to account for the absence of a particular plant in spots where the soil and climate seem suitable for it, as he is to explain the appearance of one where the conditions do not appear favourable.

Professor Hehn's method of treatment is exemplified in his account of the edible chestnut, which could not, as he shows, be indigenous to Europe, since 'neither Greeks nor Romans had an individual name for the chestnut tree and its fruit.'

'If,' he continues, 'the Greeks had found the chestnut tree existing in their future country when they first arrived, they would certainly have mentioned the fruit in their legends. But we only hear of the acorns of the *drus*, the esculent oak; and the aborigines, such as the wild Arcadians in their mountains and woods, are always called acorn eaters even by the oracles. When Hesiod describes the blessings of peace and justice, the earth bringing forth fruits, the oak bearing acorns, the bees furnishing honey, and the sheep yielding its fleece, would he have

forgotten to mention the chestnut if it had then grown on the mountains, bestowing sweet fruits on mankind ?'

He then proceeds to trace the migration of the chestnut from *Castania*, the place in Asia Minor from which it derives its name.

Under the circumstances we have mentioned it is not surprising to meet with a few technical errors in Professor Hehn's work. Among these, the prickly *Ruscus aculeatus* is mentioned as the Alexandrian laurel, instead of *Ruscus racemosus*; the cytissus of the ancients, a shrub largely used as fodder for cattle, and identified correctly as *Medicago arborea*, is confounded with the laburnum; and the Virginian creeper (*Ampelopsis hederacea*) with the fox grape, with which it has no connexion, except that both are plants of the New World; while the native habitat of the Lombardy poplar, a tree of Western Asia, is relegated to the Mississippi valley.

The blemishes of this very learned and attractive volume are, however, not considerable. A more systematic arrangement of subjects might, perhaps, have been desirable. It is rather a shock to lovers of natural history to find the several chapters on the horse, mule, and ass intermixed with accounts of the vine, fig, and olive, and to find in the table of contents cats, poultry, and fruit trees in close proximity with the buffalo, hop, and other subjects of an incongruous character. These remarks, after all, only show that Professor Hehn has not attempted a work on natural history. But he has certainly accomplished a most delightful volume of essays, in which the history and migrations of cultivated plants and domestic animals are traced by the philologic method. He has himself called his book very modestly an historico-linguistic sketch. His editor may fairly claim that 'sketch' is a light word for the stores of learning he has collected. Moreover, those readers whose appetite for philology is not satisfied in the body of the work will find at the end nearly a hundred pages of 'notes,' which will certainly content them.

We have already noticed the poor character of the indigenous fruits of Europe, and the introductions of the Romans, who made their famous city the rendezvous of foreign plants. Apples, pears, and plums, destined to replace their sour predecessors in European gardens, reached Rome from Armenia, the damson (*Damascena*) from Damascus, the chestnut from *Castania* in Asia Minor, the pomegranate from Africa, the peach and walnut from Persia. The fig tree, crossing from Syria to its halting-place in Greece, must have reached the



site of Rome early, since it sheltered the wolf which suckled the founders of the city. This is a kind of evidence, however, which M. de Candolle avoids, and he does not mention that Bacchus grew fat on the succulent fig, and that the same heathen deity promised a crown to a maiden, whose confidence he afterwards abused by twisting the hard calyx of the pomegranate into 'the likeness of a kingly crown,' and then changing the poor girl, who had died of grief, into a pomegranate tree.

In the time of Cæsar most of the houses in Rome had gardens attached to them, in which grew, for the sake of their beauty, shade, or fame, such trees and shrubs as the pine, plane, box, and bay. The influx of plants into England at that time included, besides those already named, the vine, peach, medlar, fig, walnut, and others, including the mulberry. If we may indulge in a brief historical narrative, the plants which the civilised Romans introduced to our shores were afterwards destroyed and trodden under foot by the tribes of northmen which followed them. It is probable that the country was not much richer in plants of utility and beauty during great part of the Middle Ages than it had been more than a thousand years before. War has proved a great distributor, and we owed to the crusades a considerable influx of plants, which were preserved with others from other sources in the gardens of the religious houses. At the close of the Middle Ages, when the era of great houses such as Hampton Court, Nonsuch, and Hatfield succeeded that of the fortresses in which the great barons and landowners had previously resided, a greater immigration of foreign plants took place than we have space to record in detail. Names of famous gardeners and planters will occur to the reader, such as that of Gerrard, of the Physic Garden in Holborn; Lord Bacon, of Gorhambury; Henry VIII. and his fruiterer, who commenced the Kentish orchards, and trained grapes, peaches, and apricots to a fourteen-feet wall at Nonsuch; Evelyn, who 'first taught gardeners to speak proper English;' Tradescant, the traveller, one of Charles II.'s gardeners, who cultivated for his majesty the queen pine from Barbadoes; Bishop Compton, who grew at Fulham Palace the tulip tree, magnolia, deciduous cypress, and cedar of Lebanon; Sir Hans Sloane, of the Chelsea Botanic Garden; the Duchess of Beaufort, of Badminton; and Jeanie Deans's Duke of Argyll, called by Horace Walpole the 'treemonger,' who planted his exotics at Whitton, near Hounslow.

It is singular that the most useful of our conifers, the larch, whose durability Pliny mentions, and which was used for many buildings and bridges at Rome, only reached this country early in the seventeenth century, and it remained practically unknown till the Duke of Athole used it for covering his hilltops between Blair Athol and Dunkeld. The story of more recent introductions would be a long one, since innumerable plants have reached this country in turn from the Mediterranean, North America, India, and elsewhere. Most of those we refer to were brought hither by the travellers of the last century, but besides these immigrations others on a far larger scale have since been due to the horticultural collectors who in quite recent years have filled our woods and shrubberies and flower borders, as well as our hothouses, with plants of all descriptions—hardy shrubs from the uplands of China and Japan, or of California and the Cape, as well as flowers and fruits from the tropics. The enormous sums spent upon the orchis alone assure us that this kind of immigration is not likely to abate, since wealth and good taste alike encourage it.

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ART. VIII.—*The American Commonwealth*. By JAMES BRYCE, M.P., Author of the 'Holy Roman Empire.' Three volumes. 8vo. London: 1888.

WHOEVER would do justice to the originality of Mr. Bryce's masterly work must compare the 'American Commonwealth' with M. de Tocqueville's 'Démocratie en Amérique.' This comparison is free from invidiousness, and is full of instruction. It is not odious because it does justice to the genius of the two authors, both endowed with rare, with equal, but with singularly different talents. It is instructive because it discovers the fundamental difference of works which have features of superficial, but in the main of misleading, similarity.

The essential difference between both the character and the work of the French and of the English writer becomes the more noticeable when we reflect that M. de Tocqueville and Mr. Bryce each enter on their labours with personal qualifications which have much in common. The French and the English critic of American institutions are both men of letters. Both are masters of a style which in its kind is admirable, both add to the highest literary culture the inestimable advantage of legal training. For M. de Tocque-

ville and Mr. Bryce are both consummate legists; that is to say, thinkers whose practical knowledge of law prevents them from regarding it as a mere scheme of theoretical doctrines, and whose freedom from the intellectually corrupting influence of professional competition enables them to perceive that legal principles are something very different from a lot of practical rules to be picked up haphazard amidst the scramble for professional success. Of the debt, indeed, which our authors owe to their mastery of legal science, it is impossible to speak too strongly. American institutions are the work of lawyers, and will never be understood by any man unacquainted both with the theory and the practice of law.

To literary cultivation and to legal training both writers add a characteristic which it is hard to define in one phrase; we incline to describe it as preoccupation with the philosophy of statesmanship. M. de Tocqueville, it is true, the rareness of whose genius is equalled by its precocity, stepped into the first rank among political philosophers before he engaged in the struggle of politics. But he belonged to a generation and to a family whose thoughts were habitually turned towards the problems of statesmanship. Matters of high policy, the destinies of his country, the attitude which men of wisdom and of worth should take up towards the advances of democracy, were, we may be sure, questions debated in his presence from his earliest youth. He must have felt himself predestined by his talents and by his position to the public service of France. Mr. Bryce also has been from his youth a student of political philosophy. For nearly ten years he has stood in the first line of our younger statesmen. Every sentence of his book betrays, what he never himself obtrudes, his familiarity with the practice no less than with the theories of public life; and a work which (if we except a graceful dedication to two of Mr. Bryce's professorial colleagues) contains not a reference to his personal position, reminds every intelligent reader that it is the production of a public man who has held high office, and who in his defence of the Home Rule Bill of 1886 made the one contribution from the side of the Government towards the speculative solution of a great political problem.

M. de Tocqueville, again, and Mr. Bryce each treat their subject with the perfect seriousness and, as far as intention goes, with the complete fairness demanded for the discussion of a topic involving the permanent interests of mankind. Neither author writes without an element of bias. To state

this is to say no more than that they each of them are men. Nor in matters of practical speculation is absence of bias an absolute merit. Freedom from prejudice means want of sympathy, and a critic without sympathy must, human nature being what it is, be a critic without insight. Bias is a totally different thing from unfairness, and of unfairness both the English and the French publicist are incapable. Neither of them in dealing with their great topic would misstate a fact in order to support a doctrine, or would conceal a fact because it told against the writer's most cherished theories. 'Democracy in America' disappointed, as the 'American Commonwealth' will disappoint, both Democrats and Conservatives. People do not know what to make of a prophet who neither blesses nor curses. M. de Tocqueville's treatise perplexed the reactionary Conservatism of France no less than the Benthamite Radicalism of England; and the 'American Commonwealth' will puzzle Gladstonians as well as Conservatives. It is as little a manual of Home Rule as it is a plea for the maintenance of the Union. It, like the great French work with which we are comparing it, rises above the level of polemical literature.

If their own literary conscientiousness has preserved both M. de Tocqueville and Mr. Bryce from the vice of partisanship, they have both been singularly shielded from another error by the circumstances of their times. In neither case is criticism of American institutions disturbed by a cause which has falsified the judgement of more than one honest and acute observer—warmth of feeling excited by the struggle against slavery. In M. de Tocqueville's day the irrepressible conflict had not become a fight for life and death, and the contest, which in 1831 had hardly begun, has in 1889 come to its close. Parties in America are for the moment gigantic factions; there is nothing in their war-cries to arouse the emotions or threaten the impartiality of a foreign observer. To both our critics fortune has been kind: each has been able to analyse foreign institutions undisturbed by party sympathies; each has attained such a knowledge of a foreign land as few persons possess about the institutions of their own country; each has produced a monumental work which will be studied as long as the history of the United States or the future of democracy has interest for mankind.

Let no one, however, imagine that Mr. Bryce has taken up the work of M. de Tocqueville, and has in effect done little more than bring 'Democracy in America' down to date. No idea can be more unfounded. Both authors, it is true,

treat of American democracy ; but they differ in their attitude towards their subject, in the scope of their work, and in their method. This is a matter which needs and repays examination.

‘Le développement graduel de l’égalité des conditions est donc un fait providentiel, il en a les principaux caractères : il est universel, il est durable, il échappe chaque jour à la puissance humaine, tous les événements, comme tous les hommes, servent à son développement. . . .

‘Le livre entier qu’on va lire a été écrit sous l’impression d’une sorte de terreur religieuse produite dans l’âme de l’auteur par la vue de cette révolution irrésistible qui marche depuis tant de siècles à travers tous les obstacles, et qu’on voit encore aujourd’hui s’avancer au milieu des ruines qu’elle a faites. . . .

‘Instruire la démocratie, ranimer, s’il se peut, ses croyances, purifier ses mœurs, régler ses mouvements, substituer peu à peu la science des affaires à son inexpérience, la connaissance de ses vrais intérêts à ses aveugles instincts ; adapter son gouvernement aux temps et aux lieux ; le modifier suivant les circonstances et les hommes : tel est le premier des devoirs imposé de nos jours à ceux qui dirigent la société.’ \*

These sentences, taken from that noble sermon on democracy which forms the introduction to M. de Tocqueville’s first work, and should be read and re-read in its entirety by anyone who wishes to understand the position of a great thinker and moralist, afford the key to his whole attitude. He was throughout life occupied with one question alone. The progress of democracy in France was the theme of his incessant and painful meditation. To determine the laws by which a democratic society is governed was the problem to the solution of which he devoted his unrivalled powers of analysis, and in later life his fully developed capacity for research. His two great works are merely two parts of the same inquiry, but in each the author approaches it from a different side. In the book which displays the marvellous capacities of his youth—the ‘Democracy in America’ was published before M. de Tocqueville reached the age of thirty—he analyses democratic society in the country where modern democracy has reached its fullest development. In the ‘Ancien Régime’ he analyses the condition of France with a view to determining the influences to which democracy—and ‘democracy’ in M. de Tocqueville’s mouth means a condition of society, not a form of government—owes its existence.

Nor are M. de Tocqueville’s motives for making democracy

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\* Tocqueville, ‘De la Démocratie en Amérique,’ tome premier, Intro. pp. 7, 8, 9,

the study of his life of a merely speculative character. The introduction to the 'Democracy in America' is, as we have said, a sermon; it is an appeal to all good citizens who perceive the constant tendency of society towards equality of conditions, and presses home the duty of loyally accepting this providential fact (*fait providentiel*), and thus conforming their policy to the nature of things. The book thus introduced is, as may be seen from the passage we have cited, written under the impression of strong moral conviction, almost of religious feeling. M. de Tocqueville's attitude, therefore, is not that of a mere philosophic investigator: he writes as a moral teacher, we might say as a prophet, though as a seer whose insight depends not upon the force of a fiery imagination, but upon moral convictions, confirmed by the subtlest analysis of social phenomena. He is influenced by a certain religious awe; he sees the perils menacing French society; he seeks for their remedy. His attitude fixes the scope of his work. His object may easily be misunderstood by Englishmen, who suppose his main object is to give an account of American democracy. His true aim is other than this: it is to analyse not American democracy, but a very different thing—democracy in America.

Democracy, as we have pointed out, is to M. de Tocqueville not a form of government, but a social condition. The Napoleonic Empire is as much a democracy in his sense of the term as the Republic of the United States. His unalterable conviction is that democracy is destined to prevail throughout the civilised world. In the United States it already flourishes, and flourishes under most favourable circumstances. There an observer can study democratic society, can recognise its merits and discover its necessary defects, as also the means for their remedy and mitigation. To this study M. de Tocqueville devotes himself. To him the special attraction of the United States is that they reveal the possible future of Europe and of France. From them the student may wring the secret of democracy. To such an inquirer American institutions are of secondary importance; the social conditions of the country are of first-rate interest, for these conditions reveal to his penetrating eyes the outcome of the tendencies already at work in France. It is, in short, French democracy which primarily concerns M. de Tocqueville. Over the institutions of America he casts a rapid, though piercing, glance, but his eyes are fixed with undeviating attention on the growth or misgrowth of democratic society throughout the world, and especially in France,

It would be, of course, impossible for a man of M. de Tocqueville's vivid curiosity and keen sympathy not to find in the institutions of a great nation an interest of their own. He occasionally deviates, therefore, from an investigation into the laws of democratic progress into an account of the constitution and laws of the great Republic. But the deviations are, comparatively speaking, rare; he soon returns to his main theme. Hence the 'Democracy in America' is no more an account of the American polity than the 'Ancien Régime' is a history of the ancient monarchy. Each work is in reality a treatise on the causes and effects of that equalisation of conditions which M. de Tocqueville has taught us to call democracy.

His method is as noticeable as his attitude or his aim. One sentence sums it up: it is the method of Montesquieu. That most eminent of French publicists pursued a mode of thought which was essentially deductive. By study, insight, and meditation he arrived at certain principles as to the form of government best adapted to secure freedom. He noted the violation of these principles under every continental government, and especially under the French monarchy. He looked to England, and thought he saw that these principles were there observed, and that from their observation flowed freedom and prosperity. How far the doctrines supposed to be suggested to Montesquieu by study of England were, in truth, a protest against the practical evils existing around him in the France of Louis XV., is an inquiry full of interest, but one over which we ought not here to linger. The noteworthy point is that what England is to Montesquieu, the American Republic is to M. de Tocqueville. Each seeks a remedy for evils which are corrupting or destroying society in France. The one casts his eyes across the Channel to England; the other turns his gaze towards the democratic republic flourishing on the other side of the Atlantic.

The teacher of the eighteenth century and his disciple of the nineteenth century belong intellectually to the same family. Both are endowed with a style not only of expression; but, so to speak, of thought, which approaches perfection. In each capacity for deduction and for analysis wellnigh overbalances the power of investigation and research. 'Quand j'ai découvert mes principes, tout ce que je cherchais est venu à moi. J'ai posé les principes et j'ai vu les cas particuliers s'y plier comme d'eux-mêmes.' These words of Montesquieu might well have been uttered by M. de Tocqueville; they betray to Englishmen the dangers of an à

*priori* method. The warmest of M. de Tocqueville's admirers—and we count ourselves among the number—could not deny that he, like Montesquieu, was at moments the dupe of his own genius. The strange thing is not that he made occasional errors, but that his principles rested, even in his earliest youth, on such a bottom of good sense that they even now guide the speculations of thoughtful men.

Several external circumstances limited M. de Tocqueville's view of American institutions. His knowledge of the United States was, considering his opportunities, marvellously great, but in itself it was small, and his inferences were based almost exclusively on acquaintance with New England. Now even in 1831 the social condition of New England was, to a certain extent, a survival from the past; M. de Tocqueville was unfortunate, also, in studying New England before he had acquired any intimate knowledge of the country from which New England takes her name. Further, from some cause which it is not easy to discover, M. de Tocqueville fails to appreciate the peculiarities of an American State. He studies the Federal Constitution with care; he expends his enthusiasm on the virtues of American local self-government, but the States, which are the component parts of the federation, occupy a small portion only of his book or of his attention. Hence he does not understand the pernicious influence of the spirit of localism which, as Mr. Bryce demonstrates, mars the working of public life throughout the Union. He does not know that even fifty years ago the written Federal Constitution had been seriously modified by the force of custom. He neither perceives the germs nor anticipates the development of that huge party system which, to use a comparison of Mr. Bryce's, has in political warfare substituted disciplined armies for forces of volunteers.

M. de Tocqueville's work, in short, remains a masterly analysis of European democratic society illustrated by comparison with American democracy. But it is not a picture of the American Commonwealth even as M. de Tocqueville saw it in 1831. Still less does it portray the America of 1888. '*La Démocratie en Amérique*' is the production of youth; as such it is little less than a miracle of insight and wisdom. But it is based on a deductive method, which in modern days can command the absolute confidence of none but the young, and the facts intended to confirm a doctrine or point a moral occasionally need verification. His facts, like Montesquieu's, yield a little too easily to his theories; and a critic is at times reminded of Sainte-Beuve's too caustic dictum, '*Il a com-*



‘mencé à penser avant d’avoir rien appris; ce qui fait qu’il  
‘a quelquefois pensé creux.’\*

‘Democratic government seems to me,’ says Mr. Bryce, ‘with all deference to [M. de Tocqueville’s] high authority, a cause not so potent in the moral and social sphere as he deemed it; and my object has been less to discuss its merits than to paint the institutions and people of America as they are, tracing what is peculiar in them not merely to the sovereignty of the masses, but also to the history and traditions of the race, to its fundamental ideas, to its material environment. I have striven to avoid the temptations of the deductive method, and to present simply the facts of the case, arranging and connecting them as best I can, but letting them speak for themselves rather than pressing upon the reader my own conclusions.’ (Bryce, vol. i. p. 5.)

These sentences give us our author’s attitude, his aim, and his method. He is not the teacher of any doctrine whatever. He is an historian, a traveller, an investigator. He is, indeed, a thinker of no mean power; his aim, however, is not to compose a treatise on democracy, but to produce a true picture of the institutions, the politics, and the social condition of the United States. He undertakes a task the same in kind as would be performed by an intelligent observer, who, after exploring China for years, should present Europe with a faithful and exhaustive account of Chinese institutions, their nature, and their results. Such a report would raise many speculative inquiries, and might incidentally solve social or economical problems which perplex modern thinkers. But no one would imagine that an author who analysed the Chinese scheme of government was the advocate of any particular opinions with regard to English or European politics.

Our traveller from America ought to be regarded in exactly the same light as our supposed traveller from China. What Mr. Bryce proposes to give us, and what we have a right to ask of him, is information about every matter, whether speculative or practical, which concerns the American Commonwealth. The aim he proposes to himself is neither narrow nor easy of attainment. It necessitates not only a description of American institutions, but an explanation of their actual working. One example out of a thousand will suffice to show our meaning. The chapters devoted by Mr. Bryce to the subject of the Federal courts are in themselves enough to make the reputation of a jurist.

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\* *Causeries du Lundi*, xv. p. 105 (n).

Nothing equal to them is to be found in the pages of any English or American author. They analyse a complicated judicial system, hardly comprehensible by anyone unacquainted with English procedure, and yet, from its combined likeness and unlikeness to what we see in England, rarely understood by any Englishman. M. de Tocqueville saw as far into the matter as could any man imbued with the traditions of French law ; but to him the American judiciary remained a mysterious anomaly. Mr. Bryce has demonstrated that the position and the action of the Federal courts are in fact determined by ideas of law and of judicial duty which have long governed the conduct of the English bench. In the course of this exposition he explains with perfect lucidity the origin and the nature of the potent yet simply judicial control exerted by American judges over the action of American legislatures.

This piece of exposition has been done with such thoroughness that it will never require to be done again ; it has made as clear as day a matter which has long puzzled thinkers and lawyers ; but it forms only a trifling portion of his book. He weighs the merits and demerits of Federalism ; he reveals the extent to which the written constitution of the United States has, like the unwritten constitution of England, been modified by usage ; he opens to our view those State constitutions which afford to European thinkers a new field of investigation ; he probes with scientific thoroughness and judicial impartiality that gigantic system of party organisation which is at once the life and the disease of American politics ; he reveals all that can be known about ' primaries ' and ' conventions,' about rings and bosses ; he makes us see the actual working of the Machine.

But Mr. Bryce does not deem his work done when he has explained the plan and the working of political institutions. He knows that their character depends on the circumstances which have given them life, the influences under which they exist, the habits of the people among whom they flourish. His third volume, which will doubtless be the most popular part of his work, analyses social life in America, as far as it has any bearing on politics. Under the three heads of Public Opinion, Illustrations and Reflections, and Social Institutions, he considers a host of questions which are full of interest. The twelve chapters on Public Opinion are no mere account of American feeling, but are also a most acute analysis of the nature of that public opinion, the name of which most of us have constantly in our mouths, but the true

character whereof we should many of us find it difficult to explain. Under the head Illustrations and Reflections we have the tale of the Tweed Ring in New York, the Gas Ring in Philadelphia, and Kearneyism in California, a body of original speculation on the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, an account of the agitation in America for women's suffrage, and an estimate, in the light of American experience, of the faults imputed and imputable to democracy. Under the head of Social Institutions Mr. Bryce handles the topics of most interest to the ordinary reader, as, for example, the bench, the bar, the position of women, the pleasantness of American life, and the like.

In the 'American Commonwealth,' in short, will be found combined more information as to American life than is contained in the best books of travels, and a greater number of original reflections on history and politics than is found in the best works on political philosophy. Mr. Bryce's aim is to paint the American Commonwealth as it now exists from every point of view which suggests itself to an acute observer of active curiosity. His attitude and his aim determine his method. This is throughout the method of induction. From every quarter he amasses facts. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, information derived from the best authorities, the conversation of friends, the casual gossip of strangers, are all laid under contribution. To these are added the fruits of wide and accurate historical knowledge. The Constitution of Rome, the German Empire, the Achæan League, the Manx House of Keys, are all called upon to illustrate his general theme. Nowhere is there any display of erudition; but no intelligent reader can fail to perceive the range of our author's historical research. In the true spirit of scientific inquiry he deems nothing insignificant which may throw light on the question under consideration. A curious inference, for example, as to the extent to which portions of the Union are occupied by Scandinavian settlers is drawn from the peculiar smell of paper money, resulting from its currency among Swedes and Norwegians accustomed to make use of skins and furs. Nor does Mr. Bryce disdain to draw from the gossip of Greek boatmen a most telling illustration of the intense interest which in certain countries is inspired by the political contests of the day.

If Mr. Bryce's book is full of facts and information, it is also full of profound thought and ingenious speculation. Just as M. de Tocqueville deviates from the discussion of general theories into acute remarks on American life and

manners, so Mr. Bryce passes frequently and naturally from his description of the American polity into the discussion of speculative problems which concern popular government throughout the world. The difference between the two writers is that the matters which are primary to the one are secondary to the other. The speculative portion of M. de Tocqueville's work is its basis. Narrative is, so to speak, its adjunct. With Mr. Bryce the description of American institutions is a matter of primary concern; the solution of general speculative problems is of subordinate importance. For this difference neither author deserves either praise or blame. They have undertaken different tasks. Each has performed his chosen work with equal skill. Good workmanship has in each case attained its end.

If the 'American Commonwealth' can hardly be expected to arouse exactly the same kind of interest that was at once kindled by the 'Democracy in America,' it is because social and political theories exercise on each generation a kind of attraction which does not belong to narrative or description. Ideas tell more quickly on mankind than facts. But though theorists exert more immediate influence than observers, the course of time rectifies in the long run the transitory injustice of each generation. The most brilliant speculations of political or historical thinkers lose their hold upon the world. Theories become obsolete, for, as human knowledge increases, every theory about society is found in its turn to be incomplete. Montesquieu was the ablest publicist of his century, but his doctrines no longer guide mankind. His style survives his dogmas on the division of powers. Arthur Young's 'Travels' are recommended by no special beauty of expression, but they record facts which remain as true, and to historical inquirers as important, as they were when recorded. Thucydides brought more genius to the study of historical philosophy than any later thinker. Though his narrative is immortal, his theories are dead; their only interest is that they are the monument of his genius. The travels, the stories, the gossip of Herodotus contain more which it now concerns the world to know than all the speculations of Thucydides. The half-century which has elapsed since the publication of 'Democracy in America' has proved that neither the previsions nor the theories of M. de Tocqueville were free from error. He would, were he alive, be the first to own their need for modification. Mr. Bryce's 'American Commonwealth' bids fair, on the other hand, to

remain for one generation after another the recognised authority for the political condition of America in 1888.

What does Mr. Bryce teach us about the United States? This is the question which a reader fairly puts to a critic. To return a full answer is an impossibility; for the few pages of the longest review cannot touch upon a tithe of the interesting matter contained in our author's encyclopædic treatise. We must limit our examination of his views to some special topic. We propose therefore to direct our readers' attention almost exclusively to Mr. Bryce's account of the States and the State Governments, and the light which this account throws on the real or alleged corruption of American public life. In dealing with this subject, which itself is large enough to occupy every page of this article, we shall consider, first, Mr. Bryce's statements of fact; secondly, the impression which the facts as he sees them leave on his own mind; and, thirdly, the conclusions to which a consideration of Mr. Bryce's statements and opinions leads candid inquirers.

The States are

'the part of the American political system which has received least attention both from foreign and from native writers. . . . Yet they are full of interest: and he who would understand the changes that have passed on the American democracy will find far more instruction in a study of the State Governments than of the Federal Constitution. . . . The American State is a peculiar organism, unlike anything in modern Europe, or in the ancient world. The only parallel is to be found in the Cantons of Switzerland, the Switzerland of our own day, for, until 1815, if one ought not rather to say until 1848, Switzerland was not so much a nation or a state as a league of neighbour commonwealths.' (Bryce, vol. ii. pp. 1, 2, 4.)

It is one capital merit of Mr. Bryce's book that it brings into full prominence the two opposed, one might almost say contradictory, characteristics of this 'peculiar organism.'

No State of the Union is a nation, though several States exceed European nations both in size and population, the State of New York, for example, being both larger and more populous than the whole of Switzerland; and no State represents an historical nationality. Hence the experience of America, it may be observed, throws no light on the possibility of using 'federalism and local autonomy as convenient methods either 'for recognising and giving free scope to the sentiment of 'nationality which may exist in any part of an empire, or for 'meeting the need for local institutions and distinct legisla-

'tion which may arise from differences between such a part 'and the rest of the empire.' The States, looked at as a whole, make up the United States, but the United States are nothing but the political form into which circumstances have moulded the constitution of a single nation. The Americans are as much one people as the French or the Italians; they form a more completely united body than do the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. The men you meet at New York differ less from the men you meet at Chicago than Londoners from the citizens of Edinburgh, or than both from the citizens of Cork. The difference, indeed, between whites and blacks is of course fundamental, but the aim of the negro is to imitate to the best of his power the ordinary American citizen; and there does not exist at present, and, as far as one dare prophesy anything, there is not much likelihood there will exist in the Union anything like negro nationality. Meanwhile—and this is of primary importance—the division into States does not correspond with differences of religious creed. An Englishman who goes from London to Edinburgh enters into a new moral atmosphere. Who can pass a month in Scotland without hearing of the differences which divide the Free Church from the Establishment? What sane man living in England cares to recall these subjects of division? The Roman Catholic citizen of Ticino is a different man from the German Roman Catholic of Lucerne; each differs from the German Protestant of Berne or the French Protestant of Geneva. A citizen of the United States is an American; he is not a Californian or a New-Yorker.

Though the States are not nations and do not represent nationalities, and though they are parts of a single nation, they are not municipal subdivisions of one political system; they have no affinity to the counties of England, or to the departments of modern or the provinces of ancient France; they are commonwealths. Historically and politically every State is, independently of its relation to the Federal Government, a sovereign body. No doubt it does not possess sovereignty in the precise sense attached to that term by Austinian jurisprudence, for it lacks some essential features of independence. Still, as Mr. Bryce well points out, every State, say California or Virginia, possesses, subject to certain definite exceptions (as, for example, the right of secession), every attribute generally ascribed to an independent country. The citizens of Virginia owe allegiance to Virginia, and may be found guilty and punished for

treason against Virginia. Virginia is governed (and the same thing holds good of every State) under a constitution made by Virginians, which does not directly or indirectly depend for its validity upon the authority of Congress. It is not, like the constitutions of the British colonies, created by a superior legislature; it does not, like the cantonal constitutions of Switzerland, need for its validity the guarantee of the Federal Government. It must, of course, be consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and it must be republican. But a State may adopt any form of government included within the elastic definition of a republic; it may lawfully limit the suffrage to a select body of rich citizens, extend the electoral franchise to women, or, for that matter, deprive every male citizen of a vote. It may found or support an established church. It may confer very large powers upon a governor, and create possibly an hereditary, and certainly a life governorship. A State has complete control of every corporation within its borders. Massachusetts might deprive Boston of all local self-government without exceeding the due authority of the State. All matters coming within the range of private law, the rules as to marriage and divorce, the making and enforcement of contracts, the devolution of property, the definition and punishment of crime, are governed by State law. An inhabitant of New York or of Philadelphia may well pass through life without coming into practical contact with Federal law, or, except at the post office or the customs house, with Federal officials.

The country best known to Englishmen, whereof the position has a substantial, though not a formal, likeness to the situation of an American State, is, in our judgement, Scotland. The daily life of a Scotchman is regulated by Scotch law, which is interpreted by Scotch courts and enforced by Scotch officials. Scotland, it is true, has no legislature, but in the Imperial Parliament Scotch representatives control Scotch legislation. The most obvious difference between the position of Scotland and that, say, of Pennsylvania is that Scotland possesses no theoretical independence. The less obvious but more important difference is that modern Scotland is the outcome of a national history. The essential point of likeness is that the understandings of the unwritten British Constitution secure to Scotland, as the articles of the written United States Constitution secure to Pennsylvania, that the people of the country shall be governed under local law, and enjoy local institutions.

The various States are distinguished from one another by what might appear fundamental differences.

'There are thirty-eight States in the American Union, varying in size from Texas, with an area of 265,780 square miles, to Rhode Island, with an area of 1,250 square miles; and in population from New York, with 5,082,871 inhabitants, to Nevada, with 62,266. That is to say, the largest State is much larger than either France or the Germanic Empire; the most populous much more populous than Sweden, or Portugal, or Denmark; while the smallest is smaller than Warwickshire, or Corsica; and the least populous less populous than the parish of Clerkenwell in London (69,076), or the town of Greenock in Scotland (65,884). Considering not only these differences of size, but the differences in the density of population (which in Nevada is .6, and in Oregon 1.8 to the square mile, while in Rhode Island it is 254.9 and in Massachusetts 221.8 to the square mile); in its character (in South Carolina the blacks are 601,332 against 391,105 whites, in Mississippi 650,291 against 479,398 whites); in its birthplace (in North Carolina the foreign-born persons are less than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the population, in California more than  $\frac{1}{3}$ ); in the occupations of the people, in the amount of accumulated wealth, in the proportion of educated persons to the rest of the community,—it is plain that immense differences might be looked for between the aspects of politics and conduct of government in one State and in another.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 4.)

This natural expectation does not meet with fulfilment. Uniformity in essentials, combined with variety in particulars, will appear to a careful reader of Mr. Bryce's book to be the law of State constitutions. That this is so becomes the more apparent if we recognise the tendency prevalent throughout the Union to place among the articles of the Constitution provisions which are not in their own nature constitutional, and confine our attention to the strictly political portions of the State constitutions. We are then struck with the sameness of the general outline. No constitution of any American State differs so much from that of any other as does the constitution of Uri from the constitution of Berne, or as do several of those transitory forms of government which have existed, or tried to exist, in France from their predecessors or successors. For the Presidential Republic of Monsieur Carnot offers as marked a contrast to the Presidential Republic of Louis Napoleon as do both to the Directorial Republic of 1795, or as all three to the Napoleonic Empire or to the Constitutional Monarchy of Louis Philippe. Here we come round again to what may be called the paradox of the American State; that, though an independent commonwealth, it is part of a united and, from



some points of view, uniform people. Hence, as Mr. Bryce points out, whilst the government of no one State can be taken as a type from which other State governments are deviations, the constitution of each bears the same broad characteristics.

State governments follow the lines of the Federal Government. In each State there is found a constitution which cannot be changed by the ordinary legislative body, and constitutes the supreme law of the State as truly as the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the Union. At the head of each State stands a governor elected by the people, and elected for only a brief period. He is the executive authority, though many powers which, according to European habits, belong to the executive are in an American State exercised by boards or officials, who act under statutory powers, and are not controlled by the governor. He himself is not part of the legislature, but, odd though the assertion sounds, his most important function is legislative, since he holds a veto on legislation, and a veto which he is expected to exercise. In no State does there exist a body corresponding to the English Cabinet. In every State there is a legislature consisting all but universally of two chambers. This legislative body is subordinate to the State constitution; the legislature of New York can no more of its own authority amend the New York constitution than can Congress of its own authority alter the constitution of the United States. American statesmanship has never copied the most essential feature of the English Constitution. Americans have instinctively dreaded parliamentary despotism, and have never confided to any legislature authority as wide as that not only of the Imperial, but even of the Victorian Parliament. Hence State courts can pronounce on the constitutional validity of State statutes, and a Pennsylvanian judge will treat as void any law repugnant to the articles of the Pennsylvanian constitution.

The State constitution is changeable only by the people of the State, who act, for the most part, through the agency of a constitutional convention, i.e. a body (not the ordinary legislature) elected for the special purpose of amending the constitution. And constitutional amendments are, if we understand Mr. Bryce rightly, always submitted to a popular vote before they obtain the force of law. The 'constitutional convention' is, we may note, the most important of American political inventions, though not perhaps the most original, since it is found in the most ingenious, though the

least appreciated, of the forms of government which have been tried and rejected by France. For the Directorial Constitution committed its own amendment to a body elected for the sole purpose of altering the articles of the constitution. In France, indeed, a device full of ingenuity never found actual trial of its merits. In America it is put to constant use. The constitutional convention is the legalisation of revolution.

Our present object, however, is not to discuss the merits or the demerits of the different parts of a State constitution, but to impress our readers with its general characteristics. It is, like the Federal Constitution which it imitates, pervaded by the belief in the balance of powers. Montesquieu's dictum, 'Pour qu'on ne puisse abuser du pouvoir, il faut que, par la disposition des choses, le pouvoir arrête le pouvoir,' has sunk into the minds of Americans. Governor, legislature, and judiciary have each their separate and limited sphere. The governor is a miniature president, the legislature a petty congress, the judges perform under the constitution of each State the functions which the Federal judiciary discharge under the Constitution of the Union. The true sovereign is the people. How, then, does this system of federalised State government perform its functions?

The first answer is that it has comparatively few functions to perform. The sphere of the State is limited on the one side by the authority of the nation, which determines all matters of general policy. It is limited on the other side by the large power of local self-government possessed by townships and cities, which regulate all matters concerning the daily life of their inhabitants. The State executive rubs on, to use Mr. Bryce's expression, because it has little to do and but small sums to handle. State office confers little dignity, and the chief function of a governor is to check the action of the legislature. The legislative body is so much the strongest force in the several States that we might call it the government. The inquiry, therefore, How does the State government perform its functions? resolves itself into the question, What are in general the character and efficiency of a State parliament? The answer is plain enough. These legislatures differ greatly from one another, but as a whole they are not worthy of admiration.

It is impossible to be sure that a summary of a writer's elaborate and balanced statements gives a fair impression of his meaning. But our object at any rate is, in this matter, to follow Mr. Bryce and reproduce as far as we can in a few

words the general effect of his careful and lengthy investigations.\* A State legislature resembles Congress, but it exaggerates all the characteristic defects of Congress: it possesses fewer able and high-minded men among its members; it is surrounded by temptations relatively greater; it is less guarded by public opinion. Its main function is to pass what we in England call private bills. An unscrupulous member can easily turn his place to profit, and the facility for thus making a gain out of a public office draws into the legislature not a few men in those States which offer a promising field for pecuniary enterprise.

'Where the carcase is there will the vultures be gathered together. The money power, which is most formidable in the shape of large corporations, chiefly attacks the legislatures of these great States. It is, however, felt in nearly all States. And even where, as is the case in most States, only a small minority of members are open to bribes, the opportunity which these numerous local and special bills offer to a man of making himself important . . . obscure, in the eyes of most members, the higher functions of general legislation which these assemblies possess.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 156.)

To put the thing in plain language, State legislatures are low-toned bodies, most of them are somewhat corrupt, several of them are sinks of corruption. The highest place belongs to the legislative bodies of New-England States, such as Massachusetts; 'the lowest place belongs to the States which, possessing the largest cities, have received 'the largest influx of European immigrants, and have fallen 'most completely under the control of unscrupulous party 'managers.' New York, Philadelphia, and other large cities have done their best to poison the legislatures of the States in which they respectively lie, by filling these bodies with members of a low type, as well as by being themselves the centres of enormous accumulations of capital.

'They have brought the strongest corrupting force into contact with the weakest and most corruptible material; and there has followed in Pennsylvania and New York such a Witches' Sabbath of jobbing, bribing, thieving, and prostitution of legislative power to private interest as the world has seldom seen.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 160.)

The picture is not quite as black as it at first sight looks, because of Mr. Bryce's constant and most just insistence on the fact that the legislatures of different States differ im-

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\* See *American Commonwealth*, ii. chaps. xl. to xlv., and especially chap. xlv., 'The Working of State Governments,' and chap. xlv., 'Remedies for their Faults.'

mensely in respectability, and that even the worst are not quite so bad as they are often painted. Still the picture is dark. Its truth is proved by the contemptuous suspicion with which the People eye their representatives. A governor is admired if he uses his veto with freedom, and good governors are well aware that their function is to keep a sharp watch over legislative corruption or folly. 'I once,' writes Mr. Bryce, 'asked the governor of a Western commonwealth how he got on with his legislature. "I won't say they are bad men," he answered, "but the pleasantest sight of the year to me is when at the end of the session I see their coat-tails go round the street corner."' Lest the leniency or connivance of the governor should leave too much freedom to the members of the State parliaments, the courts are, under each successive constitution, armed with some additional power for treating as null the acts of the legislature. This is the main cause which, as Mr. Bryce has well pointed out, lengthens the articles of each new constitution. The hands of members have to be tied tightly lest they should work mischief, and especially lest they should find their way into the pockets of the people.

'One feels in reading these multiform provisions [against legislative misappropriation of public moneys] as if the legislature was a rabbit seeking to issue from its burrow to ravage the crops wherever it could, and the people of the State were obliged to close every exit, because they could not otherwise restrain its inveterate propensity to mischief.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 138.)

These are the words of a friendly critic. Of the character of State legislatures no more need be said.

The ultimate and secret cause of this condition of things lies, we conjecture (though Mr. Bryce would probably dissent from our view), in the very nature of an American State. It is not a nation: it does not therefore enlist in its service the worth and the talent of the country. It is not a township: it therefore does not benefit from the local knowledge and local patriotism which are the best features of local self-government. The immediate and outward causes are, as an attentive reader of Mr. Bryce's pages soon perceives, somewhat complicated. State governments suffer equally from the seemingly opposite principles of localism and of nationalism. The extent to which the spirit of parochialism moulds American politics is, to many of Mr. Bryce's readers, a revelation. It pervades American constitutionalism. A senator must reside in his own State; a member of Congress must be resident in the electoral

district which he represents. No man, say in New York or Rhode Island, can represent in the State legislature any place but the district where he lives. This restriction is imposed for the most part by the stringency of custom, and is therefore far more difficult to deal with than if it were the result of law. It affords an extraordinary contrast to the spirit of English constitutional history. There is but one statute which an English judge has ever openly treated as obsolete. This was an Act imposing on county members the qualification of residence. The spirit of our institutions was felt by the courts to be too strong for the letter of the law. Of the harm worked by a restriction on electoral choice which, were it acknowledged in England, might any day exclude Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, Mr. Balfour, or Mr. Chamberlain from public life, no Englishman can doubt.

It is well worth while, however, to note with our author that exaggerated localism fosters an evil more subtle than the mere exclusion of eminent men from office. It all but prevents the formation of parties led by distinguished men united by certain principles and desirous of pursuing definite reforms. Suppose that a select body of enlightened politicians residing, as might well be the case, in one district of New York were advocates of free trade or of administrative reform. It is difficult to see how, under the most favourable circumstances, more than one or two of their number could represent their cause either at Albany or at Washington. It is easy to see that the accident of local sentiment might exclude them all from a public career. Compare with this the position of the writers who founded the 'Edinburgh Review' and were the Young Party of their day. Such comparison will show that the corruptions of the unreformed representation of England were less hostile to the political influence of youthful enthusiasm and ability than is the perversion of democratic localism prevalent in the United States.

But nationalism, in its turn, plays into the hands of localism and hinders a State from being governed by the representatives of native experience and worth. 'State politics' are engulfed in national politics. Men are sent as members to the legislatures of, say, Virginia or Pennsylvania, not because they have sound views on Virginian or Pennsylvanian politics, or because they belong to a party of State reformers or State conservatives, but because they belong to this or that national party; or, in other words, because they are democrats or republicans; though the differences, such as they are, which divide these parties have no more necessary reference to the

good government of Pennsylvania than have the distinctions between Wesleyans and Baptists. It may seem a paradox that localism and nationalism should combine to ruin State governments. At bottom there is no mystery: parochial sentiment and national partisanship equally favour the authority of that elaborate party organisation which Americans term the 'Machine.' The bosses know their own interest. The Machine, as Mr. Bryce teaches us, puts bad men into power and keeps good men out of it. To exclude A from public life because, though an eminent republican or democrat, he does not live within a given district, and to exclude B because, though he wishes to stand for his own district and is respected by all his neighbours, he is not a republican or, as the case may be, a democrat, equally serves the end of managers such as were Tweed and are Tweed's successors. The character, therefore, of the State governments depends in the last resort, like most other things in American politics, on the nature and working of the 'Machine.' For all details on this matter, which is of supreme interest, our readers must be referred to the 'American Commonwealth.' The chapters headed 'Political Parties;' 'Party Organisations;' 'The Machine;' 'Rings and Bosses;' 'Local Extension of Rings and Bosses;' 'Elections and their Machinery;' 'The Nominating Convention;' and 'The Presidential Campaign,' teem with information novel to Englishmen and, in its entirety, we suspect, also to many Americans. Two facts of immense import are brought out by Mr. Bryce's investigations with unmistakeable clearness.

The first fact is that the 'Machine' tends to throw the government of the large towns, and ultimately of the Union, into the hands of low-toned politicians. The 'Machine' is planned to secure the election of the morally unfittest, and it constantly, though not always, attains its end. It is organised for the benefit of the bosses, the managers, the 'workers,' and for their benefit it in the main works. Every election is a matter of party conflict, and determined by the force of party organisation. Individuals, working alone, have no more chance of defeating the trained army led by the politicians than two or three unarmed citizens of repulsing a regiment of soldiers. All the members of a party have indeed, in theory, equal rights, and may all take part in its government, but, unless the circumstances of the time are very exceptional, professional politicians exclude volunteers or outsiders from all effective share in the management

of the party organisation. The arts of management, fraud, and occasionally force, keep respectable persons away from the 'primaries,' and on control of the 'primaries' depends the control of the party. 'In 1880 it was computed that out of 50,000 republican voters in New York City, not more than 6,000, or 8,000 at most, were members of the republican organisation, or entitled to vote in a primary.' For all practical purposes, that is to say, the vast majority of the party were deprived of political power, and five-sixths of the whole brought into bondage to about one-sixth; and this minority, be it noted, probably contained in its ranks all the rowdies and scoundrels of the party. This was an extreme case, but a reader of the '*American Commonwealth*' will see reason to believe that it may well be paralleled by achievements of 'bossdom' in other parts of the Union. The importance attaching to the successful capture of the 'Machine' by the less reputable members of a party can be appreciated only when we remember that even

'the better class [of voters], however they may grumble, are swayed by the inveterate habit of party loyalty, and prefer a bad candidate of their own party to a (probably no better) candidate of the other party. It is less trouble to put up with impure officials, costly city government, a jobbing State legislature, an inferior sort of Congressmen than to sacrifice one's own business in the effort to set things right. Thus, the Machine works on, and grinds out places, power, and the opportunities for illicit gain to those who manage it.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 449.)

The second important fact is that the working of the Machine not only tends to exclude merit and respectability from political authority, but also, in combination with other circumstances, propagates corruption throughout the government of the country. This is a topic with which it is hard to deal fairly. Everyone should read for himself the chapters in which Mr. Bryce tries to determine how far American public life can be called corrupt.\* Corruption of the coarsest kind is certainly rampant in more than one State legislature. When corporations find that the protection of their rights or the promotion of their interests requires the use of systematic bribery for the purpose of influencing legislation, it is needless to inquire whether a legislature is or is not pure. Many State parliaments are, it may be hoped, clean-handed. The Federal Government and Congress are, we may naturally

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\* See especially 'Corruption,' *American Commonwealth*, ii. chap. lxvii., and 'What the People thinks of it,' chap. lxxv.

suppose, of higher character than the average local legislative body. The character, moreover, of the National Government is certain in more ways than one to colour the character of the State governments. It is, therefore, desirable to weigh with the utmost consideration every word of our author in regard to the purity or corruptibility of the Federal authorities. We wish we had space to quote every line he writes on the subject; we are able, unfortunately, to cite only one or two sentences, which, it must in fairness be noticed, are fragmentary and detached from their context.

'No President,' he writes, 'has ever been seriously charged with pecuniary corruption. The Presidents have been men very different in their moral standard, and sometimes neither scrupulous nor patriotic, but money or money's worth they have never touched for themselves, great as the temptations must have been to persons with small means and heavy expenses. . . . The standard of honour maintained by the Presidents has not always been maintained by the leading members of recent administrations, several of whom have been suspected of complicity in railroad jobs, and even in frauds upon the revenue. They may not have, probably they did not, put any part of the plunder into their own pockets, but they have winked at the misdeeds of their subordinates, and allowed the party funds to be replenished, not by direct malversation, yet by rendering services to influential individuals or corporations which a strict sense of public duty would have forbidden.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 512.)

Mr. Bryce adds, it should be noted, that since the war—that is during the last twenty-six or twenty-seven years—there is no case in which a member of the Cabinet has received money or its equivalent, or, in shorter terms, has taken a bribe, for an executive act or an appointment.

Note next a portion of his statements as to Congress:—

'Bribery exists in Congress, but is confined to a few members, say five per cent. of the whole number. It is more common in the legislatures of a few, but only a few States, practically absent from the higher walks of the Federal civil service and among the chief State officials, rare among the lower officials, unknown among the Federal judges; rare among State judges.

'The taking of other considerations than money, such as a share in a lucrative contract, or a railway pass, or a "good thing" to be secured for a friend, prevails among legislators to a somewhat larger extent. Being less coarsely palpable than the receipt of money, it is thought more venial. One may roughly conjecture that from fifteen to twenty per cent. of the members of Congress or of an average State legislature would allow themselves to be influenced by inducements of this kind.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 524.)

These words are Mr. Bryce's own. They do not, we are



quite aware, represent his whole impression as to the public morality of the United States. But we, be it remarked, are dealing not with his conclusions, but with his statements. Now the passages we have separated from their context reveal facts of which Mr. Bryce, just because he tries to look at them in connexion with wider considerations which we have for the moment intentionally kept out of sight, hardly appreciates the full effect. Take Mr. Bryce's observations, and suppose them applicable to England. A French critic might then write, in substance, as follows: 'No Prime Minister has ever been charged with pecuniary corruption, but the standard maintained by the Premier has not been maintained by the leading members of recent Administrations. Several Cabinet officers, say a Home Secretary or a Chancellor of the Exchequer, have been suspected of complicity in railroad jobs, and in frauds upon the revenue. They may not have put any part of the plunder into their own pockets, but they have winked at the misdeeds of their subordinates, and have allowed the funds of the Liberal or the Conservative party to be replenished by rendering services to corporations which a strict sense of public duty would have forbidden. No member of the Cabinet, however, has for the last twenty-five years taken a bribe for the performance of an executive act or an appointment. Bribery exists in the House of Commons. Five per cent. of the whole, say from thirty to thirty-five members, will take bribes in hard cash; and from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of the members, that is to say, roughly, from a hundred to a hundred and twenty members of the House, though they will not take money, may be got at by shares in a lucrative contract or by other kinds of corruption.' If our French observer were justified in thus writing, we should certainly hold that the state of public morality in England must have undergone a startling deterioration. If our critic concluded his observations with the remark that 'if, recognising the fact that the path of the politician is in all countries thickly set with snares, we leave ideals out of sight, and try England by an actual standard, we shall find that, while her legislative bodies fall below the level of purity maintained in Germany, probably also in France and Italy, her central and local Administration is not, in point of integrity, at this moment sensibly inferior to the Administrations of European countries,'\* we should certainly hold that this judgement

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\* *American Commonwealth*, ii. p. 525.

was more remarkable for the width of its worldly charity than for the severity of its moral tone. Yet the words we have placed in the mouth of a French traveller are, with the changes necessary for their application to England, nearly the words in which Mr. Bryce sums up his view of American corruption.

Here, however, we pass to our second topic, namely, the impressions which the facts our author observes make upon his own mind. The two subjects should be as much as possible kept apart, but are of equal importance. In forming our estimate, whether of an individual or of a nation, we rightly hold the general impressions of an acute and candid observer to be at least as important as the definite facts on which these impressions nominally rest. In criticising the 'American Commonwealth' it is of primary importance to bear in mind this distinction between facts and impressions. For if Mr. Bryce criticises the institutions of the United States with candid severity, he clearly entertains towards the people and the country a sentiment of unbounded confidence and admiration. A critic is tempted to say that our author's premisses tend in one direction, whilst his conclusions from his premisses all point in another. His observations show that the public life of America is mean, sordid, corrupt, rotten. But the whole tone of his pages bears witness to his belief that the American people are high-spirited, noble, generous, brimming over with energy, life, and hope. Thus, while he gives us pictures of profound political immorality and triumphant corruption, he is, nevertheless, convinced that public opinion is on the whole wholesome and upright. He admits that an observer sees in this new country evils which savour of old-world corruption, even of old-world despotism. But he shares 'the intense faith which the Americans have in the soundness of their institutions and in the future of their country.' Mr. Bryce examines every charge which philosophers or censors have brought against popular government, and, as regards the democracy of America, pronounces each charge unfounded. He disbelieves in the tyranny of the majority, he disbelieves in the fickleness of the people, he disbelieves in democratic incapacity for energetic action. He sees no connexion between popular government and anarchy, and inclines, we infer, to the belief prevalent among Americans that, on large matters of policy, the multitude of ordinary men will, in the long run, come to a right decision ;

whilst he drops more than one hint of a tendency towards the optimism which suggests that the sentiment of the masses is a safer guide than the knowledge or the thoughtfulness of an educated class.

On none of these opinions do we intend at the present moment to enter into debate. All we desire to establish is, that Mr. Bryce shares the American view of the condition and prospects of the Union. He, moreover, has reasons to give, and often strong reasons, for every opinion he advances. With him, as with Americans, hopefulness for the future is based in the main on success in the past. American democracy has passed through four great crises, and has passed through each with triumph. Whatever may be said about either the technical or the moral justification for the War of Independence, one thing is certain. The colonists took a just view of their interests; the prosperity of America demanded separation from England. The States seemed, about a century ago, likely to reap little gain from independence, owing to the want of a good constitution. Men were found with insight enough to devise, and a people with wisdom enough to accept, the untried fabric of the Federal Constitution. Slavery, whether abolished or maintained, would, thought acute observers, destroy the Union. Popular instinct bade the States of the North stand by the Union. Slavery was abolished, and American nationality was saved. The restoration of the Union would, it was predicted, mean Southern disaffection and Northern tyranny. Adherence to the principles on which the United States are based has, we are told, freed the North from the need of oppression and the South from the sentiment of disloyalty. In each of these instances, and especially in the last, a severe critic might point out a set-off to the alleged triumphs of the American democracy; but in national affairs men are guided by broad rather than by critical views, and the striking appearance of success almost of itself makes that success a reality. Mr. Bryce, at any rate, would say, and does in fact urge, that the actual successes of American democracy are good proof that the nation is sound and strong, and are of excellent omen for its future.

But whoever reads his book with care will see that Mr. Bryce's faith rests also on other bases than the general effect of American history. His true apology for the American people is to be found in his survey of their institutions. The third volume is much more than a mere series of illustrations and reflections. It is, in reality, an investiga-

tion into all the different aspects of life in America which, while they lie outside the sphere of politics, determine our estimate of a nation's fortunes. Thus Mr. Bryce examines the state of the churches, the position of women, the condition of the American universities; and the result of this examination fixes his judgement of the United States. The relation of the State in America towards religion commands his full sympathy. 'It is accepted as an axiom by all Americans that the civil power ought to be not only neutral . . . between different forms of faith, but ought to leave these matters entirely on one side, regarding them no more than it regards . . . the literary pursuits of the citizens.' This view, when thoroughly carried out, produces, he finds, none of the evils anticipated in Europe from disestablishment. Religion is respected and flourishes, and exerts at least as much influence as in England. Intolerance is all but unknown; the clergy are respected and respectable. Works of benevolence are pursued with an energy not to be witnessed even among the leading nations of Europe. Christianity, though not the established, is practically recognised as the national religion. Religious sentiment is much the same as in England, and scepticism, while not more rife, is less thoroughgoing than in English society, and is little likely to undermine the fundamental beliefs of the American people. All the evils, in short, of which theological exclusiveness or intolerance is the parent have, in our author's judgement, been either removed or mitigated under the system of democratic freedom, whilst their removal has given rise to no counterbalancing mischiefs. Hence, he naturally concludes that the relation between Church and State in America has solved the problem which for ages has harassed the people and perplexed the statesmanship of Europe.

When he surveys the position of women in the United States, criticism passes into admiration. Democratic theory and favourable circumstances have here produced their happiest results. Women have all the civil rights of citizens. To them all professions are open. Social intercourse between youths and maidens is less restrained than in England or Germany. Hence the pleasure of life is sensibly increased. Women contribute their fair portion, or more than their fair portion, to intellectual discussion. They are treated as morally and intellectually the equals of men, and receive a social deference which was originally a concession of chivalry to weakness and dependence. Of drawbacks, if

drawbacks there be, to the position of women in America, our author sees nothing. 'No country seems to owe more to its women than America, nor to owe to them so much of what is best in social institutions and in the beliefs that govern conduct.' Mr. Bryce, in effect, pronounces that women in America possess advantages attained by their sex in no other part of the world, and that a position which robs them of none of the charms, or graces, or virtues possessed by the women of England, endows them with admirable qualities which are at any rate rare on this side the Atlantic. Of the fairness of this estimate we say nothing; what we note is, that an observer who takes this view of one half of the inhabitants of the United States must necessarily hold that America has outstripped Europe on the road of progress. A remark of the same character applies to his account of the American universities.

'If I may venture to state the impression which the American universities have made upon me, I will say that while of all the institutions of the country they are those of which the Americans speak most modestly, and indeed deprecatingly, they are those which seem to be at this moment making the swiftest progress, and to have the brightest promise of the future. They are supplying exactly those things which European critics have hitherto found lacking to America: and they are contributing to her political as well as to her contemplative life elements of inestimable worth.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 464.)

This statement is, we venture to think, one that even the judgement of Americans may hold open to criticism. Be this as it may, a critic in whose eyes the undeveloped universities of America hold out so much of promise naturally believes that the American Commonwealth is destined itself to flourish.

If we look, in short, either at the past history of the United States, or at those portions of American society and life which most influence the character of a people, we are forced, according to our author's views, to believe that, whatever be the defects of American politics, the people are a great and flourishing nation, and hold in their hands the future of the civilised world. This, or something very like it, is clearly, to our minds, the impression which intimate study of the United States has made upon the mind of the author of the '*American Commonwealth*.'

Place Mr. Bryce's facts side by side with his impressions, and you arrive at a paradox, if not at a contradiction. Political life, like everything else in the United States, is the creature of public opinion. Now American 'public

'opinion is, on the whole, wholesome and upright,' but political life is in the United States corrupt, while the American people remain a noble and an honest nation. Mr. Bryce is well aware that he is compelled to maintain a paradox.

'Here,' he writes, 'we are brought face to face with the cardinal problem of American politics. Where political life is all-pervading, can practical politics be on a lower level than public opinion? How can a free people which tolerates gross evils be a pure people? To explain this is the hardest task which one who describes the United States sees confronting him. Experience has taught me, as it teaches every traveller who seeks to justify when he returns to Europe his faith in the American people, that it is impossible to get Englishmen at any rate to realise the co-existence of phenomena so unlike those of their own country, and to draw the inferences which those phenomena suggest to one who has seen them with his own eyes. Most English admirers of popular government, when pressed with the facts, deny them. But I have already admitted them.' (Bryce, vol. ii. p. 618.)

The difficulty of the problem presented in these strong terms may, it is true, be shifted, if not exactly diminished, by two reflections.

Mr. Bryce, in the first place, clearly sees American life and the American nation through rose-coloured spectacles. He likes the country; he is attached to the inhabitants. An anecdote which he himself tells of his experience as a traveller in another land betrays more of our author's character than he is himself aware. He spent, it seems, some months with a couple of friends in Iceland. When he returned to England he gave his acquaintance an account of his Icelandic experiences; he told them every fact which could throw light on life in a desolate and frozen country. To his surprise, he found that none of his English acquaintance could understand the charm which he himself found in existence in Iceland. The failure he seems to attribute to the impossibility of painting by any enumeration of details the character and, so to speak, the atmosphere of an unknown land. This difficulty is a real one; but this tale of Iceland suggests another and more apt reflection. That circumstances made Iceland pleasant to Mr. Bryce and his companions is of course true, but this does not prove that ninety-nine Englishmen out of a hundred would not find a sojourn in Iceland uncomfortable or wretched. The pleasure, in short, enjoyed by three gentlemen when visiting a desolate country does not show that Iceland is a paradise.

There is no need to follow out in detail the application of this remark to Mr. Bryce's views of America. American hospitality, geniality, and brightness have to many of us a special fascination. But a philosophic observer should be as much on his guard against the delusions of friendship as against the perversions of enmity; and we may well doubt whether the facts known to Mr. Bryce, and honestly recorded by him, would leave in the mind of another observer the admiration for the United States obviously felt by our author.

Mr. Bryce, in the second place, has increased the difficulty of the problem he has presented for consideration by inadvertently misstating or confusing its terms. He assumes that in the United States 'public opinion is on the whole 'wholesome and upright.' If this only means that the majority of American men and women are at least as upright and honest in ordinary life as are the majority among the inhabitants of any country in the world, and that the mass of honest God-fearing Americans would as soon commit a burglary as share the ill-gotten booty of the bosses and 'boys' who have flourished on the plunder of New York or Pennsylvania, we do not for a moment doubt the statement that public opinion is upright. But the assertion, if it means this, guides us but a little way, and is meant, we conceive, to cover the quite different allegation that in the United States public opinion condemns political immorality and turpitude as strongly as does the public opinion of the leading countries in Europe. Now Mr. Bryce's own book, combined with the most ordinary knowledge, shows that this allegation is hardly borne out by facts. The majority, and the vast majority, of Americans are untainted by corruption. But the true peculiarity of the case is that men whose private life is virtuous do not condemn as strongly as might be expected the vices of politicians. American kindness and good nature, so much vaunted by our author, is, if looked at from another side, toleration of evil; and the prevalence of such toleration fosters, if it does not create, the diseases of American public life. The people laugh at the boss, and consider him a joke; they hold that politicians have a morality of their own. Scamps and adventurers naturally take advantage of these notions. In every civilised country there are scores of scoundrels like Tweed. What is peculiar to America is that respectable citizens feel no keen indignation at the success of Tweed and his confederates. France is, we fear, a far more deeply corrupted country than the

United States. Frenchmen suffer under the vices engendered by a century of revolution. But President Grévy's alleged connivance at the asserted corrupt practices of his son-in-law forced him into retirement. French politicians are no purists, but they know the sentiment of their constituents; and when (possibly to the ruin of France) they broke down the authority of the Presidency, they represented popular wrath at fraud in high places. A spice of American coolness at the time of Grévy's fall would have benefited France; but it were well if American humour were tinged with a little French capacity for anger.

Tolerance of evil exhibits itself over the whole field of American public life. If corruption has been systematically denounced at New York, the denunciation has come in the main from a writer of high character and marked genius who is not a born American. Of the figures who have filled a large space in the eye of America none is more remarkable than Mr. Ward Beecher. We pronounce no judgement on the less satisfactory sides of his career. What we do assert is, that in no country but America could a preacher have retained his influence after the transactions which left Mr. Ward Beecher's character a painful enigma. Mr. Blaine is the leading statesman of his country. Of the truth or falsehood of the charges brought against him no foreigner can form an opinion. The noteworthy point is, that the turning of a thousand or so votes at New York would have sent Mr. Blaine to the White House, and that accusations, believed to be true by thousands of the most respectable citizens of America, have not greatly injured Mr. Blaine's career; he has been the patron, and probably will be the guide, of President Harrison. Of the features in President Cleveland's career which have displeased Englishmen we purposely say nothing. This point alone is, as regards our present argument, noteworthy. President Cleveland and his friends could never have come into office had it not been for the Southern vote. But, as Mr. Bryce's pages themselves testify, the solidity of the Southern vote is the result of fraud or oppression, which even Northern republicans who suffer from it bear with toleration or indifference. Of the apathy with which the repudiation of State debts has been regarded we say little. The semi-independence of each State may, perhaps, lead the American nation to regard State honesty as a matter in which the character of the country has no concern.

\* Two examples of American feeling which are only indirectly connected with politics are to our minds curiously significant



of the nature of this leniency towards public vice, and perhaps also of its cause. President Cleveland all but lost his election through the alleged irregularities of his private life in early youth. He was charged with no political offence, nor even with any of the more treacherous forms of domestic immorality. The allegations against him might possibly in England have been held to show that he was not a desirable son-in-law; they would certainly not have hindered his admission to the House of Commons or to the Cabinet. Thousands of Americans who thought lightly of the charges against Mr. Blaine were deeply moved by the charges against Mr. Cleveland: they thought more of domestic than of public virtue. This is a condition of feeling to be looked for in a country greatly swayed by the influence of women. This state of sentiment has its good side. But it is *primâ facie* unfavourable to the maintenance of a very high standard of political morality. Few things, again, are more remarkable than the general tone of a writer who, like Bret Harte, represents widespread sentiment. Every line he writes tells of the goodness to be found in blackguards; his pages show not a vestige of that firm belief in the scoundrelism of scoundrels which is constantly shown, for instance, by the author of 'Barry Lyndon.' It is hardly conceivable that the thousands who admire Bret Harte should condemn with any severity the performances of the political adventurers whose success, according to Mr. Bryce's own view, more than half amuses the people who are its victims.

The true paradox of American public life is not nearly so much that practical politics are on a lower level than public opinion, but that a people whose virtue in many respects equals or excels the virtue of the European nations should look with tolerance upon political malpractices which the citizens of many European States would hardly endure. To put the matter in another form, the question which demands inquiry is, how far the corruption of American public life and the indifference of American public opinion betray a fatal flaw in the institutions of America. Has American democracy proved a failure?

Here we in effect come round to the last subject we have proposed to ourselves for examination. What are the conclusions as to the political condition of the United States to which Mr. Bryce's facts and opinions, taken together, lead candid inquirers? These conclusions are, if we may speak in very broad terms, twofold. The first conclusion is that political corruption in the United States does not mean the

same thing which it would mean in England, Germany, or France. If five per cent. of the House of Commons calmly pocketed bribes in hard cash; if the servants of the English Crown were known to make a private purse out of the discharge of their public functions; if the intellectual character of the judges were on the wane and the integrity of the bench were open to suspicion; if every member of the Civil Service were taxed to support the Tory or Liberal organisation to which he owed his appointment; if Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool were habitually plundered by thieves who, under the name of party managers, usurped the municipal government of these cities, it would need no sagacity to predict the speedy decline of the British Empire. If, in short, modern England tolerated the political vices which disgraced the reigns of the first two Georges, we should have no reason to expect that national virtue would reassert itself as it did before the conclusion of the reign of the third George. But the phenomena which we know would at the present day foretell the death of English greatness need not, it is clear, in the United States be more than symptoms of a transitory, though dangerous, malady of the body politic.

The reasons why this is so are numerous. The chief alone can be here touched upon. Politics in America do not in ordinary times occupy as important a position as they hold in a European country. There is a sense in which the assertion that the Americans are not a political people, paradoxical though it sound, is true. The varied interests of individual existence, the immunity of the nation from foreign dangers, the immense subdivision of political functions, the huge field open to the energies of private associations, the charms of scientific investigation and invention, all combine to render politics comparatively a far less important matter to the citizens of the United States than to Germans, to Italians, or to Frenchmen. America, indeed, in this point, as in many others, only exhibits in a magnified form tendencies already at work in England and other industrial countries. The vehemence and the bitterness excited by the Home Rule controversy conceal from us the fact that Englishmen of the present generation are not such keen politicians as were their fathers or grandfathers. But that this is so must to any careful observer seem past a doubt. France is in many respects the opposite of America; French public life is always a drama full of interest as of peril. Frenchmen who are interested in anything outside

their private concerns are interested in politics, and the corruption of public means the depravation of private life. In America the very exclusion or retirement of the best citizens from the field occupied by the Machine and its workers diminishes the significance of vices which are rampant in the legislature of New York or of Pennsylvania, since the corruption of politicians does not infect the best men in the country.

In this matter English history teaches a useful lesson. The reason why England recovered from the baseness of the early Hanoverian *régime* is that the political class was then a small class. Thousands of steady, moral, God-fearing Englishmen knew nothing of the vices of the Court or the town; their influence told in the long run, and restored the honour and probity of the nation. So it may well be in America. This hoped-for renovation of public life would, to our minds, be certain, could we absolutely trust Mr. Bryce's observations on one all-important subject. The vices, which even friendly observers deplore, are, he is convinced, on the decline; reformers are everywhere battling with evil; their success is slow, but the good cause makes way. It is, further, quite possible that constitutional changes, in appearance comparatively slight, may work great effects for good. Mr. Bryce's pages suggest that the removal, difficult though it be, of the prejudice in favour of local representatives might work wonders. Modern fashion under-rates as much as the sentiment of the last generation over-rated the effect of constitutional changes. American inventiveness is proverbial. The ingenuity and resource which has been monopolised by mechanical inventions will one day, we may hope, turn to improving the mechanism of political life.

Against these hopes must indeed be set off some considerations to which our author hardly gives due prominence. If we compare the America of to-day with the America of a century back, we see a country in which public genius has declined with the increase of material prosperity. Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, have left no successors or representatives. The War of Secession and the period of reconstruction exhibited in a favourable light the vigour and patriotism of average American citizens. But the needs of a portentous crisis did not produce, either in the North or in the South, a single statesman who could compare either with men such as Cavour, or Bismarck, or Deák, or with the Fathers of the Commonwealth. The

American judicial bench shows hardly a single legist of the stamp of Marshall, of Kent, or of Story. It may well be doubted whether any two Americans have at the present moment anything like the authority in Europe which attached to Franklin and to Washington.

Add to this that the tendency of events diminishes the influence of the forces on which the strength of the United States has depended. The villages and the smaller towns have exhibited local self-government in its best and most effective form. But year after year the influence of the country districts grows less, whilst the cities which have been the centre of all that is worst in American politics increase in size, in number, and in power. The honest countryfolk and the sturdy farmers are still happily the backbone of the community, but it is perfectly clear that their authority must in the long run yield to the authority of the cities. The farmers of New England are going west; Frenchmen from Canada, or Irishmen from Liverpool or Cork, are becoming the occupants of New England. The time will come when the Pilgrim Fathers have few or no representatives in the country they settled.

American prosperity, lastly, is due in the main to the possession by Americans of limitless land. Travellers who a century or a century and a half hence follow in the steps of Mr. Bryce as he has followed in the steps of M. de Tocqueville, will find the United States a fully occupied country. The filling up of vacant land will mean the clashing of class interests and the growth of the eternal conflict between rich and poor. Nor will the United States possess even the resources of modern Europe, for when America is filled by its people there will be no remaining New World, reserved as it were by Providence, as a refuge for the poor. Can anyone assert with confidence that institutions which even now exhibit terrible flaws will bear the stress of difficulties which the modern civilised world has not yet been compelled to meet?

When, however, all the possible dangers of the future which can be suggested by rational pessimism are enumerated, it is, we hold, still apparent that, as Mr. Bryce contends, the faults which mar the public life of America are not symptoms of national ruin or degradation. The American Commonwealth, when compared, not with an ideal state, but with the existing polities of modern Europe, stands the comparison fairly enough. The noble Constitution, created by the genius of the most successful political archi-

fects the world has seen, is still a model to be studied by reformers. The virtues of the people counteract in many respects the vicious working of their institutions. In no country in the world does the ordinary citizen enjoy so much of prosperity, happiness, and true welfare as in America.

Our second conclusion is, that even so friendly a survey of the American Commonwealth as that carried out with infinite labour and skill by Mr. Bryce goes but a little way to justify 'the intense faith which Americans have in the 'soundness of their institutions and in the future of their 'country.'

The citizens of the Union are trying, and that on the largest scale, the most remarkable experiment in government the world has witnessed. Their claim is to have advanced further on the road of progress than any other nation. Their institutions ought, therefore, to be tried by more or less of an ideal standard. How do they stand the test? The eulogies or apologies of an admirer even so judicious as Mr. Bryce answer this question. His pages abound with suggestions that the evils of modern American life can be paralleled in other times and in other countries. If American politicians take bribes, Walpole knew the price of every one of the M.P.'s whom he addressed as 'honourable gentlemen.' If voters are bought and sold at New York, it is not so long since the corruption of electors, not to mention the purchase of boroughs, was known in England. With us, too, as in America, political services, not always of a very exalted kind, smooth a lawyer's path to the bench. The sale of livings casts a slur, scarcely noted by Englishmen, on the character of the Established Church.

In the search for parallels our author's ingenuity and the variety of his knowledge are here and there, in our judgement, a little misleading. The purchase of commissions down to a recent date in the English army, and the sale of judicial places in France under the *ancien régime*, were anomalous and impolitic arrangements; but they bear no likeness whatever to corrupt practices either at New York or elsewhere. An officer who bought a commission no more gave a bribe than he picked a pocket, and the French magistracy who, by purchase and inheritance, made judicial functions the property and the special duty of certain eminent families formed under the ancient monarchy the most independent and the least corrupt portion of the civil service. The means by which a French magistrate attained his place involved no

element either of concealment or disgrace. Grant, however, what may easily be conceded, that every abuse to be found at present in the United States has its parallel in some other age or in some other land. This concession shows that the great experiment in popular government is developing the vices which have disgraced the rule of aristocracies or of kings. Mr. Bryce himself, we venture to infer from passages in his book, goes far towards sharing the feeling that popular government in America cannot stand the test of any ideal standard. The eloquent but melancholy pages which close his work enumerate the grand historical crises at which the noblest of mankind have dreamed that an ideal has been reduced to practice, and have been rudely awakened to the consciousness that their dream had the unreality of a vision.

If the government and institutions of America are far removed from that ideal commonwealth which European philosophers imagined and which Americans expected to create, the disappointment caused by this fact appears to Mr. Bryce to be 'only the utterance of the ever-fresh surprise of mankind at the discovery of their own weaknesses and shortcomings. Why,' he asks, 'should either philosophers in Europe or practical men in America have expected human nature to change when it crossed the ocean?' Our author for once does injustice both to philosophy and to common sense. What rational men, we take it, have expected, or at least have hoped, is not that human nature should change, but that the experiment of popular government, when tried under favourable circumstances, some of which can never recur during the whole future of humanity, should turn out an undoubted if not a brilliant success, and should exhibit the best capacities of human nature in a new light.

This is the rational ideal by which the American Commonwealth may be tried. Providence has lavished on the people of the United States all its rarest favours; the original settlers were the 'choicest children of England, long trained 'by the practice of self-government at home' to carry out in another world all the best ideas derived from the laws and institutions of the freest country in the Old World. They were delivered at once from the load of inherited evils with which feudalism, despotism, and superstition have oppressed Europe. To them fell such a new start in the career of nations as history does not record to have fallen to the lot of any other race. They were set free, without any effort of their

own, from all the fears, the intrigues, and the rivalries which distract the policies of older States. The terror of foreign war or the burden of an armed peace has had no place, and need never have a place, on the other side of the Atlantic. To these spoilt children of Providence was assigned the all but unchecked dominion, not over a new country, but over a new world, and that a world nearly as unoccupied as it was untilled. To men thus happily situated it was also granted that their constitution should, under the guidance of a happy star, be moulded by the hands of statesmen of unrivalled skill in political architecture, who undertook their work just at the moment when statesmanship could profit both by the traditions of English experience and by the enlightenment and the humanity of the eighteenth century. Men might well expect that such a people, in such a country, governed by such institutions, should exhibit, not the realisation of a philosophic Utopia, but the actual working of a polity far nobler and better than any commonwealth which has hitherto existed among mankind. Who can say that this modest hope has been realised? A philosopher or a moralist need at any rate hardly be blamed if he puts down Mr. Bryce's book with a sigh; for the reader discovers that the net result of our author's friendly and honest criticism is that the government of the American Commonwealth is just a little better—a cynic might say, not so very much worse—than the government of the best-ruled countries of Europe.

- ART. IX.—1. *La France du Centenaire*. Par EDOUARD GOUMY. Paris: 1889.
2. *La France en 1889*. Par le Comte DE CHAUDORDY. Paris: 1889.
3. *Le Suffrage Universel et le Régime Parlementaire*. Par PAUL LAFFITTE. Paris: 1888.
4. *Etat de la France en 1789*. Par PAUL BOITEAU. Paris: 1860.

As the later years of the century close around us, we are reminded by jubilees and anniversaries without number of not a few of the illustrious lives and memorable events which mark the epochs of modern history. It would seem as if the recurrence of a date, marked by an interval of a hundred years, evokes the spirit of the past to revisit the earth, and we recall the very scenes in which our forefathers played an active and conspicuous part. If this be an illusion, it is at least a touching and an instructive one. These dates are but the signals on the line. The progressive march of human history is direct, and it is immeasurable. The divisions of time are mere human artifices. The past is for ever past, and the world does not revolve, like the planets, through a centennial zodiac of events, repeating in one age the phenomena of those which preceded it. But the recurrence of such conventional periods invites us to measure the present state of the world by the standard of the past, and to consider the effects which the stupendous events of former centuries have had on the destinies of mankind. To relate or to describe, even in the most summary manner, the changes which have transformed the world from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, would be an undertaking far beyond the powers we can bring to such a task and the space we can allot to it. Our intention is much humbler, our object strictly limited. We shall confine ourselves to a passing allusion to one or two memorable events which the present centenary recalls, and we then propose to devote the remainder of this article to an attempt to estimate the effects, for good or for evil, of that revolution which, above all others, has made 1789 an era in the history of Europe and the state of France.

It was but the other day that the men of Plymouth and the national theatres in London celebrated the defeat of the great Armada in 1588, which crushed the maritime power



of Spain and laid the foundation of that of England. Drake, Effingham, and Raleigh are still household names cherished by every man who loves the independence and religion of his country. In the present year the American people commemorate the birthday of their national existence, marked by the establishment in 1789 of the existing Federal Constitution of the United States. Above all it becomes us to remember that on February 13, 1689, the Lords and Commons of England placed the crown of these kingdoms on the heads of William of Orange and Queen Mary, drove from the land a Popish and arbitrary sovereign, and founded that constitution on the Bill of Rights, which has survived, unchanged but not undeveloped, the vicissitudes of two centuries. Of all the events in our history that just and bloodless revolution is the most salutary and the most glorious, for we owe to it the freedom and the greatness of the British nation. There are few examples in the annals of the world of a political constitution which has lasted unimpaired for two centuries, or which has secured so long a period of domestic peace and increasing prosperity to a people. These blessings are due, under Providence, to the principles acted upon and maintained by the Whig party at that memorable crisis, combining a wise respect for the traditional institutions of the country with a liberal spirit which has enabled them to assume, by successive stages of growth and developement, their present form, without any of those convulsions which have agitated and shattered the monarchies and commonwealths of other nations both in ancient and modern times. *Esto perpetua* is the heartfelt cry of every man who wishes the future condition of Britain to rival her past; and if we need a lesson to endear to us yet more the constitution of our country, we should find it in the struggles and the failures of less favoured States and in the vain attempt to erect a free and stable government on the ruins of the past.

France, too, has her centennial anniversaries, but they cast a sinister light on the close of each succeeding period. The Jacquerie and the wars of the fifteenth century, the abominable massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and finally the tremendous catastrophe of 1789, followed by a hundred years of revolution, are the dreadful memorials of civil contests, of religious bigotry and intolerance, of arbitrary power bound by no engagements, and of popular violence, irresistible in its attacks on every existing political and social institution,

but powerless to create any form of government capable of endurance for twenty years. It would be idle to retrace at length the well-known history of the successive changes from the monarchy of 1789 and 1791, which perished in its birth, to the fury of the Convention; to the base tyranny of the Directory; to the reaction of the Consulate, which has left its mark in the administrative system of France; to the paroxysm of military strength and glory which aspired to the empire of the West, and collapsed under the revolt of every free people; to the restoration of a monarchy already obsolete; to the fresh convulsion of the Hundred Days; to the more rational policy of a constitutional government under Louis XVIII., which was overthrown by the folly of his brother; to the establishment of the sovereignty of the House of Orleans on a more popular basis, its failure in 1848, the restored Republic, the revived Empire, the catastrophe of 1870, the siege and conflagration of Paris, and the birth of another republic as weak and incapable as any of the thirteen or fourteen governments that have preceded it.

M. Goumy, in one of the works before us, '*La France du Centenaire*,' reckons that seventeen revolutions have taken place in France within the last hundred years, each of which has caused a total transfer of supreme power to new hands.

'That,' he says, 'is the last word of '89, and the ultimate consequence of our great Revolution. All this springs from the date we are about to celebrate as fruit grows on a tree. The great Constituent Assembly gave birth to the anarchy of '91. The anarchy of '91 led to the war of '92. The war of '92 gave birth to the Reign of Terror and the military uprising of '93. A military dictatorship led to the Empire of Napoleon. The First Empire created the Napoleonic legend. The Napoleonic legend, allied to universal suffrage, produced the Second Empire; the Second Empire the war of 1870; the war of 1870 left France mutilated and distracted as she now is, and being thus mutilated and distracted she is about to — What? That will soon be known!'

This indeed is no festival which the French are about to celebrate in their centenary of revolution, but, as this writer adds, 'a leap in the dark of the most perilous character, to find there perhaps, in addition to civil war, dictatorship, and foreign war, the end of all that still remains to our country of security, dignity, and greatness.' It has been said, perhaps with truth, that every one of these phantom governments has perished more by its own faults than by the real strength of the opposing forces that overthrew it. Be this as it may, the result of these hundred years is an incessant mutability, and a gradual descent from all that

marks the dignity and stability of a State to a condition of anarchy which threatens the very existence of the nation. If it be asked to what we may attribute this long series of changes and revolutions, it would be idle to assign it to the inherent inconstancy of a great people, or to the failure of individual capacity to guide the destinies of a nation. France in the last hundred years has given birth to men inferior to none in military genius, in political ability, in eloquence, and in patriotism. The Revolution has been stronger than them all; it has successively overthrown them all, and left their work a heap of ruins. The reason we take to be, that all the institutions which have thus rapidly flourished and perished were based on some false principle of government, and that the bulk of the French people have never shown an energetic spirit of resistance either to anarchy or to tyranny, but have submitted with a sort of fatalism to every change which the destructive powers of the Revolution brought about. The tremendous convulsion of 1789 snapped asunder all the links of tradition, which the feeble government of Louis XVI. made no effort to defend. The end of the monarchy was the end of the State. What was to succeed it? A democratic power, at first sanguinary, at last incapable, which lapsed in a few years into military despotism, when the ambition of Napoleon exhausted the nation and outraged Europe by his wars, whilst he established in France an administrative system which still exists, and which continues to perform the ordinary functions of government, even under the most extravagant vicissitudes of political life. The French Revolution considered in its totality has proved not so much the creation of a new order of things, as the destruction of all that preceded it. The monarchy sank under its own abuses, weakness, and corruption. Almost all that has succeeded it has proved transitory. But it is worth while, looking back over this period of a hundred years, to consider what the Revolution has accomplished as well for good as for evil; and we shall endeavour briefly to retrace in the following pages its economical, its political, and its moral and social consequences.

No event was ever hailed with greater rapture than the convocation of the States General of France. It was the dawn of a new era and of a glorious day. Not only in France, but throughout Europe, there was hardly to be found a man or a mind capable of resisting the burst of universal enthusiasm. The fullness of time was come. A millennium of freedom was at hand. The fall of the Bastille

was the outward symbol of the fall of tyranny, though even that event has been shown in the present year to be little better than a legend, and the Parisians have reconstructed a Bastille for their amusement in card paper. But that period of extravagant hopes and misplaced confidence was of short duration. The Constitution to which the National Assembly of 1789 gave birth perished within two years, being, says M. Goumy, a work of extreme presumption, extreme inexperience, and violent passion. Nor was that all. It was a work of vengeance. It crushed the *noblesse*, who aided the work of destruction by their rash and cowardly emigration. It virtually deposed the king. It robbed and persecuted the Church. It demoralised the nation.

‘On September 30, 1791, the National Assembly declared by the voice of its president, Thouret, that its task was finished, and its work completed, since it had given a constitution to France. What it had really given was a sheet of paper—*charta*—whose numerous and solemn provisions might be compressed within a few words. “The *Ancien Régime* is at an end. Government is at an end likewise.”’

There are still some survivors of the last generation who cherish the belief that the Declaration of the Rights of Man prefixed to the Constitution of 1791 revealed truths yet undiscovered by the human race, and that the legislation of the Constituent Assembly, based on the wild theories of Rousseau, was a gift of inestimable value to the world. These are what are called ‘the immortal principles of 1789.’ But in point of fact whatever was sound and true in the Declaration had been already accepted and put in practice by Great Britain and the United States, the rest was mere fury and bombast; and it would have been as easy to found a government on the Republic of Plato as on the crude theories which the Constituent Assembly embodied in some thousands of laws passed with indecent haste amidst scenes of turbulence and revolutionary excitement.

An entire generation paid dearly by incessant revolution and war—on the block and on the field of battle—for those first hours of a transport which were from the first not unattended by deeds of violence. Even now it is doubtful whether the population of France has recovered from the holocaust of victims which the Revolution and the revolutionary wars wrung from her. But this much is true. The old existing state of things was intolerable and was worn out. What might succeed it, who knew? The monarchy had really sunk into the polluted grave of Louis XV. The whole reign of his unfortunate successor was a feeble

struggle against an irresistible fate. Yet it is impossible not to feel that if Turgot had been supported by a resolute sovereign, as George III. supported Mr. Pitt in 1783, the economical measures proposed by that great minister might have relieved the nation from the most pressing incentives to revolution.

Strange as it must now appear, the two proximate causes of the explosion were the want of food and the want of money. There were three hundred bread riots in the earlier years of the reign of Louis XVI. The treasury was exhausted and the credit of the State extinguished, in a country which now pays six times the amount of taxes and supports ten times the amount of debt. That has been the actual cost of the Revolution to the people of France. Yet it must be said that the nation is far more able to bear the enormous amount of its present burdens than it was a hundred years ago to meet comparatively small liabilities, and even to keep the people from starvation. Whatever else it has done, the changes effected by the Revolution have entirely altered for the better the material condition of the population throughout France. The prodigious natural and social resources of the country have been opened. Property and wellbeing have been diffused. Every portion of the land and of the soil has been as it were transformed by the magical power of industry and liberal legislation; and if we are amazed at the calamities from which the French have suffered, we are still more amazed at the buoyancy with which they have surmounted them.

M. Paul Boiteau, in his work entitled '*Etat de la France en 1789*,' writes as an enthusiastic partisan of the Revolution, but he supplies us in a convenient form with an accurate account of the financial state of the country. In 1781 the national debt of France amounted to one hundred and twenty-six millions sterling, carrying interest to the amount of six millions, or about 5 per cent. But the debt was considerably increased between 1781 and 1789. Necker added sixteen millions to it. According to the statement submitted by Necker to the States General on May 5, 1789, the revenue amounted to 475,294,000 livres, and the expenditure to 531,444,000 livres—deficiency, 56,150,000. The administration of the finances had been for many years detestable, oppressive to the people and unproductive to the State. But there was no reason at all that this administration should not be radically reformed by a capable minister, as in fact it was by M. Mollien ten years later;

and a political revolution was not the way to reform it. On the contrary, the Constituent Assembly swept away many of the existing sources of revenue, without replacing them by others, and contracted fresh liabilities which the treasury was wholly unable to meet. Far from averting bankruptcy, they rushed headlong into it. But we draw attention to these figures chiefly for the purpose of contrasting them with the present estimates of French finance. The national debt, contracted in this century, is tenfold that of the monarchy of 1789, and the taxation six or seven fold. Indeed, at this moment the annual deficit is equal to the whole revenue of 1789. This, with every allowance for the change in the value of money and other circumstances, is an astonishing result. But the lesser burden of 1789 inequally distributed was borne with more impatience than the greater burden of 1889, which falls in equal proportions on all classes.

Economical results might have been arrived at without any political revolution at all. That was the opinion of Turgot when he said to the king, 'No new taxes, 'no loan, no bankruptcy.' France was hide-bound by vicious legislation. In ten years the whole aspect of the country might have been changed. But the duration of that ministry was only twenty months. The Parliament of Paris, the Court, and the *noblesse* compelled the king to dismiss it. Their blind and infatuated resistance to reform was the direct cause of their own destruction. Turgot never contemplated any surrender of the prerogatives of the Crown. On the contrary, it was by the authority of the Crown that he proposed to carry his reforms. The vested interests and the constituted bodies were too strong for him. The Crown itself had ceased to govern, even when it sought to govern well.

From an economical point of view only two things were requisite to meet the exigencies of 1789—the equal taxation of all classes, which would at once have increased the revenue and relieved the poor from an iniquitous oppression, and the parliamentary control of the public expenditure. Instead of these simple measures, the Constituent Assembly proceeded to attack and overthrow the very foundations of society, and claimed to regenerate humanity itself. A national bankruptcy followed: two-thirds of the public debt were wiped out. From the date of the Consulate for fifty years the finances of France were judiciously administered, in spite of two invasions. But with the overthrow of the

constitutional monarchy in 1848 all control was lost. The Second Empire, after having lavished inconceivable sums and plunged the nation into a disastrous war, followed by a crushing indemnity, left behind it an enormous debt. But even these liabilities have been exceeded by the reckless extravagance and corruption of the democratic Republic, and the final result is, as has been demonstrated in the French Senate from official documents, that the collective debts of the nation amount at this time to no less than thirty-four milliards of francs, or upwards of fourteen hundred millions of pounds sterling, carrying the current interest to at least fifty millions, and raising the total annual charges on the country to one hundred and thirty or forty millions sterling. The final financial result to France of a century of revolution is a debt twice as large as that of this country, a burden of taxation pressing heavily on every class of the people, and a growing conviction that liabilities of such magnitude will not permanently be borne or met by a democracy which claims the right to overthrow at its pleasure every institution and form of government.\*

The material condition of the French peasantry has, we admit, improved, but at what a price even to themselves! The Revolution confiscated not only the lands and property of the rich, but the common property of the poor. France in 1789 was scarcely less rich than England at the present

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\* It is scarcely possible for the British public to realise or believe the excessive prodigality of the rulers of the Republic in the last ten years, during which the Radicals have been in power, but M. de Chaudordy supplies us with the following particulars taken from a statement made to the Budget Commission. In the last ten years the annual expenditure has been from three milliards and five or six hundred millions of francs (the milliard being forty millions sterling) and the revenue two milliards nine hundred thousand francs. The annual deficit being from twenty to twenty-four millions sterling, and the accumulated deficit of ten years being two hundred and forty millions sterling. The financial embarrassments which led to the Revolution of 1789 and the subsequent bankruptcy were literally mere child's play in comparison with these enormous liabilities. All the prodigality of the court, under Louis XIV. and his successors, never led to such a result as this; and if we take into consideration the losses caused by the wars of a hundred years, the sum which the Revolution has cost France is literally incalculable. We may add by way of comparison that M. Necker, in his financial report to the king in May, 1789, estimated the annual deficit of the revenue at 50,150,000 francs or short of 2,200,000 pounds sterling. The expenditure of France at that time was about twenty-two millions sterling.

time in charitable endowments of every kind—the Church was maintained by its own legitimate possessions, so were religious houses, hospitals, asylums for the indigent, colleges, parochial schools to the number of 27,000, and communal property of all kinds. The whole was swept away and appropriated by the State, and to this day the sums awarded by the State to these institutions are no more than a pitiful compensation for the large provision which existed before the Revolution for the spiritual instruction and charitable relief of the common people. Some efforts were made by Napoleon during the Consulate and the Empire to repair this horrible injustice, and funds were granted to the clergy, the hospitals, and the schools; but the final result is this: The endowed property seized by the State from 1790 to 1800 amounted to five milliards of francs (two hundred millions sterling) and two hundred and seventy millions of income. The State returned annual payments to the amount of seventeen millions.\* The capital was swallowed up and lost.

In the course of this century the loss to the poor has been partially compensated by the State; that is, not by endowments, but by taxation taken from the people. It is melancholy to reflect that whenever the democratic party has ruled, its course has been marked by rapine, prodigality, and corruption; and that when the remedy has been applied it has been done by arbitrary authority.

It would be an invidious task for a foreign writer to examine and lay bare all the fatal results of this prolonged convulsion of a neighbouring nation. On this side the Channel the tradition of old animosities has entirely passed away—we trust they will never be revived—and the people of England desire simply that France may be pacific, prosperous, and free. They have shown a disposition to accept more cordially than the French themselves each of these mutations of government, and have not cared to examine too nicely the evils that have attended them. But it is from France that we receive the most tremendous charges that can be made against the existing government and the political and social condition of the country. The books we have named at the head of this article are mere specimens of the denunciations levelled at the party which has held office for the last ten years, and at the results of democratic government. But this is no struggle of mere party leaders;

\* See M. Taine's article in the '*Revue des deux Mondes*' of March 15, 1889.



it is the protest of the intelligence of the nation against a political system leading to destruction. To quote the words of M. Renan in a recent address to the French Academy, which we prefer to cite in his own polished language :—

‘ La Révolution ne doit pas être jugée par les mêmes règles que les situations ordinaires de l’humanité. Envisagée en dehors de son caractère grandiose et fatal, la Révolution n’est qu’odieuse et horrible. A la surface, c’est une orgie sans nom. Les hommes, dans cette bataille étrange, valent en proportion de leur laideur. Tout y sert, excepté le bon sens et la modération. Les fous, les incapables, les scélérats y sont attirés par le sentiment instinctif que leur moment d’être utiles est venu. Le succès des journées de la Révolution semble obtenu par la collaboration de tous les crimes et de toutes les insanités. Le misérable qui ne sait que tuer a de beaux jours. La fille de joie, la folle de la Salpêtrière y a son emploi. Le temps avait besoin d’étourdis, de scélérats ; il fut servi à souhait. On eût dit l’ouverture du puits de l’abîme, toutes les vapeurs infernales d’un siècle corrompu obscurcissant le ciel.

‘ Mais il ne faut pas s’arrêter à ces détails hideux, qui sont comme le prix dont on paye la collaboration de la populace. Quand on envisage l’ensemble—qu’on tient compte surtout de ce grand coefficient des choses humaines, la victoire, qui fait que beaucoup de folles tentatives doivent être jugées par le succès—le phénomène général de la Révolution apparaît comme un de ces grands mouvements de l’histoire qu’une volonté supérieure domine et dirige. La pensée arrêtée chez quelques possédés : “ Il faut, à tout prix, que la Révolution réussisse,” devint une obsession, une voix du dehors qui s’impose, une suggestion tyrannique. A partir de ce moment, la Révolution eut un génie, qui présida chaque jour à ses actes et qui, en vue du succès, ne se trompa guère. Un pacte de terreur lia des milliers d’hommes et les mit dans cet état d’entraînement impersonnel où l’on est emporté, à la vie, à la mort, sur un navire qu’on a lancé et qu’on ne gouverne plus.

‘ Vous êtes jeune ; vous verrez la solution de cette énigme, Monsieur. Les hommes extraordinaires pour lesquels nous nous sommes passionnés, eurent-ils tort, eurent-ils raison ? De cette ivresse inouïe, réduite à l’exacte balance des profits et pertes, que reste-t-il ? Le sort de ces grands enthousiastes sera-t-il de demeurer éternellement isolés, suspendus dans le vide, victimes d’une noble folie ? Ou bien ont-ils, en somme, fondé quelque chose et préparé l’avenir ? On ne le sait pas encore. J’estime que, dans quelques années, on le saura. Si, dans dix ou vingt ans, la France est prospère et libre, fidèle à la légalité, entourée de la sympathie des portions libérales du monde, oh ! alors, la cause de la Révolution est sauvée ; le monde l’aimera et en goûtera les fruits, sans en avoir savouré les amertumes. Mais si, dans dix ou vingt ans, la France est toujours à l’état de crise, anéantie à l’extérieur, livrée à l’intérieur aux menaces des sectes et aux entreprises de la basse popularité, oh ! alors il faudra dire que notre entraînement d’artistes nous a fait commettre une faute politique, que ces audacieux

novateurs, pour lesquels nous avons eu des faiblesses, eurent absolument tort. La Révolution, dans ce cas, serait vaincue pour plus d'un siècle. En guerre, un capitaine toujours battu ne saurait être un grand capitaine; en politique, un prince qui, dans l'espace de cent ans, épuise une nation, ne saurait être le véritable.'

In spite of all the abuses and latent weakness of France during the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. she never ceased to play a great—we might say the greatest—part in the affairs of the continent of Europe. One of the last memorable actions of the monarchy was the share it took in the war of American independence; and although that war cost her dear, and was one of the causes of bankruptcy and revolution, it was certainly not an inglorious or unsuccessful effort. Since that date she has occupied on several occasions a paramount position in the intervals when the government was in strong hands. But the effect of these sporadic intervals of power has been countervailed by the action of universal suffrage, which has gradually undermined the authority of the enlightened classes and eventually ostracised them altogether. The theory of equality, which is the fundamental doctrine of the Revolution, leads to the conclusion that every man is equally fitted to govern the State; that the vote of numbers is infallible; and that the policy of a great nation is to be swayed by the passing passions or delusions of the multitude. Whatever democracy may do for the internal welfare of society, it is absolutely fatal to the traditions and alliances on which its foreign relations rest, and on which its security on the frontiers depends, as well as its influence abroad. The present state of France in relation to other nations is thus described by M. Goumy:—

'We are, in the midst of Europe, a people distracted, upset, agitated, and nervous, but surrounded by those who are calm and in their right senses. And as it has become an absolute impossibility to foresee what we may choose to become a minute hence, our condition has degenerated into a sort of moral quarantine, and we are looked upon abroad with a certain suspicious distrust. Those who are most friendly to us feel pity more or less mingled with contempt; others scarcely dissemble the rapacity which marks us out for their prey. It is the fatal condition of peoples which consume and devour themselves, that they attract other devourers, and that the institutions and policy of the rulers of France fail to inspire the rest of the world with confidence and respect.'

The net result of the Revolution at the present time, after a long series of alternations of glory and of defeat, is that France exercises less influence in Europe than she has done

at any time, save under the Directory and before the Consulate, and incomparably less than in the reign of Louis XVI. before the Revolution began. That is a great misfortune, not for France only, but for Europe and for ourselves. Lord Beaconsfield used to say, 'We want a strong France. France 'is a necessity to the political system of Europe.' And we cannot forget that the most successful negotiations and military operations of the present century for the advancement and defence of liberal principles in Belgium, in Spain, in Portugal, in Italy, and in the East, have been the result of the cordial co-operation of the French and British Governments. Nothing has contributed more to the peace of Europe and the prosperity of the two nations than the amicable relations which have subsisted between France and England for the last seventy-four years; but they have been maintained by wise statesmen and good statesmanship, sometimes not without difficulty, and in weaker or wilder hands they would more than once have perished.

One of the most disastrous results of universal suffrage, as practised in France, is the manifest progressive decadence of the talent and integrity of the men placed by election at the head of affairs. It has always been remarked that a very large proportion of the French electorate decline to exercise the franchise. The returns are carried by the least intelligent part of the community. It has been calculated that as a general election takes place every four years, the number of youths who attain to the age of twenty-one in that interval (about one-tenth of the whole) is sufficient to turn the ballot when parties are nearly balanced, and these youthful politicians are obviously the least trustworthy members of the community. This and other causes lead to an extreme mutability in the result, though the French have not quite adopted the American theory that when a man has served his term he should make room for somebody else. Be this as it may, nobody disputes the inferiority of the present Chamber, and of the ministers taken from that Chamber, to the legislative bodies of the Restoration, of the reign of Louis Philippe, and even of the Second Empire. Universal suffrage, established in 1848, has ground down the representation of France to supreme mediocrity, and has returned a class of men of low capacity, self-seekers, servile to the multitude, and profoundly ignorant of public affairs, who are paid a pound a day for their services. The result is that the present Chamber is an object of contempt and hatred to all parties, and that parliamentary government is attacked

because the Parliament is ridiculous, and the wiser portion of it impotent. The order of things, says M. Goumy, which sprang from the Revolution of 1789 is just as fiercely attacked as the privileged classes were at that time. The *bourgeoisie* are denounced by the Socialists as roundly as the aristocrats were by the *Tiers Etat*. Both classes were and are marked out for pillage. It has been well remarked that you cannot lay hands on public property and public rights based on prescription without shaking the faith of the people in the inviolability of private property and private rights.

‘The principle of equality has implanted in the multitude sentiments which can only be satisfied by the total subversion of what we call civilisation, religion, society, country. And against these sentiments the existing Republic cannot protect, because it is condemned to be their ally, their accomplice, their humble servant. In point of fact the Republic of Equality is now in full possession of its old position in the Municipal Council of Paris, in presence of the official republic of the State; disposing of a revenue of twelve millions sterling, and controlling every action of the Government.’ (Goumy, p. 183.)

This brings us to what is the most important part of the subject—What effect have a hundred years of Revolution produced on the moral and social character of the people of France? For after all it is by its moral principles, by its sense of duty and its public spirit alone, that a nation can be truly great, or even permanently endure. No mechanical inventions, no material prosperity can supply the absence of those qualities which are the very soul of a free people. It is by their presence or their absence that we augur of their fate. And here we turn to the little work of M. de Chaudordy, who shall answer the question. The Revolution has changed not only the institutions but the character of the nation. That chivalrous loyalty to the Crown which led the armies of France to victory for hundreds of years with the cry of ‘Vive le Roi,’ and held no sacrifice to be too great for the service of the sovereign, is totally extinct. That enthusiasm for the Republic which in 1793 sent forth fourteen armies to repel invasion has much abated. The Republic is chiefly known to the peasantry by the enormous burdens of taxation it has imposed upon them; and it may be doubted whether there is the same spirit of self-sacrifice to the glory and safety of France which existed in former times. We have ourselves remarked that the parts of the French territory to which the German armies did not penetrate in the late war displayed no fervid spirit of resistance, and even the loss of the eastern provinces is regarded with

comparative indifference in the south and west. The arbitrary partition of the territory into departments has never been cordially ratified by local patriotism. A department has no traditions; and it is a remarkable circumstance that at the present time the old provincial spirit shows symptoms of revival. Men of the present generation have not forgotten that they belong to Normandy, Brittany, Provence, Languedoc, and Flanders; and the unification of the territory, which was the peculiar boast of the Revolution, has lost much of its power.

To describe the change in one word, it might be said that the French nation has lost its faith. It has lost its faith in the monarch, as the supreme head and representative of the nation; in the Church, and in the religion of which the Church was the guardian; in representative government, since the parliamentary system, emanating from the people themselves, has ruined and degraded the country; in the administration of justice, since the Radicals have weakened and corrupted it; in the honesty of the administration and the authority of the law. Since all these objects of respect and obedience are wanting, the popular movement seeks at last, as of old, for some man to impersonate and execute authority—in short, to govern. And this has been the invariable result of each of these revolutions, and of every page of French history. The ages of the monarchy were marked out by Louis XI., by Henri IV., by Richelieu, by Louis XIV. Even the Reign of Terror was incarnate in Robespierre, the greatness and glory of the Empire in Napoleon. And in later years we have seen M. Thiers and Gambetta sole masters of France for a short time, and the nation, still seeking for a chief, and eager to rush into servitude again, seems content to place M. Boulanger at its head.

These political changes would be less disastrous than they appear to be if they were not accompanied by a degree of hostility and hatred between the several classes of society, which the Revolution has engendered and kept alive. At no time have they been more violent, and they have destroyed the union of the nation itself.

So grave and impartial a writer as M. Léonce de Lavergne, writing five and twenty years ago, with a peculiar knowledge of the state of the country and the character of his countrymen, has left on record his opinion that

'the greatest evil of the Revolution was not that it shed in torrents the blood of the whole nation, but that it inoculated the elements of

French society with traditions of hatred and vengeance which still prevent their alliance for the common welfare. *Personne n'a gagné à la Révolution, tout le monde y a perdu.\**

The French *noblesse* has never shown any great political sagacity. The privileged classes defeated the reforms of Turgot; they abandoned the court by the emigration; on their return they caused the overthrow of the Restoration; their systematic opposition to the government of Louis Philippe contributed to another revolution; the third republic ostracised them. They retained no quality of merit but that of military courage and virtue; that, indeed, shone forth conspicuously in the last war, and made them for a short interval the leaders of the people. Even now, all other public duties being denied them, the old families of France have flocked into the army, and we are assured that at the present moment there are at least as many men of high birth in its ranks and at the head of the regiments as there were a hundred years ago. They, at least, have not lost the sense of national dignity, duty, and honour. But this has not saved them from the bitter enmity of the democracy. That brilliant and polite society which was the boast of Paris has disappeared. It has been superseded by the speculators and *nouveaux riches* of the day, who are hated for their wealth as much as their predecessors are hated for their birth. The emigration of the nobles and the upper classes was an enormous fault, we might say a crime, for they abandoned their king and their country to the Jacobins; but they fled for their lives. The property they lost is estimated at eighty millions sterling, of which about four millions were eventually restored to them. But no fewer than 140,000 Frenchmen of the best class were driven from their country, and we doubt whether the revocation of the Edict of Nantes led to the extermination of so great a number of men whose property and influence were essential to the welfare of the nation. Ten years later they were allowed to return to France, but they returned impoverished, and with feelings of hatred of the Revolution which no time can efface.

It is acknowledged that both under the Second Empire and in later years the increase in the wealth of France has been considerable, in spite of many adverse circumstances. But the country has plunged into vast speculative operations of finance of a doubtful character, and even the rural population

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\* Les Assemblées Provinciales sous Louis XVI., par M. Léonce de Lavergne, p. xi.

is infected by a passionate desire to make money faster than it can be made by honest industry. It is highly probable that many of these huge undertakings will collapse at the first great political crisis, and although large fortunes have been realised by their projectors, the losses sustained by the humble adventurers in such schemes will only increase the rift between the rich and the poor, and lead to the diffusion of socialist opinions, which embitter the conflict between capital and labour. Even as we write, an attempt has been made to save one of the largest financial establishments of Paris from bankruptcy by an advance of four millions sterling by the State and other capitalists; that is to say, the public treasury comes to the relief of private misadventure and mismanagement, and this because a general financial crisis would have formidable political results, just as a political crisis will not only shake the credit of the nation, but will reduce a multitude of these exaggerated fortunes to dust and ashes.

The spirit of democratic equality denies and detests all superiority, even that of intellect. The consequence is that those influences which might raise and direct the less instructed masses are paralysed or absent. And what is the moral condition of those masses? The most strenuous efforts of the Republican party have been directed not only to persecute the clergy, but to extinguish religion itself. As far as we know, it is the first time in history that a government has avowed its open hostility even to a belief in the existence of God. Even Robespierre in his day proclaimed that the Republic believed in 'the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.' M. Gambetta and M. Paul Bert effaced the name of the Deity not only from their school books, but from the classics of the language. It is made criminal in a teacher to introduce the slightest reference to religious instruction in the schools. A vast system of free secularist instruction is established, at an enormous expense, for the express purpose of teaching the youth of France *not* to believe. Voluntary schools are discouraged and unaided. The whole religious establishment attached to the hospitals and prisons has been expelled. The public service in every form is what is called 'laicised.' The effect of these measures is two-fold: it has roused the indignant opposition of whatever in France is Christian, and it is preparing for the future a generation of atheists. The consequence has already been a great relaxation of morals and a singular increase of crime. It is stated that the number of juvenile delinquents

(that is of youths under twenty) has *quadrupled* in the last ten years. Crime of every description has increased, and sentimental crimes, even of the most atrocious character, are condoned and unpunished by sympathising juries. With these facts before us it is impossible to doubt that the moral sense of a portion of the population has been perverted and degraded. Liberty has degenerated into license, and infidelity into crime.

The same causes tell upon the growth of the population, which scarcely increases at all. The excess of births over deaths was 108,220 in 1881, but only as 56,536 to 52,616 in 1886. The number of marriages decreased by 4,182. The number of divorces rose from 2,950 to 3,636 (Chaudordy, p. 57). In the last years of the reign of Louis XVI. the population was rapidly increasing.

All these causes, it is admitted by the writers before us, tend materially to diminish the relative strength of France as compared with that of other nations. They are symptoms of decadence, and they are manifestly the result of the unsettled condition of the country for the last hundred years, and of revolutions which ought, if beneficial, to have produced exactly the opposite effect.

No doubt there have been several intervals during the last hundred years in which France has been governed with energy and wisdom, and has put forth as much strength and intelligence as at any period of her history. Napoleon raised her to the summit of military glory. The Restoration witnessed a burst of eloquence and of progress in science, in literature, in the arts. The reign of Louis Philippe replaced France at the head of the liberal States of the Continent. The Second Empire, by artificial means, caused a rapid developement of the resources of the country. These things happened because in these intervals France had a government. But to every one of those governments the undying spirit of the Revolution was fiercely opposed. Every one of these had to fight for its existence. Louis Philippe called his reign '*une lutte ténace contre l'anarchie.*' And in the course of years every one of these governments was defeated, and the democratic spirit of the Revolution prevailed. It would be rash to predict that any conceivable government can be established, whether monarchical, military, or constitutional, which could permanently resist the action of the democratic principles of the Revolution—capable, like the waves of the ocean, of destroying everything that controls them, incapable, like those waves, of affording any solid



basis to the State. For, to continue the metaphor, each time that the spring-tide of democracy has swept over the country, it has overthrown the greater part of the structure raised by authority and intelligence. At the present moment all the writers we have quoted agree that, in the last resort, France has made no progress since 1789 towards the establishment of a free and stable government, supported by the union of the nation and the confidence of the people. M. Renan declares, in the passage we have cited, that if the problem is not solved in ten or twenty years it is insoluble. Meanwhile the social decomposition is going on, and we see no reason to suppose that the next ten or twenty years will turn the current of events.

The present rulers of France have resolved to celebrate the centenary of the Revolution by national festivities, and we believe that July 14, the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, is to be solemnised with peculiar splendour, although that event is now described by a popular writer as '*cette grande fumisterie parisienne, déshonorée par des actes de véritable cannibalisme.*' It is not unnatural that they should celebrate a Revolution which has ended by bringing them into power. But we are curious to know how many Frenchmen, being well acquainted with the series of events which we have endeavoured very briefly to summarise, and with the present condition and prospects of the nation, look back with triumphant exultation to that date. Still less reason is there for the other nations of Europe to look back with satisfaction on a convulsion which inflicted on them the scourge of twenty years' war. It was not the cause of liberty, but of democracy, that triumphed—of a democracy incapable of establishing a government of law and order on the solid basis of freedom, or of giving peace to the world. We believe that the opinions we have expressed are those of the most enlightened classes in France, however painful these opinions may be to their patriotism and their pride. They look with regret at the past, with humiliation at the present, with anxiety to the future, but they trust that the experience of many evils will bring back the people to reason and rectitude, and the sacrifices made by a great nation for a hundred years will not have been made in vain.

ART. X.—*La Chaire Française au Moyen Age, spécialement au XIII<sup>me</sup> Siècle, d'après les manuscrits contemporains.* Par A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE. Paris : 1868.

**M.** LECOY DE LA MARCHE has not merely added a new chapter to ecclesiastical history, but has done good service to civil history also by the publication of the present work. He has given to the world in a compact form, and with the terseness so commendable in the French prose writers of our time, the result of the wide and deep researches which he has made in the homiletic literature of the Middle Ages. The original matter contained in his book is derived from the perusal of a vast number of sermons, mostly preached in France in the thirteenth century, and now preserved in manuscript in the great national and provincial libraries of that country. From this rich and hitherto unwrought mine he has extracted with singular judgment and sagacity whatever might seem to illustrate the contemporary state of religion, manners, and society in France.

The features of the age on which he has bestowed this attention were strongly marked. The Papal system was still in full force. The dawn of the Reformation had not yet commenced. The institutions of feudalism and chivalry, if partially undermined, were outwardly unimpaired. But that which specially commends the thirteenth century to our interest is the fresh spirit of inquiry which was everywhere abroad. 'The popular mind throughout Christendom,' says Milman, 'seemed at that time to demand instruction. There was a wide and vague wakening and yearning of the human intellect. An insatiate thirst of curiosity, of inquiry, at least for mental spiritual excitement, seemed almost suddenly to have pervaded society.' This yearning after knowledge called forth great missionary enterprises, first on the part of the heretics and afterwards on a far grander scale on the part of the Church. The slumbering eloquence of the pulpit was rekindled; and there was a corresponding revival of faith and charity among the people, owing in a great measure to the fervid zeal and the astonishing self-denial of the Dominican and Franciscan orders.

The work of M. Lecoy de la Marche obtained the prize proposed by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1867 for the best essay treating of the sermons preached or composed in France in the thirteenth century, and

deducing from them such information as they might yield touching the manners of the time, the national character, the use of the vulgar tongue, and generally illustrative of religious and civil history. The president of the Academy bestowed high encomiums on the successful essay for the erudition and literary sagacity which it displayed, and for the new light which it shed on the subject proposed for investigation.

The first part of the book treats of the preachers of the period, the second of the sermons, the third of the state of society, so far as it may be collected from the sermons. Though our attention will be chiefly directed to the third of these divisions, there are many points of interest in the former two which cannot be altogether overlooked.

In order to ascertain the primitive type of the sermon, our author goes back to the first ages of the Church, and shows from ancient authorities (which he has chiefly derived from the 'Origines Ecclesiasticæ' of our own Bingham) that, besides the exhortations and expositions of Gospel truth which were addressed to the heathen, regular pastoral instruction was also given to the faithful, and that this duty was in the primitive Church reserved to the bishops, as representatives and successors of the Apostles. This kind of instruction was communicated not in a set discourse, nor with impassioned appeals to the conscience, but in a familiar conference or dialogue, and hence came to be called *homilia*, a word at first represented in Latin (as St. Augustine says) by the term *tractatus popularis*, and afterwards by *sermo*. The word *oratio*, which might have implied that those catechetical discourses had a rhetorical character, was never applied to them, but, in strict accordance with its proper sense, a *pleading*, was confined by the Church to the office of prayer. A few of these primitive homilies, delivered in the third century by St. Hippolytus, the disciple of St. Irenæus, were committed to writing, and were extant in the time of St. Jerome, and two centuries later were referred to in the decrees of the Lateran Council of A.D. 649.

In the reign of Constantine the profane arts were invoked to the aid of religion; and then began the golden age (as it is commonly regarded) of sacred eloquence. The homiletic works of St. Basil, St. Gregory, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, have never ceased to exercise an elevating influence on the preaching of the Church, even though they may at all times, and especially in the Middle Ages, have been followed more closely in their faults than in their excel-

lences, and may have given rise to many vapid imitations and puerile conceits.

From the sixth century Christian eloquence in some measure declined, being involved in the general downfall of arts and literature which was consequent on the dissolution of the Roman Empire. The decline, however, was in elegance rather than in force; and a great and lasting impression was made by the energetic preaching of St. Remigius, St. Augustine, and St. Boniface on the Franks of Gaul, on the Saxons of Britain, and on the Teutonic tribes of Germany; while St. Cæsarius of Arles and St. Avitus of Vienne contended not unsuccessfully against the refined subtleties of the Arians in the south. This activity in the preaching office of the Church is to be attributed mainly to the impulse given to missionary efforts by the zeal of Charlemagne. After the eighth century, however, preaching languished and almost fell into desuetude, and there was no recovery till the eleventh century, which produced that great luminary of Christendom St. Bernard. His impassioned eloquence was the *primum mobile* of the second Crusade; but none of those fiery appeals were committed to writing by which he wrought up the enthusiasm of the multitudes to a perfect frenzy, and induced men of all classes to take up the cross and at the sacrifice of every earthly joy and comfort to set forth against the infidel. All the sermons of this epoch which are now extant have a studied and learned style, more redolent of the school and the cloister than of the marketplace. They seem to have been addressed to clerks and monks, not to the common people. There was a general dearth of popular instruction; for the clergy were luxurious and lazy, and their supineness afforded a powerful weapon to those who were propagating the tenets of the growing sect of the Waldenses. The heretical preachers also had this great advantage, that they were poor; they had sprung from the lower classes of the people, they felt for the people, they spoke the language of the people; and they made their spiritual teaching more acceptable by blending with it the most unmeasured vituperation of the clergy, some of whom were generally odious for their wealth, their pride, and their immorality, while the rest, if giving no cause of offence on any of these grounds, were despised for their lack of activity, ability, and zeal. At length the emulation of the Church was aroused, and a new impulse given to her energies, by the devoted labours and the success of her adversaries.

In the year 1205 it is related that a Spanish canon, with

his bishop, was passing on a journey through the city of Montpellier. There they fell in with three legates of the Holy See, who had been sent on a mission by the Pope for the purpose of bringing back the Albigensian heretics within the pale of the Church. These prelates were so cast down by their ill success that they were on the point of writing to the Pope to renounce the hopeless task which they had undertaken, when the bishop and his companion exclaimed, as if prompted by a sudden inspiration, 'These heretics confront you with the image of Poverty. Fight them with the same weapon; preach by your example, array truth against falsehood, and you will succeed.' Struck with the force of this rebuke, the legates dismissed their suite, and prepared, with the assistance of those who had given them such good advice, to begin their work again with more earnestness and better hope. And though their plans were deranged soon afterwards by the outbreak of the bloody war of the Albigenses, the new principle which they had taken for their guidance did not fall to the ground. The canon who had suggested the reform, and who henceforth devoted all his powers to it, soon became well known to the world as St. Dominic, the founder of the preaching friars. A few years afterwards a similar brotherhood was instituted by St. Francis of Assisi, for the exemplary observance of evangelical poverty and for the religious instruction of the people. By their means an extraordinary impulse was given to the office of preaching. The Church was everywhere roused to a laudable rivalry of those who had commenced the movement. The sermon became a regular and an effective part of the public service, and it was probably the more spirit-stirring inasmuch as it was the only form in which eloquence, or anything approaching to eloquence, was known. The bar was silent: political oratory was as yet unknown. Public speaking there was none except in the pulpit; and even there it began again to deteriorate towards the close of the century, when the taste arose for scholastic subtleties, trivial familiarities, and non-natural interpretations of Scripture.

The duty of preaching, which, as we have reason to believe, was in the first ages confined to the bishop, was extended, as the exigencies of the Church increased, to the inferior orders of the hierarchy; and St. Augustine is said to have been the earliest example of a preaching priest in the Western Church, having been authorised to discharge this office in the place of his bishop, who was a foreigner and unacquainted

with the African dialect. In later times the curate of each parish was required to expound the Gospel to his people on Sundays and feast days, and to recite to them a homily of one of the great doctors of the Church, especially of St. Gregory. Besides those who had the cure of souls there were several other classes of persons, admitted to the sacerdotal order, who contributed to adorn the pulpit by their eloquence. Among these may be mentioned the chancellors of Notre Dame, the almoners of the Court, the graduates in the Faculty of Theology, and above all the doctors of the Sorbonne. At the epoch which we are considering the order of deacons appears to have been rarely authorised to preach, notwithstanding the example set by St. Stephen and his colleagues, and the practice which prevailed in France in the sixth century of permitting the deacon to read or recite homilies of the Fathers when the priest was disabled by illness. At the present day the deacons in the French Church can only preach by special permission.

Among the great company of preachers, whose names the industry of our author has recalled from oblivion, it may be sufficient for us to mention one, who for his masculine and popular style deserves to be distinguished above all the rest. The divine of whom we speak, Jacques de Vitry, acquired his fame chiefly in France, though as canon and curé of Liège, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Cardinal of Tusculum, he had ministered in many other countries. His mind was well stored with various kinds of knowledge, which he had acquired in the course of his travels. He was one of the most lettered men of his age, acquainted, as it is said, with Greek and Arabic literature. He wrote a history of the Crusades, describing, from his own observation, many of the calamities to which they gave rise. In his sermons also he frequently referred to the incidents which occurred during his residence in Palestine. His style of preaching was racy and familiar, enlivened by anecdotes, fables, and apologues, and by quotations derived from profane as well as sacred authors. Shortly before his death, which took place A.D. 1240, he made a collection of his sermons, a portion of which has been published; but the most instructive and curious of them still remain in manuscript. In the preface he gives practical rules, accompanied sometimes by humorous illustrations, for the preacher's guidance. Thus he relates how he aroused the flagging attention of a numerous audience by exclaiming, 'The sleeper in yon corner will not hear the secret which I am now going to tell you.' Every-

one took the rebuke as intended for himself, and listened with renewed interest to the solemn truths which he proceeded to inculcate.

The preacher, if he could but engage the earnest attention of his hearers, would often be glad to put up with an occasional interruption, though it took the form of a demand for explanation, or even of an objection to what he had said. In the early ages of the Church the faithful were accustomed to attest their approbation of an eloquent sermon by loud bursts of applause; and it was in vain that decrees of Councils were passed to suppress such unseemly demonstrations. In the thirteenth century either the preachers were less moving or the congregations more critical, and if a voice proceeded from the crowd it was not to commend the discourse, but 'to hint a doubt or hesitate dislike.' A notable instance of this is recorded by Robert de Sorbon, the founder of the famous seminary which took his name, and himself an eminent preacher.

'A learned divine,' he says, 'while preaching before the King of France, asserted that not only did the Apostles forsake our Lord at the Passion, but that their faith failed them, and that the Blessed Virgin alone remained faithful throughout that time of trial until the resurrection; in token of which fact the custom arose of extinguishing at the commencement of the Holy Week all the candles in the church save one, from which at Easter they were to be lighted again. A dignitary who was present rose to censure the preacher, and bade him confine himself to that which was written, according to which, although the Apostles forsook their Lord in person, their hearts went with Him. From being thus admonished the preacher was about to retract his statement, when the King interposed in his behalf, observing that the proposition which had just been delivered from the pulpit could not be contravened, and was supported by the authority of St. Augustine, a copy of whose works the King desired to see. When the book was brought he at once turned to the passage of the Commentary on St. John, in which the illustrious Father thus expresses himself: "They fled, forsaking Him both in heart and person" ("Fugerunt, relicto eo corde et corpore"). It is needless,' says our author, 'to add that the only sovereign of France sufficiently versed in sacred literature to give such a lesson to an ecclesiastic was Louis IX.' (St. Louis), who was also the friend of Richard de Sorbon, the narrator of the story.

The sermon was usually delivered in the course of the office of the Mass, after the reading of the Gospel, and was therefore called, according to Du Cange, *le prône*, from *præconium*. Sometimes also an afternoon discourse was given, or the morning sermon was continued after dinner.

The term *collation*, the same in meaning as *conference*, was applied to these post-prandial expositions, and was in time extended to the repast with which they were connected.

The sermons which remain to us from the Middle Ages were in general compiled from notes made at the time of delivery, or soon afterwards, by one of the hearers, and corrected and expanded by the preacher. Sometimes he committed them himself to writing after delivery. It is not probable that in any case we have the *ipsissima verba* which were used, as the custom of writing out the sermon in full did not then prevail. The preacher sometimes improvised his discourse; but of such purely extemporaneous effusions it is not likely that any have been preserved; more commonly the sermon was prepared with care and learnt by heart. Those at least which are now extant seem generally to bear the marks of premeditation.

In estimating the difficulties which the clergy had to encounter in instructing their people, we must not overlook the gradual divergence which was taking place between the Romance or vernacular dialect and the more classical form of the Latin tongue, which was the language of the educated classes. The original idiom of the extant sermons of St. Bernard has been a subject of controversy. Those of Maurice of Sully have been preserved both in French and Latin versions, which appear to be contemporaneous. Some writers contend that towards the middle of the thirteenth century the preachers began to condescend to the popular ignorance by using a barbarous *mélange* of French and Latin phrases. Our author maintains, and seems to us abundantly to establish, the opinion that at this period sermons addressed to the laity, even if composed in Latin, were delivered entirely in French, and that sermons addressed to the clergy were usually (except when the clergy belonged to an inferior class) delivered in Latin. He quotes the old saying, '*Lingua Romana coram clericis saporem suavitatis non habet;*' and adduces the epitaph of the Abbé Notger, who died in 998, as a conclusive testimony on the subject:—

'Vulgari plebem, clerum sermone latino  
Erudit, et satiat magni dulcedine verbi.'

It would appear from this that at the end of the tenth century the mass of the people in France were no longer able to follow a preacher who addressed them in Latin. The existence of sermons in both a French and a Latin form may probably be accounted for by supposing that, having



been delivered in French, and first committed to writing in that language, they were afterwards translated into Latin for the use of the clergy. The correctness of this hypothesis is, in some instances, confirmed by the traces of French idiom which are retained in the Latin version, as where the sentence 'Tout le monde pleurait' is rendered, 'Totus mundus plorabant.'

As regards the general character of the sermons, it may be gathered from our author that in the exposition of Scripture the preacher, in conformity with the spirit of the age, which tended to mysticism, too often sought for symbolical and allegorical interpretations, to the neglect of the literal and historical sense. Controversial questions of doctrine were not discussed, with the exception of the dogma of the immaculate conception, which at that time was much in debate, and was the chief subject of contention between the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the negative being supported by St. Thomas, the affirmative by Duns Scotus. Altogether the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin, which had been greatly promoted by St. Bernard, received a considerable developement in the thirteenth century. The sermons are full of her praise. Texts altogether irrelevant were made to apply to her. It became the custom to invoke her aid at the commencement of every discourse. Her altars were multiplied; pilgrimages to her shrines became popular, and were believed to be attended with miraculous benefits.

But while in their doctrine and ceremonial the clergy were thus pandering to the heathenism which lingered then, and still holds its ground among the multitudes of the people, in their practical teaching they appear to have enforced a high standard of morality. They did not wink at the vices of the rich. They encouraged the poor to take a cheerful view of their lot in life, maintaining that a merry heart is the privilege of God's faithful people, that sadness is a defect, not an ornament to the Christian character. By insisting that earthly happiness consists not in temporal enjoyments, and by leading men to lay up their treasure in heaven, they struck from the hands of the heretics, as our author asserts, the most formidable weapon for assault against the Church, and they deferred for three centuries the era of the Reformation; and it was only when abuses shot up again to more than their former height that Luther was raised up to be their successful adversary. Among the most remarkable features of that age were the promptness with which men succoured the unfortunate, and their readiness to

forego the good things of this life ; and doubtless the example of the newly founded mendicant orders contributed not a little to produce this effect. The chief physical scourge of the time was leprosy. According to Matthew Paris, as many as 1,900 leper hospitals existed in Christendom. Princes, clergy, and noble ladies, overcoming their natural repugnance to the loathsome malady, vied with each other in waiting upon those who were afflicted by it, and tending them with their own hands ; and exhortations, specially intended for the sufferers, and conveying in the tenderest terms the consolations of religion, were composed by Cardinal Jacques de Vitry.

But it is time we should turn to the third portion of the present work, which treats of the contemporaneous state of French society, as it is disclosed in the sermons. Upon this branch of his subject our author has bestowed especial care, and has shown a chastened judgement, as well in the selection of his materials as in the conclusions which he has drawn from them. At the outset he gives the student who would follow him a very necessary caution. It is the office of the preacher, he says, to deal in reproofs rather than in compliments ; and he must colour his pictures highly, if he would strike the imagination, or arouse the conscience, or engage the affections. An allowance must therefore always be made for the unfavourable view of the religious and moral character of an age, which may be found in the discourses of its preachers. Thus the representation of life and manners, with which we are now concerned, has the disadvantage of being in some degree distorted ; but, on the other hand, it has the merit of having been drawn by those who were eye-witnesses.

In the social landscape which our author here presents to us the state of affairs ecclesiastical occupies the first place, as it undoubtedly did in the minds of the men of the thirteenth century. To them the Church was set forth as the source and centre of all earthly authority, its visible head and representative, the Pope, being invested with the power of deposing princes, and having a better right to exercise it than the suzerain has to deprive the lesser lords of their fiefs, inasmuch as the things spiritual are superior to the things carnal. The figure of the Pope is the one central figure, predominant over every other. His legates are welcomed wherever they go with magnificent receptions, and honoured with tokens of profound obedience alike from the obsequious preachers and from the prostrate multitudes.

Against the bishops and clergy, however, serious charges are made of indolence, simony, nepotism, luxury, and still greater scandals. A priest is said to have returned from the other world, and to have given a harrowing account of prelates whom he had seen there carrying heavy burdens about their necks, even the sins of the souls for whom in life they had been responsible. The Pontiffs are held up to reprobation, who clothed themselves in purple and feasted on oysters, worthy followers of Dives in the parable. The inferior clergy are accused of the love of money and of accumulating pluralities, contrary to the express decrees of Councils. The priests are said to have been effeminate in their gait, their dress scrupulously neat, their hair well curled and combed, the parting clearly defined, the tonsure scarcely visible, the face new shaven, the skin polished with pounce, the head uncovered, the fingers brilliant with rings and the eyes with smiles. They build palaces for themselves, and are ambitious of having in Paris such houses as the English barons have in London. This last accusation, as the author of it, Cardinal Eudes, of Châteauroux, had never been in England, is a curious evidence that the reputation for comfort which the English enjoy is of a respectable antiquity.

The ideal of a good king, as drawn by the preachers, is scarcely less perfect, and is more consonant with our English notion of a constitutional monarch than that which might be derived from the more philosophical treatise of Montesquieu. True nobility, say they, resides in the soul, not in the blood. They admit the advantage which the hereditary principle possessed, e.g. in France, over the elective system as it existed in Italy or Hungary; but they do not allow the 'divine right' of kings, and assert that a dynasty has no indefeasible right to the throne, and may be set aside, as Scriptural examples show, if it fails to govern righteously.

'The king must prefer the good and repress the wicked; he must protect the churches and the poor, and minister equal justice to all; renounce self-indulgence, lest, like the invincible Hannibal and the victorious Xerxes, he be conquered by himself; he must keep flatterers and stage-players at a distance; he must be a father to the orphan and a friend to the widow, merciful to the condemned, not severe in judgment, judging himself first, simple in his manners, well acquainted with law, divine and human, and with profane as well as sacred literature; for, according to an ancient saying, an unlettered king is but a crowned ass. The king is bound to place the public welfare above all personal and dynastic considerations.'

The preachers regarded St. Louis as their model king; and long after his death, when at the end of their sermons they used the customary prayer for the weal of his soul, they added this expressive clause, 'not that he has any need 'of our prayers.'

In the thirteenth century the palmy days of chivalry were past. It was declining from its best and purest state; and the pulpit began to resound with complaints of the cupidity, the violence, and the dissolute lives of the nobles, the knights, and their retainers. Instead of being the defenders of the Church, as in former times, they were become its persecutors. They detained the tithes and other Church dues; they paid no respect to the right of sanctuary; they laid their sacrilegious hands on holy persons as well as on holy things; they showed their bravery not by chastising brigands, or joining the standard of their suzerain, but by waylaying wealthy travellers, or pillaging the caravans of merchants passing along the highroad near their castles, those castles which, 'having been built as places of refuge 'for the unfortunate, had become nests of vultures.' They were degenerate warriors, dressing themselves for war as if they were going to a marriage; their talk was of feasting when they were in camp, and of fighting only when they were at their feasts. They had a passion for the pomp of war, no stomach for its reality. They gave themselves immoderately to jousts and tournaments, which were forbidden alike by the civil power under St. Louis and by the Church in the Lateran Council of 1139. The noble who gave a tournament sometimes incurred such expense as brought ruin on himself and his family. It not unfrequently happened also that one who had a private feud against his neighbour took the opportunity of gratifying his revenge at a tournament by treacherously violating the laws of the combat. It was not as military exercises that these displays were censured by the Church, but as occasions for indulging in a licentiousness of morals, which was varnished over with the semblance of gallantry, refinement, and poetry.

The military orders also, to which had been committed the defence of the Holy Land, were become degenerate and dissolute. The two orders especially of the Knights Templars and the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were at variance with each other, and between them the cause for which the Crusaders had shed so much precious blood was wellnigh lost.

The burgher class of Paris (the type in this respect, says

our author, of their successors at the present day) had little taste for sermons. The appearance of a priest in the pulpit was a signal for the citizens to leave the church. Possibly they did not wish to be reminded of their fraudulent dealings, which were unsparingly denounced by the clergy. The tavern-keepers were accused of mixing water with their wine, or bad wine with good; the dairy-keeper of adulterating her milk. The butchers also had their tricks of trade. They sold the flesh of diseased cattle. In illustration of this practice Jacques de Vitry, in one of his sermons, relates an incident which, he says, actually occurred during his residence in Palestine. A butcher at Acre was in the habit of selling diseased meat to the pilgrims who visited that city. Being one day taken prisoner by the Saracens and brought before the Sultan, he regained his liberty by pleading the good he did in causing the death of so many Christians every year. 'The drapers have one ell for buying and another for selling. But the Devil has a third, with which, as the proverb says, he will make their sides ache. They sell their goods in dark alleys, where no one can observe the quality; therefore they shall themselves be cast out into the outer darkness.' The money-changers and goldsmiths, who had their booths on the great bridge over the Seine at Paris, conspired to debase the currency, and put in circulation counterfeit coins, which were distinguishable from good money only by being softer to the touch.

It was at the annual fairs (called *nundinæ*, and sometimes *festæ*) that the chief impulse was given to commercial enterprise. They were opened with religious observances, including an appropriate sermon. In one of these discourses the principle is enunciated which might be adopted as the motto of the international exhibitions of the nineteenth century: 'It is God's will that no country should be in all things sufficient for itself, but that each should be dependent on others, in order that they may all be united together in the bonds of friendship.' In general the business of the week was suspended on the Lord's Day.

The life of the merchants who resorted to these fairs, notwithstanding the hardships and dangers to which they were exposed in travelling from place to place, was far from disagreeable. The Count of Poitiers, it is said, was desirous of ascertaining for himself what was the happiest condition of life. He disguised himself, therefore, and tried in succession every phase of human existence, and he discovered none more fruitful of enjoyment than that of the

strolling merchants who frequented the fairs. Yet when he found that after the jovial repasts at the taverns he had a bill to pay, and that not a morsel was to be had without money, he wisely thought it best to resume his own original mode of living.

Among the various crimes to which the mercantile spirit gave birth, not one in the eyes of the Church was so infamous as that of usury. In those days the taking of interest on a loan was not admitted to be a legitimate mode of gain; and those who resorted to it, 'worshippers of the silver cross,' as they were called, were in life detested and after death accounted unworthy of Christian burial. To this rule, however, there seem to have been some exceptions, as the following story shows. The body of a defunct usurer had been placed in a coffin, but when it was to be taken to the cemetery it could not be moved; it seemed to adhere to the ground. At length one of the elders of the place sagely observed, 'It is the custom in our town for everyone to be borne to the grave by his fellow-craftsmen, a priest by priests, a butcher by butchers, and the like. You have only one thing to do: send for four usurers.' This advice was taken, and the compeers of the deceased, on their arrival, lifted the bier without difficulty and bore it away.

Nevertheless usury prospered. Many a brave knight on starting for the Crusades borrowed money, the repayment of which with interest reduced his family to indigence. Pursuing steadily his illicit gains, the usurer raised himself by little and little from his mean estate, and increased in dignity as he increased in wealth. If, to begin with, his name was *Galeux*, by-and-by he was addressed as *Martin Galeux*; next he became *Monsieur Martin Galeux*, and at last culminated in *Monseigneur Martin Galeux*. Such were the degrees of social distinction. They remind us of the *Marcus Dama* of Persius.

Every morning and evening the artisans in the towns resorted to the market-place to seek for employment or to receive their wages. The clergy availed themselves of this opportunity to speak to them of spiritual things, to cheer them for their day's work, and lead them to be content with their lot.

The condition of woman was one of the subjects on which there existed in the thirteenth century a conflict of extreme opinions. On the one hand it was the tendency of the sour asceticism which was fostered in the cloister to represent the daughters of Eve as the instruments of Satan, incapable of good, the source of all that is evil; on the other hand the

sentiments produced by chivalry would fain invest them with superhuman perfection. The sermons of the time are sometimes extravagant in the former direction, as when the wife of Pilate is said to have been a monster of iniquity, because she endeavoured, by letting her husband know of her dream, to prevent the crucifixion of our Lord and the salvation of mankind. But in general the preachers give honour to the 'weaker vessel,' and uphold the dignity of marriage; and if, as was to be expected of them in that age of mysticism, they occasionally bestow praise on celibacy, it is the married state which, at least in their popular discourses, is regarded as the normal condition of humanity. Marriage was not to be contracted by a youth before the age of fourteen, nor by a maiden before twelve. The wife was to be the companion and equal of the husband, neither to be his slave nor to rule him; and, according to a favourite mediæval illustration, a token of this equality was given when the first woman was taken, not from the head, nor from the foot, but from the side of man. The mutual respect of the married couple was shown in those days by their addressing each other as Monsieur and Madame (*Domine, Domina*), after the example, as it was said, of Abraham and Sarah.

We have not observed any reference in M. Lecoy's book to the habit, which seems to have been more common in the Middle Ages than in our own, of interlarding familiar conversation with profane oaths. Every nobleman had his own peculiar oath, called *juron* and *solenne juramentum* in French and Latin, as surely as he had his blazon or device. If he had not the ingenuity to invent a form of asseveration for himself, he adopted one which was already current. The common people of course followed in this, as in other bad ways, the example of their betters, and the practice of profane swearing became universal. Some illustrious persons derived a sobriquet from their favourite oath. In a rhyme quoted by Brantôme in his life of Francis I., King Charles VIII. was styled 'Par le jour Dieu,' and Francis I. 'Foi de Gentilhomme.\*' Several of our own Plantagenet and Tudor kings might have been

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The old rhyme is thus given by Brantôme :—

' Quand la Pasque Dieu décéda,	[Louys XI.]
Par le jour Dieu luy succéda;	[Charles VIII.]
Le Diable m'emporte s'en tint près;	[Louys XII.]
Foy de Gentil-homme vint après.	[François I.]

Similar verses are to be found in the 'Epitheton des Quatre Rois' of Roger de Collerye (alias Roger Bontemps).

distinguished in the same manner. In the earlier days of these blasphemous expletives the attempt was repeatedly made to put them down, and laws were passed by Philippe Auguste, Louis IX., and Philippe de Valois forbidding them under pain of the severest punishments, such as flogging and piercing the tongue with an iron. The only effect of this legislation was that some of the more popular oaths were subjected, by way of disguise, to ingenious transformations. Thus *Corps Dieu*, *Ventre Dieu*, *Mort Dieu*, were corrupted, or improved, into *Corbieu* or *Corbleu*, *Morbleu*, *Ventrebleu*; and still further, in order to obliterate the still significant and offensive termination, into *Cordienne*, &c., and this form by the ladies was abbreviated into *Pardi*, *Mordi*, &c., while the peasants had their '*Par ma fi*' (*foi*), of which '*Par ma fique*,' '*Par ma fiquette*' appear as by-forms. La Trémouille swore '*Par la vraie corps Dieu*,' Bayard '*Par mon serment*;' the saintly Jeanne d'Arc, who broke the fierce Lahire of his coarse habit of blaspheming, swore '*Par mon bâton*,' or '*Par mon martin*.'\* We might have expected that a fashion so prevalent in the thirteenth century, and so severely condemned by the civil power, would not have been allowed by the preachers to pass unscathed. Possibly in their eyes it stood on the doubtful border between solemnity and propriety, and they may have been willing to give it the benefit of the doubt. In general, however, it would appear that the sermons of that age were plain-spoken and unsparing in their denunciations of vice and immorality. They betray no truckling to the great, no preference either for the rich or the poor. Their rebukes are not expressed in vapid declamation and vague generalities, but often, as we have seen, go very boldly and clearly to the point. Probably the cream of them has been served up in this volume, and the author is entitled to our thanks for having travelled through a somewhat unattractive field of inquiry, and may receive our congratulations that his labours have borne such good fruit.

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\* These particulars are chiefly derived from '*Les trois Reines*,' par X. B. Saintine, p. 250.



- ART. XI.—1. *The Defence of Great and Greater Britain.* By Captain J. C. R. COLOMB. 8vo. London: 1880.
2. *The British Army.* By the Right Hon. Sir C. DILKE. 8vo. London: 1887.
3. *The Balance of Military Power.* By Colonel MAURICE. 8vo. London: 1888.

THE problem of imperial defence grows in complexity with the years. The solution, deferred from generation to generation, becomes ever more and more difficult; and if we, with all the advantages of prosperity and a long peace, cannot attain to it, our successors, living in days of storm, may perhaps despair of the quest. And yet the great problem is by no means insoluble. The steps are clear; no extravagant sacrifices are demanded. The difficulty lies in the want of knowledge on the part of the democracy which is called upon to deal with the matter, in the jarring voices of discordant counsellors, and in a constitutional system framed to suit the requirements of a compact and homogeneous state—some amplified Belgium or Switzerland—not to administer the affairs of a world-wide empire.

The problem may be simply stated. Here is a nation fired by a glorious history; spreading over land and sea; multiplying so fast that in ten years the colonies of Canada, the Cape, and Australasia alone will equal in population the Great Britain of the Waterloo era; possessing two-thirds of the steam tonnage of the world and a dominating commerce; maintaining in peace time a total of more than a million of armed men; ruling fighting races of every shade of colour; disposing of inexhaustible resources of the raw material of war, and unrivalled manufacturing power. How is this vast aggregate of peoples, territories, and wealth to be held together under the strain of war? How are the ample military resources with which it is so richly provided to be turned to full account? How are the unworthy panics which every shadow on the wall now creates to be ended for ever? How is the nation to be able once more to assert its just rights with the calmness of conscious strength?

To the Duke of Wellington mere defence against invasion at home appeared hopeless. 'I am bordering on seventy-seven years passed in honour. I hope the Almighty may protect me from being a witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert' are the words in which he betrays despair. Writing

in 1850, Sir J. Burgoyne stated: 'The military condition of Great Britain as regards its very existence as a nation is now absolutely awful.' And Sir F. Head at the same period maintained that France, in the event of war, had the will, the intention, and the devised project to take London, and that the then existing means of defence were so contemptible as to render resistance impossible. The long peace following after Waterloo had engendered apathy, and it needed the stern teaching of the Crimean war to bring home to the mind of the nation the utter worthlessness of its military system. The *personnel* of the army, the regimental officers and the rank and file, came unscathed out of the trial, or Inkerman would have been lost; but higher administration, generalship, all that is implied by 'organisation for war,' that system proved hopelessly incapable of supplying. The natural wave of indignation which followed brought with it many changes. A separate Secretary of State for War arose, and the supply departments were reconstituted. There was, however, no real attempt to reach the root of the gross evils which had been disclosed; and the dual system of the government of the army—treated as a monarchical institution under the so-called Horse Guards and a national force under a parliamentary minister—flourished until a much later date, and survives to this day in the many anomalies of War Office administration. So far no real effort to grasp, or even to formulate, the problem of imperial defence had been made. Notwithstanding the disappointment felt in the apparently fruitless operations of the splendid fleet despatched to the Baltic, the navy, far better administered and far better found than the army, fairly withstood the ordeal of a war in which the strain thrown upon its resources was relatively slight. No attempt to lay down authoritatively its war functions in relation to the empire, or to scientifically adjust its strength to imperial requirements, was ever entered upon. Its increasing inadequacy, as the great nations of Europe proceeded with the reconstruction of their fleets in iron and steel, occupied one set of minds. Home defence intermittently claimed the attention of another, whenever panic inspired temporary activity. The defence of India received the consideration of yet another distinct group, as Russia advanced with rapid strides across the broad plains of Turkestan. The relief of the colonial garrisons proceeded as a matter of mere routine, their strength being maintained in accordance with tradition handed down as a legacy of the needs of other days, or

based upon pure chance. The small standing army was, in fact, scattered piecemeal over the world in defiance of the principles of imperial defence and greatly to its own disadvantage. The self-governing colonies were left to their unguided instincts. Canada alone, looking anxiously across the geographical line which separates her from the United States, entered seriously upon the task of creating a real local force organised with a view to home defence.

Since the era of the Russian war the whole military aspect of the Continent has changed. New navies have arisen and entered into mutual rivalry. The lessons taught to Prussia by Stein and Scharnhorst have been learned and applied by each great power, till the 'armed nation' has everywhere supplanted the standing army. The consequent growth of numerical military strength has been enormous, but the advance in all that is implied by 'organisation for war' has been even more marked. The requirements, real or assumed, of each nation have been taken as the sole and absolute standard of preparation, and no effort has been spared to make that preparation complete down to the smallest detail. Nor has any single great power rested content with the standard of preparation once attained. The clearest brains in every army are perpetually occupied in scheming for the perfection of the machine. Thought is, on the Continent, rapidly translated into action, and immediate readiness for war is the one ideal universally recognised. Meanwhile, England has made costly and partial efforts in the direction of defence. The sums asked of the nation have been always forthcoming, but the genius which could insist upon dealing with imperial questions as a whole has been conspicuously wanting; and, while no great private corporation has anything to learn from the methods of the Continent, the officials responsible for the national safety might have learned much from a conscientious study of the military system even of the Swiss Republic.

The impression created in the minds of the Prince Consort and Lord Palmerston by the growth of Cherbourg culminated in the Royal Commission of 1860, which has been not unjustly stigmatised as 'very badly constituted for pronouncing on the general principles of defence.' The charter of this Commission practically precluded it from approaching the question of defence from the right end, and the result was inevitable.

'Here was the greatest naval power of the age centred in a sea girt isle and possessing the proudest of naval traditions. Clearly in

approaching any scheme of national defence the primary *datum*, the basis of everything, should have been the part which the navy might, judging from the past, be able to play in the future. The fortifications were needed only to supplement the action of the navy. It was surely necessary to arrive at a definite idea as to what the action of that navy would be before attempting to fix the standard of coast defence.'

Not only did the Commission ignore this point of view, but their summary of the matter, the plea on which they based a demand for some eleven millions sterling to be spent in fort and battery building, indicates only too plainly a want of grasp of the whole subject.

'Should any such catastrophe (defeat or dispersion by storm) occur, or should the fleet from whatever cause be unable to keep the command of the Channel, it appears to your commissioners that the insular position of the kingdom, so far from being an advantage for defensive purposes, might prove a disadvantage, inasmuch as it would enable any superior naval power or powers to concentrate a larger body of troops on any part of our coasts, and more rapidly and secretly than could be done against any neighbouring country having only a land frontier; and an army so placed could maintain its base and be reinforced and supplied with more facility than if dependent on land communications.'

In other words, the streak of silver sea added to the difficulties of defence in the view of the commissioners. London is geographically more exposed to attack than Paris, and a line of communication crossing the seas is for military purposes superior to a railway. And, granting the complete and permanent annihilation of the navy of England, this proposition is at least capable of argument; but the premiss is one which the nation—unlike the commissioners—would not accept for a moment, since far more than the mere risk of invasion is implied in the existence of the 'superior naval 'power or powers' of the commissioners. The whole of the cut-and-dried proposals laid before them were, however, practically accepted *en bloc*, and an era of fortress-building set in, prolonged until the designs—never suited to the national requirements—arrived at superannuation. Not till a very recent date was any real attempt made, even on paper, to lay down an organisation which should enable these showy and expensive creations of the engineer to become available for the purposes of war, and they remained mere monuments of the country's willingness to provide liberal sums for its defence, and the incapacity of its responsible leaders to realise that something far beyond the erection of mere forts and batteries is required to meet the demands of modern war. Of these works Colonel Sir C. Nugent was

able to say at the Royal United Service Institution only last year:—

‘The military ports have been completed, *with the exception of the armaments,\** for seven years. . . . My firm belief is that, if you beat to quarters at this moment, you could not open fire over the whole sea front of Portsmouth; I doubt if you could in six days—I was nearly writing six weeks.’

This is but the inevitable result of lavish expenditure unaccompanied by any attempt to grapple with the higher principles of defence—any sense of the cardinal importance of organisation for war.

The scare of 1878, acutely felt as it was throughout the length and breadth of the empire, extracted from the taxpayer at home the historic six millions, a large portion of which was hurriedly spent. Deficiencies of every kind claimed instant attention, but there was no time to arrive at any clear idea of their relative importance, and waste was inevitable. The threatening danger was by no means so formidable as that which might now easily arise. The Austrian alliance was well within the scope of practical politics, and the Turks, notwithstanding their crushing defeats, proved able to place 100,000 troops in front of Constantinople by the end of May. Russia had not then arrived on the frontier of Afghanistan, and the only naval force of which she could have made any use—the Pacific squadron—was relatively insignificant. Yet the alarm felt in the great capitals of Australasia was very real; and local defences were set on foot, which in some cases have since received satisfactory development.

The scare of 1878 is, however, memorable on other grounds. For the first time official recognition was accorded to the necessity of defending the scattered stores of coal, on the inviolability of which during war the employment of the navy of England on ocean service, the protection of the vast wealth afloat, and the maintenance of communication with the distant members of the empire, absolutely depend. There was then no time for thought, and of official forethought there had been none. As a resource of desperation a committee was appointed, measures were hurriedly devised, armaments despatched; but the defences thus hastily begun at certain coaling stations were lamentably inefficient, and bore the ineffaceable stamp of panic. The palpable inadequacy of these futile measures perhaps sug-

gested the appointment of Lord Carnarvon's Commission in February 1879; thus late in our history a serious inquiry into the means by which the empire is to be held together—an inquiry into the very possibility of maintaining national existence—under the strain of war was inaugurated. Again the question of imperial defence was perforce handled in piecemeal fashion. The Commission might 'inquire into the condition of the means, both naval and military, provided for the defence of the more important seaports within our colonial possessions;' and it was 'expedient to consider and determine in which of our stations and ports it is desirable, on account of their strategical or commercial importance, to provide an organised system of defence, in addition to such general protection as can be afforded by our naval forces.' The crux of the whole matter was, however, the precise part which in the higher interests of the empire the navy should be rendered able to play. To lay down the scale of defence of a single seaport before this dominating factor had been resolved was practically equivalent to fixing the commissariat requirements of a field force apart from all decision as to the proportion of cavalry and artillery which it would contain. Yet this is what Lord Carnarvon's Commission was called upon to do; while, as if to prove that consistency even within limits was impossible, the fortresses, presumably numbered among the 'more important seaports of our colonial possessions,' were, in some manifestation of departmental jealousy, withdrawn altogether from the scope of the inquiry. Notwithstanding the limitation of its charter, the Commission did admirable work, although for five years the reports and the masses of valuable information collected remained inaccessible, and probably were not studied by half a dozen persons in all. The political uses of commissions are thoroughly understood, but the methods of dealing with the results of their labours are as yet rudimentary. How was it possible that a Cabinet of civilian ministers absorbed with the internal affairs of two small islands should find time to study the voluminous reports submitted by Lord Carnarvon and his colleagues? What could be more distasteful than a dissertation on an important branch of the subject of imperial defence, supported by dreary statistics? In some chance fashion, however, or owing to some chance influence, a beginning was eventually made; but the full fruits of the labours of the Commission, the defence of the more important coaling stations, will hardly be reaped by the nation until some nine years after the issue of their report.

Meanwhile, however, it was a great and definite gain that the strategic aspects of the several stations should be authoritatively pointed out; that the selection should be made on intelligible grounds; and, above all, that the vital importance of the Cape of Good Hope—half forgotten in the speculative fascinations of Egyptian bonds and Suez Canal shares—should be reasserted in terms that could not be mistaken. If the Canal were blocked, or merely likely to be blocked, a vast volume of British trade, of the annual value of more than 150,000,000*l.* sterling, would take the Cape route. 'It is by this route alone that reinforcements of troops (for India) could, under the contingencies alluded to, be sent from the United Kingdom with any degree of certainty or security.' Even in peace time the value of the trade belt paying duty to M. de Lesseps is only about two-thirds of that which girdles the Cape. There is, in fact, but one war route to the Eastern seas, and it is precisely the one which Great Britain, if she chooses, is best able to maintain. It was a clear advantage that this great principle of imperial defence should be laid down once for all. Table Bay thenceforth demanded defence as certainly as Malta; the intermediate links, Sierra Leone and St. Helena on the one side, and Mauritius on the other, could no longer be entirely neglected; while, bonds apart, it was possible to form a just estimate of British interests in Egypt. Lord Carnarvon's Commission, however, went beyond this. Outstepping the bounds of the reference, it struck at the root of the whole matter, and sounded a note of warning in tones which could hardly be misunderstood.

'How far the navy is equal to the discharge of these duties is a grave and pressing question, which can only be answered by a careful inquiry into the relative strength of our navy as compared with the navies of foreign nations. . . . Our insular position, happily, has freed us from the necessity of entering into the baneful competition in standing armies to which the nations on the Continent have been subject; but the efforts which they are making to increase their strength at sea do undoubtedly, in our opinion, call for a corresponding effort on the part of this country to increase the fighting power of the navy. We are deeply impressed by the returns furnished by the Admiralty, and to these, as well as to the other evidence, we invite the particular attention of your Majesty's Government, feeling bound to express our opinion that, looking to the action of other countries, the strength of the navy should be increased with as little delay as possible.'

Whether or not the 'particular attention' of her Majesty's Government was ever directed to this 'grave and pressing question' will never be known; but the 'careful inquiry'

for which the Commission pleaded did not take place, and their words of solemn warning remained for seven years alike unchallenged and unheeded. The fragmentary increase in the shape of an addition to the Australasian squadron was principally due to the growing earnestness of the colonies themselves in relation to defence, and till the present session there has been no attempt to put an end to risks which no great nation is justified in running.

Individual writers have, from time to time, earnestly and vainly striven to bring home to responsible statesmen the special and peculiar needs of the empire, and the cause of the navy has been warmly espoused by the press, which has handled the subject with much ability. So long ago as 1808 Sir C. Pasley laid down in simple language the very axiom of imperial defence. 'The strength of an empire of any kind, whether insular or continental, will be greater or less, with equal resources, in proportion to the facility with which its several parts can afford each other mutual assistance when attacked.' And, seventy years later, Sir J. Colomb pointed out that 'there is a wide difference between a purely naval attack on a nation absolutely dependent on the sea and a purely naval attack on a power not so situated.'\* 'The disease of not listening, the malady of not marking,' have inoculated other minds than Falstaff's. The higher policy of defence has for long years been systematically ignored, and partial effort, often misdirected, wasteful, and unscientific, has been the inevitable result; while, to this day, national safety still means to the average Englishman the protection from invasion of two small islands. The incompleteness and inadequacy of a machine are, however, compatible with excellence of its parts, and failure to grasp the scope of the larger problem does not necessarily exclude a rational solution of the smaller. The British army had a brilliant history before the colonial era began. If the navy of England laid the foundations of the empire beyond the seas, the army was necessary to the building of the edifice. If the idea of a Greater Britain is even now but dimly realised, that of an army efficient for war is at least within the easy grasp of any understanding. Is the condition of the army to-day such as to satisfy the most moderate aspirations?

Sir C. Dilke † has answered this question by a crushing indictment of our whole military system, unanswered, and in

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\* The Defence of Great and Greater Britain.

† The British Army.



its principal features unanswerable. His book abounds in errors of more or less importance which do not, however, affect the main thesis. The idea of the bombardment of Gibraltar by 'a merchant vessel carrying a modern seventy-ton gun' is dispelled by the most elementary acquaintance with either ordnance or shipbuilding. It is unquestionably *not* the function of the navy to provide direct protection for the coaling stations; the report of Lord Carnarvon's Commission finally disposed of this misconception, and it is now not only 'eminently unpractical,' but emphatically too late, 'to say that they would be defended by the fleet.' To state that 'our great fortresses are utterly indefensible for want of some three millions sterling' is a manifest exaggeration, which no one competent to form an opinion would admit for a moment. Again, Sir C. Dilke shows throughout an altogether inadequate conception of the works of defence already in hand, by which some of his statements are materially affected. For all this, the book evinces an earnest desire—rare in a professional statesman—to understand and remedy crying evils which do not directly and immediately affect the electorate; while the main conclusions arrived at are incontestable. The British army is neither organised nor trained for war. 'We possess no organisation for home defence,' and, notwithstanding that we maintain 'one of the large peace armies of the world,'\* we have no available field army whatever. A baneful centralisation eats, cancer-like, into our whole military administration, destroying initiative, crushing down genius, and rendering the appointment of incompetent officers to high commands only too easily practicable. For the truth of some of his propositions Sir C. Dilke can claim high authority. It is Lord Wolseley who states: 'We are not in the position we ought to be, nor do I believe we are in the position we should be in if the English people were told the truth.'† And, later,‡ he has told us in the plainest language that the whole training of the army is at once obsolete and absurd. The best confirmation of Sir C. Dilke's startling indictment is, however, to be found in the pages of his critic. Availing himself of every half chance of misreading a simple sentence, seeing some underlying political motive at every turn, and freely importing personalities into abstract controversy, Colonel Maurice

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\* Exceeding one million of armed men.

† Evidence given before the Ordnance Commission.

‡ Fortnightly Review, January 1880.

has attacked the author of 'Greater Britain' with exaggerated violence. The critic's summary of the position is, however, the same as that of Sir C. Dilke. 'Our own army 'is not efficient for war.' Compared with what is implied by this admission, a mere wrangle as to the parts played by respective Ministers is of small importance, although the public award of praise and blame by an officer of the army to a past and a present Secretary of State for War is scarcely consistent with discipline. Totally disagreeing at nearly every point with Sir C. Dilke, Colonel Maurice appears to concur completely in his view of the unfitness of the British army for modern war. We are, nevertheless, asked to believe that 'we get our army more cheaply than any other 'power,' and to rest oblivious of the fact that no comparison of any sort can be instituted between the cost of a machine that will work and that of one which is hopelessly out of order.\* The military expenditure of Germany, and even of Switzerland, confers upon those powers the strength which they respectively consider needful. Each obtains, in return for its money, an army which can take the field at short notice. Great Britain, with half a million of armed men at home, could not even now turn out a single army corps fully equipped for war, without painful effort extending over weeks.

The author of the 'Balance of Military Power,' when for the moment he puts aside personal acrimony and the narrow issues of party politics, treads on ground where it is of more interest to follow him, especially as he perhaps represents the now dominant school of military opinion. For the ultimate basis of imperial defence must rest upon the measure of probable attack, and the standard of imperial requirements, as well as their nature, can only be laid down after

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\* The comparison instituted between the seventeen millions of the non-effective charges of the United States and the three millions of our own army estimates is entirely misleading. The American millions are almost entirely swallowed up in war pensions, including heavy charges dating back to the revolutionary wars. The pension system of the United States is a great and a growing evil, the claims for the year ending June 30, 1887, numbering 7,307. Moreover, naval pensions are included; while our own naval non-effective vote of nearly two millions is left out of consideration by the author, and no mention is made of the non-effective charges borne by India. Whatever defence may be made for a total expenditure, which if not curtailed will one day provoke the determined hostility of the British taxpayers, a false comparison can hardly aid the case.

full realisation of the political outlook. Colonel Maurice's general conclusion is that 'it is almost certain that we shall 'never have to enter into any quarrel in which we cannot, 'on the *do ut des* principle, obtain allies.' No one questions the value of the British alliance to the central European powers under certain contingencies, although as regards Germany the case is hardly so strong as is here represented. France being neutral, Germany will have no difficulty in defending her eastern frontier without the aid of the British fleet. France being hostile, alliance with the central powers would throw on the navy of England other tasks than that of patrolling the seaboard of East Prussia. The conversion of Denmark into a place of arms, from which a mixed force of 160,000 Frenchmen, Russians, and Danes 'could strike 'straight for Berlin,' has the air of a mere strategic speculation. There is, at least, no present possibility of Denmark throwing in her lot with France and courting her obliteration from the map of Europe. Nor are the military possibilities of the scheme likely to fascinate allied France and Russia.

It is otherwise in the Mediterranean, where the action of the British fleet, neutralising that of France, would, beyond question, free the hands of Italy for offensive war; while to Austrian enterprise in the Balkan peninsula the control of the Black Sea and the lower Danube, by a naval ally, would be practically essential. Finally, it is undoubtedly true that Great Britain can—if she chooses, and if the Turk proves staunch—indefinitely bar Constantinople against a Russian occupation.

The aid of the navy is thus to be the bribe, the price at which we are to purchase the allies we require for national security, and it is to be strengthened rather with a view to enhance the attractiveness of the bargain than to protect our own ocean commerce and secure our colonial possessions. The future of the British Empire is, in the view of Colonel Maurice and his school, to depend upon allies to be purchased 'on the *do ut des* principle;' and it should be the first aim of our statesmen to educate the people into willingness to enter the central European alliance, by which 'a 'permanent security for peace' is held out to us on one page, restricted, however, to 'our generation, and perhaps the 'next,' on another. In view of the admitted inadequacy of the navy, and of the hopeless want of organising power which characterises the administration of the War Office, it is only natural that the *ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα* of Prussian,

Austrian, and Italian bayonets should fascinate the military dreamer. The charms of the central alliance will not, however, satisfy the requirements of imperial defence, simply because they are forbidden. In the present temper of democratic England, permanent alliances which, while they promise much, may any day exact more, are wholly impracticable; and where Lord Salisbury was unwilling to venture, no statesman likely to hold the reins of power in the near future can be expected to enter. There is a rough common sense which is not greatly impressed by academic studies of what is erroneously termed the 'balance of power,' and, right or wrong, it is this sense by which we are ruled. Colonel Maurice has described the accession of strength which Great Britain can bring to the central alliance; and, with certain reservations, it is easy to accept his general propositions. The '*do*' of England is sufficiently definite, and the central powers could embark on no conceivable enterprise in which the British navy might not play an important rôle. The geographical position of those powers, and the politico-military conditions under which they exist, are such as to insure a certain solidarity of interests. Russia cannot cross the Galician frontier, or France threaten the passes of the Western Alps, without directly appealing to the apprehensions of all three. The community of interests of Germany and Austria to-day is so fully recognised that the frontiers of Bohemia possess few attractions for the military student compared with those of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, or Piedmont. It is community of interests and of purpose, rather than paper treaties, which determines alike the reality and the permanence of alliances, and the mutual sacrifices which the central European powers would make in view of a Russo-French coalition threatening their territories might not be forthcoming in the event of a purely British quarrel, originating in the New Hebrides or at Zulficar. For many reasons, we are not dearly loved on the Continent; and some, at least, of the European powers would not object to play the part of the interested observer in an Anglo-French or an Anglo-Russian struggle. That the navy of France should be crippled at the cost of British life and money; that Russia should drain away her strength through the rugged passes of Afghanistan—these possibilities are scarcely calculated to call Europe to arms and to fling the mass of the German army against the ramparts of Verdun or Warsaw. Yet it is these possibilities and a hundred others, resulting from widespread possessions, which we are

called upon to confront—possibilities in which Europe is not greatly concerned, but which we have to face, and to face alone. The ‘*des*’ of central Europe is, in truth, not a certainty on which we have a right to lean. If, then, the quarrel which may any day arise will be one that need evoke no enthusiasm among the armed nations of the Continent, it is equally certain that Great Britain will not commit herself to an alliance which, if not the merest fiction, leaves the casting vote for peace or war in other hands. The ocean-going navy of France would be useless in any Franco-German war; we shall not accept orders to hunt that navy down, at a heavy cost in British commerce, because some gamekeeper strays across the frontier of Alsace.

There is, however, another consideration, as yet far too little realised. When Great Britain unsheathes the sword, the cause must be such as to carry with it the acquiescence of her great colonies. It is not England alone who must fight and suffer, but a great empire across the seas, whose revenue nearly equals her own. Canada, Australasia, and the Cape will fight for the honour and integrity of that empire; but they will unhesitatingly resent any proposal to commit their destiny to the keeping of Prince Bismarck. The first axiom of imperial defence is that we must be prepared, as Sir C. Dilke reluctantly admits, to fight alone.

The determination, necessitated alike by the conditions of the empire and the temper of its people, to steer clear of alliances which fetter freedom of action must necessarily appear in the light of national cowardice to the school of which Colonel Maurice is spokesman. They point to the deeds of England in the past, when all the conditions were widely different, and when the voice of the democracy was still silent in our councils. We, accepting the inevitable, see no reason to regret that the British army is no longer legally maintained for ‘the preservation of the balance of power in Europe,’ but for ‘the safety of the United Kingdom and the defence of the possessions of her Majesty’s Crown.’ In thus refusing to acknowledge that the army of Great Britain is maintained to uphold a mere fiction, capable of half a dozen interpretations, changing with the shifting scenes of the European stage, there is no abdication of rightful responsibility. The right arm of England need not be weakened because the direction of its sweep is not predetermined. The British alliance is not lessened in value

because it is not given away in advance, and the standard of armament which imperial defence demands will amply suffice to cause that alliance to be courted in all seriousness. The time may come when the reappearance of England on the European theatre of war will be dictated by every sentiment of national honour; but we desire to reserve to ourselves full right of decision when that time shall arrive.

The guarantee of Belgium's neutrality is a case in point; but, although there is no reason to believe that Parliament would now reverse the verdict of 1870, the fulfilment of this guarantee would be conditional, as Colonel Maurice admits:—

‘If Belgium refuses to play her part in maintaining her neutrality, the case falls, of course. We are under no obligation to assist her if she will spend nothing on the armaments and the men that are needed to fulfil her international contract.’

Belgium has busied herself in converting Antwerp into an exaggerated fortress—half superfluous if the Belgian army were efficient as a weapon of war, practically useless in the absence of a powerful naval alliance. The defences of the line of the Meuse are unfinished, and their value is not apparent. Meanwhile the strength and condition of the Belgian army are not such as to indicate either a high appreciation of the danger, or a national determination to spare no effort to prevent violation of territory. The guarantee has naturally tended to cause the kingdom to underrate its obligations. A mere partial and temporary violation, such as the chances of war might occasion, would certainly not suffice to bring Great Britain into the field. The question of the fulfilment of the guarantee would hardly arise except in the event of an attempt to annex the country or to use it as a line of invasion. Von Moltke has clearly shown that France has nothing to gain from an advance across the Meuse, and it is to be observed that his argument does not require the aid of a possible British intervention. Colonel Maurice maintains, with far less reason, that it is not to the interest of Germany to turn the eastern fortress belt of France by an advance from Köln. Military expediency alone will settle the question, and ‘the complete and absolute conquest of Belgium’ is not by any means an indispensable preliminary; nor, in such a case, will ‘the sincere desire of the King of Holland to fulfil international obligation’ prevent a violation of Luxemburg. The King of Holland cannot prevent German or French armies from traversing this little State, and Great Britain will not alone of the guaranteeing powers declare war on that account, and accept an impossible task.

The question may be briefly summarised. The probabilities of a violation of Belgian territory by France are at present remote, and it is France that would have most to dread from hostile British intervention. The probabilities of such a violation by Germany are far greater, and Germany would have least to fear from a power whose strength for offensive operations in Europe lies mainly, if not wholly, in her navy. British intervention will almost certainly be refused if there is any widespread belief that the war preparations of Belgium fall short of the standard which her position appears to require and her resources to permit, or if there is any suspicion whatever that she is not able and fully determined to do much more than merely plead *force majeure* and retire behind the ramparts of Antwerp. The Treaty of 1832, ratified in 1839, was framed with the object of preventing the annexation of Belgium by any great power, and the possibility of her territory being used (with her practical acquiescence) as a line of operations was not then taken into consideration. Finally, it is to be remembered that the other guaranteeing powers (whom Colonel Maurice appears to ignore) are Austria and Russia, whose action would not be unimportant.

The Belgian guarantee is not only the principal European engagement of which it is necessary to take account,\* but it is the one of all others which would be most difficult for us to fulfil single-handed, with such military establishments as we are ever likely to maintain. Moreover, the circumstances under which the Belgian question may possibly arise are precisely those in which British intervention would be least effective. In a new Franco-German war, Russia being neutral, Germany would unquestionably take the offensive. If the line of advance through Belgium were decided upon—and the great strength of the eastern fortress belt of France renders this decision at least possible—the German armies would have swept through the kingdom, and the first battles on the frontier would have been won or lost, long before Great Britain was ready with two army corps to act against the line of communications. France has numerous foreign possessions, and Germany shows increasing colonial ambition. There appears to be no reason why the fulfilment of the Belgian guarantee should take the form of military inter-

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\* The ancient treaties of amity, friendship, and guarantee, renewed in 1815, pledging Great Britain to protect Portugal against foreign aggression, are not at present likely to claim fulfilment.

vention. There are operations which both powers would, perhaps, have more reason to fear than a tardy disembarkation of 70,000 British troops at Ter Neuzen. Thus the question of imperial defence may, perhaps, be considered purely on its own merits, putting aside all visionary schemes of intervening with two embryonic army corps between combatants each disposing of twenty.

The idea of increasing the navy in order to make the British alliance more valuable in Prince Bismarck's eyes may be dismissed at once. The navy of England is required, not to throw weight into one or other scale of an ever-shifting balance, but to defend British possessions and British commerce on the high seas. This only is the basis on which the strength of her Majesty's fleets should be calculated. Fulfil this condition, and there is not a power in the world to whom the British alliance will be '*une quantité négligeable*;' neglect to fulfil it, and under the first strain the whole structure of the empire will break up into fragments, never to reunite. By the sea that empire was won; by the sea only can it be lost. The question of the navy thus overshadows all others. When the strength of that navy has been made sufficient, and not till then, it will be time to consider the organisation of the fabled army corps.

An adequate navy, fully prepared for war, is the prime condition of national existence, and the first postulate of imperial defence. It was estimated by Lord Carnarvon's Commission that British property of the value of 144,000,000*l.* is always afloat; but this enormous figure, since increased, represents only one of the hostages we have given to war. The empire is connected by ocean roads alone. Unless these roads can be preserved practically inviolate, the whole fabric will inevitably dissolve. To an empire built up on commerce the loss of the command of the seas means ruin. Spain and Holland, unable to retain the command of the seas, sank to second-rate powers—'a lesson to us that a change of dynasty 'sometimes takes place in the sovereignty of the sea.'\* France, worsted in the naval struggle with England, lost her colonies, while her trade of 27,000,000*l.* in 1797 rapidly vanished altogether.

'Perhaps no nation ever suffered so severely as the Americans did from the war of 1812-14. Their foreign trade anterior to the estrangement from England—twenty-two millions exports and twenty-eight millions imports—was, literally speaking, annihilated; for in 1814

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\* Professor Seeley.



exports had sunk to 1,400,000*l.* and imports to less than three millions. Two-thirds of the mercantile and trading classes in the United States became insolvent; while our exports and imports, which in 1810 were sixty-four millions, had increased in 1812 to eighty-seven millions.\*

The carrying trade lost by the United States in the Civil War by means of their inability to check the raids of Confederate cruisers will perhaps never be regained.

Going back to the history of the Old World, it was naval supremacy which gave greatness to Athens. 'Pericles had made her trust to her empire of the sea,' and the Egean became 'an Attic lake.'† 'The reward of her superior (naval) training was the rule of the sea—a mighty dominion—for it gave her the rule of much fair land beyond its waves, safe from the idle ravages with which the Lacedæmonians might harass Attica, but never could subdue Athens.'‡ These words of Thucydides might have been written of the British Empire to-day; but we have no Pericles.

Mr. Cobden at least realised to the full what the loss of the command of the seas implied:—

'There has always been between England and France, by a sort of tacit agreement, a certain proportion or relation in the amounts expended on their respective armaments. If you take the navies of the two countries for the last century, you will find that, in a normal state of peace, the French have had a navy little more than half the size of that of England. . . . I have said it in the House of Commons, and I repeat it to you, if the French Government showed a sinister design to increase their navy to an equality with ours, then, after every explanation to prevent such an absurd waste, I should vote one hundred millions sterling rather than allow that navy to be increased to a level with ours.'§

We have wandered very far from the principle here laid down, notwithstanding that British interests at stake are relatively far greater than those which presented themselves to Mr. Cobden's mind. The simple figures put forward by an able naval officer|| afford an apparently irresistible proof of increasing naval inferiority to France. In 1794, England possessed 153 line-of-battle ships and 133 frigates, as against 82 and 77 of France. In 1814, with a population of eighteen millions in the United King-

\* Alison.

† Sir E. Creasy.

‡ Yet Athens never disposed of more than thirty thousand fighting men, and had no silver streak to aid her home defence.

§ Speech at Rochdale.

|| 'The Navy and the Empire,' *Quarterly Review*, January 1885.

dom, the navy estimates amounted to nearly twenty-two millions sterling, exclusive of about two millions for ordnance; and there were 900 ships in commission,\* manned by 147,000 seamen and marines. In 1867, the relative strength of *personnel* of the two countries was 69,726 to 42,000; but in 1884 the proportion had fallen to 66,000 to 59,250; while the French have a nominal reserve of 100,000 men to set against 20,000, whose services cannot be counted upon. In 1888, the British strength had further sunk to 63,612. Admiral Hornby has recently stated† that we require 'at least 186 serviceable cruisers,' and that we possess but 42 such vessels, 122 of our existing force being 'ornamental.' There is no one living better able to speak with authority on this point. The estimates recently laid before the House of Commons are a practical admission of the necessity for reinforcing the navy at once, and the new building programme is well conceived, and bears evidence of the careful consideration bestowed upon it. Regarded as an honest attempt to remedy the results of long years of official supineness, the proposals of the Government claim warm support, and criticism taking the form of a mere bandying of accusations of mutability is, in such a matter, unworthy of statesmanship. Perish the reputation for consistency of the whole race of politicians, provided that the national safety and the custody of the national honour are secured! It is not alone an ephemeral programme which is needed, however, but the avowal of a fresh departure in imperial policy, and the public expression of a determination to return to the principles of Mr. Cobden, and to hold the command of the sea at all costs.

The present inadequacy of the navy is such that the mere shadow of war produces panic, that the cry of possible invasion has lately been raised once more, and that the national indignity implied by the fortification of London appears to be contemplated in some form or other, although from the statement of the Secretary of State for War the scheme appears to have dwindled to a veritable *reductio ad absurdum*. Invasion threatens to become the bugbear by which we are to be frightened into any assigned increase of the army, or even into conscription, and, to render it more effective, history may safely be ignored. 'We came singularly near 'invasion in 1805, when Nelson's fleet was decoyed away 'to the West Indies,' and 'great as our superiority was

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\* Including 114 ships of the line.

† Speech in the City, June 5, 1888.

'then at sea, the escape was undoubtedly a narrow one.' \* The effect of this and a crowd of similar statements has been to convey a widespread impression that Napoleon assembled a vast fleet of transports at Boulogne in the course of a few weeks or days; that the French army, fully equipped, could be put on board in half an hour; † and that Nelson, completely outwitted by his opponent, left the Channel utterly unguarded, and returned in time to fight at Trafalgar only by some fortunate chance.

The actual facts, however, were curiously different in every particular. The French army was to have embarked at seven ports, spread over miles of coast. The preparation of the motley flotilla occupied months. 'Tout le matériel de l'expédition était à bord,' wrote Napoleon. ‡ The miraculous speed of embarkation on which much stress has been laid, meant merely that the troops, after careful drill, could march on board with their muskets 'in at least an hour.' § Napoleon's plan involved much more than invasion. The squadrons of Toulon, Cadiz, Rochefort, and Brest were to rendezvous in the West Indies. 'Je résolus de les diriger vers la Martinique, d'où elles reviendraient débloquent celle du Ferrol pour s'avancer réunies dans le canal.' Lauriston was to take Surinam and the Dutch possessions in South America; Reille, to seize St. Helena 'pour intercepter la navigation de l'Inde et favoriser nos croisières contre le commerce de la compagnie,' and to put down a French garrison at the Cape of Good Hope. Other forces were to sweep the Antilles and take St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Pierre. The heart of Great Britain and her limbs were to be struck simultaneously. The project was undoubtedly grand in conception, but never had a chance of success; for it required that command of the sea which Napoleon not only did not possess, but which he had no right whatever to expect to obtain. The boastful words: 'Il ne faut être maître de la mer que six heures pour que l'Angleterre cesse d'exister,' are widely remembered; but it is commonly forgotten that the time was subsequently extended to fifteen days, and later to two months. The six hours theory was in fact adopted on

\* The British Army.

† 'Experiment proved that 100,000 men with 300 pieces of cannon and their whole caissons and equipages could find their places in less than half an hour.'—Alison, quoted by Sir E. Hamley, 'Times,' June 7, 1888.

‡ Jomini's 'Life of Napoleon.'

§ Napoleon.

the principle which dictated most of Napoleon's manifestos, and as conveying any estimate of the nearness of England's danger it is worthless. Nelson was never 'decoyed away,' but, as any other British admiral would have done, he followed his enemy across the Atlantic, returning to the Channel directly he was certain that Villeneuve had left the West Indies. Villeneuve's arrival before Nelson gave to Napoleon a local numerical superiority in line-of-battle ships for the moment; but the command of the Channel had still to be fought for. Napoleon, characteristically enough, threw the blame of failure on his admiral, who knew far better than he could have done the conditions of the task. This was no less than to obtain a victory over the English forces in the Channel, so complete that no naval interference with the tedious procession of the 2,200 'chaloupes ou péniches' would have been possible. Far from being in a position to gain such a victory, the French actually lost two ships off Finisterre to Sir Robert Calder with a greatly inferior force, and the *morale* evinced by this action was scarcely calculated to inspire confidence. Even if Villeneuve had gained a partial victory, it is not easy to see how he could have convoyed the vast, unwieldy, and ill-assorted flotilla, spreading over miles of sea, in such a way as to protect it from the swarm of British frigates and sloops in the Channel and North Sea.\* England in 1805 had no numerical superiority in line-of-battle ships over the combined French and Spanish navies; yet there was never any real danger of the loss of the command of the Channel, and it was in the Indian Ocean that the French based on Mauritius and Bourbon were able to inflict on us the worst defeats and greatest losses of the war. The moral is *not* the ease of invasion, *not* the narrow escape of England, but the utter hopelessness of any attempt to pass an army across the Channel in face of an adequate navy ably handled. Our naval historian has eloquently pointed out the difficulties which would have beset the invaders if they had secured the variously estimated period of immunity required. 'Were there really, as Napoleon fancied, no fortifications, no army? The invaders would have made the discovery to their cost. As they advanced nearer, they would have found the

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\* In the English and Irish Channels, in the Downs, and on the North Sea station there were at this period 4 ships of the line, 39 frigates, and 262 sloops. In addition, there were in port and fitting 18 ships of the line, 39 frigates, and 93 sloops, of which force a portion at least would have been available for fighting.

‘beach already occupied by the van of an army \* composed of soldiers who, if they had not fought “at Lodi, at Zürich, “at Héliopolis, at Hohenlinden, and at Marengo,” were then fighting in England.’ After pointing out the enormous difficulties which would have attended the unrehearsed progress of the heterogeneous fleet, he adds:—

‘In truth, no attempt would have been made by the flotilla to cross over, even were the Channel clear of British fleets and a calm, even a two days’ calm, to prevail; none whatever, unless a powerful French fleet lay off Boulogne ready to afford it protection.’

Much more than the temporary absence of Nelson’s fleet was required to enable Villeneuve to sweep the Channel. All the elements of success were wanting, and the project proved Napoleon’s incapacity for directing naval operations, or realising the conditions of naval war. The collection of the so-called Boulogne army may have served to mislead Europe, and to pave the way for the striking successes of Ulm and Austerlitz; but it produced one result, on which Napoleon had not reckoned. The apparent imminence of danger called forth a powerful impulse throughout the length and breadth of England,† which possibly inspired the long and dogged fighting of the Peninsular war, and culminated at Waterloo.

The pregnant words written by Raleigh two centuries before were abundantly justified:—

‘But making the question general whether England, without the help of her fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing, I hold that it is unable to do so, and I therefore think it most dangerous to make the adventure. . . . To entertain them that shall assail us with their own beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our Kentish capons, I take it to be the wisest way; to which his Majesty, after God, will employ his good ships on the sea, and not trust in any entrenchment on shore.’‡

Raleigh would have been no advocate of the fortification of London, and his wise views have far greater weight to-day.

\* The armed strength of Great Britain at this period consisted of about 560,000 men (including 340,000 volunteers), ‘sans expérience, ‘peu aguerris,’ as Napoleon wrote, but, as he himself admitted, ‘animés ‘de l’amour de la patrie.’

† Totally misreading the character of Englishmen, Napoleon counted upon a rising of the ‘*canaille*’ in his favour. ‘He did not understand that, although discontented with their Government, they were extremely ‘jealous of foreigners.’—James.

‡ *Histoire of the World.*

Make each great port into a fortress, gird London with forts on the Paris scale, conscript all the youth of England, and turn the island into one great camp—even so, if the command of the seas cannot be retained, the empire is indefensible. The strength of the navy must in any case be regulated by that of the possible enemy, and five millions spent on London will not justify the reduction of that strength by one cruiser; while, as Sir J. Colomb has well pointed out, mere defence of the little islands which constitute the so-called citadel of the empire leaves out of sight the protection of fifty-nine sixtieths of British territory, and six-sevenths of her Majesty's subjects.

In a sense, invasion is easier now than in Nelson's day; the passage of the Channel is independent of wind and weather; railways facilitate a rapid concentration of men and stores at hostile ports; telegraphs enable the moment of departure to be exactly timed. The main condition of successful crossing is, however, now, as then, the command of the Channel; and, in spite of steam, the six hours demanded by Napoleon would not suffice for the mere voyage, since the host of miscellaneous steamships required must be distributed over ports at least a hundred miles apart. Complete and crushing naval victory in the Channel having been first obtained, the crowded transports may get under way. To convoy them to their rendezvous from half a dozen harbours will even then be extremely difficult. The British navy could hardly be annihilated, and two or three fast vessels, dashingy handled, would in a short time make wild havoc among the closely packed mercantile steamers and promiscuous tugs. Assume a landing, and the railway systems of England confer enormous advantages upon the defence, unknown at the beginning of the century. Finally, let it be remembered that armies are now less than ever capable of movement and action without assured communications, and that the command of the Channel must not merely be lost for the moment by England, but retained absolutely by the enemy.

There is but one way to silence for ever the cry of possible invasion, and that is to maintain an adequate navy. Failing such a navy, the empire cannot be held together under the strain of a great war, even if no hostile force ever attempted to set foot on English soil. The greater includes the less, and, if the inexorable demands of imperial defence are fulfilled, the needs of home defence can be easily satisfied. The first step towards a logical solution of the problem is,

therefore, to lay down the maximum strength of probable attack. For the reasons stated, we must be prepared to fight alone; but this does not mean that we shall have to meet the world in arms. Some trust must be placed in the discretion of the Foreign Office, which, though certainly unable to avert a single-handed quarrel, ought surely to be capable of giving us an ally in opposing an alliance. If it cannot do this, it stands confessed as a mere machine for transacting routine business. The responsibility of determining the power or powers upon whose strength the standard of the British navy must be based rests directly upon the Government, and can neither be evaded nor put aside. This authoritatively settled, the corresponding naval needs of the empire can be accurately gauged. No such logical process has been followed in the past, and it is impossible to estimate the waste of national resources, or the extent of the misdirection of national aims, which has resulted from the mistake of approaching the great question of defence at the wrong end.

When once the indispensable data are laid down, all the rest follows. Fleets require secure bases and protected coal at strategic points; but, given that adequate navy which no other force can replace, the standard of passive defence becomes at once defined. The very last thing which naval commanders will do is to employ their ships against coast works, except for a great and definite object. This is one of the clear lessons of the French war. Nelson had a well-founded objection to committing his forces to fruitless attacks on batteries on shore, and hostile vessels which succeeded in reaching the protective zone, even of pitiful defences, were left severely alone. The experience of the American Civil War was entirely similar; but in purely academic discussions the teaching of naval history is of small account, and it appears to be a widely accepted theory that ships of war will rove about seeking for coast defences to attack. Naval dockyards are vital, and to destroy them is worth sacrifice; but, with an adequate navy holding an enemy in check, no attack can possibly be pressed home, and complete organisation, absolute readiness for war, and moderate armaments are the only real requirements of the defence. It was one thing to attack Kinburn when not a Russian ship could keep the seas; it is quite another matter to attack Portsmouth, or Plymouth, without possessing an overwhelming preponderance of ironclads in the Channel. The place of the British squadrons in war is in face of the enemy wherever he may be, and, while they will necessarily

refuse to be tied to any port or section of coast line, they will bar in the most effective way the only possible line of attack. Given an adequate navy, the only defence necessary for the great commercial ports at home is against a raiding cruiser, which can always evade any system of blockade or patrol, and such a measure of protection can be quickly and cheaply provided.

The defences of the coaling stations selected by Lord Carnarvon's Commission are approaching completion; the armaments and the garrisons will follow in the fullness of time. Organisation for war is then their main requirement, and this can be obtained only by placing thoroughly capable officers in command, and entrusting them with something more than the mere shadow of power. The colonies of Hong Kong, Singapore, Ceylon, and Mauritius have willingly accepted a large share of the cost of the defences of these coaling stations, and they have ample reason to complain of the delay of the armaments. Meanwhile, all the self-governing colonies have taken steps of some kind for their defence. In the Australasian group there has been no lack of expenditure. The greater colonies have been able to obtain and mount new-type guns years before they could be provided for any station in War Office charge. Melbourne is now the strongest place in the British empire, and even remote New Zealand has found means to procure the modern armaments in which the so-called imperial fortresses are still conspicuously wanting. These colonies have been practically left to themselves in organising their defences, and have called in the aid of specialists much as a private corporation employs the services of a solicitor. Until the conference of 1887 there was no attempt to deal with the question as a matter of high imperial importance, and the inevitable results have been misdirected aims, a general want of proportion, and some waste. Seven colonies maintain as many different military forces, possessing no common organisation, and at present incapable of being brought together. Yet, under circumstances easily conceivable, by far the most effective defence of the wealthy Australasian capitals would be the power of dealing a heavy blow at a distance from colonial shores. A wise and statesmanlike step was taken by all the group, with the exception of Queensland, in entering into naval partnership with the mother country. The colonies have thus shown their realisation of the vital importance of retaining the command of the seas, and the Australian squadron will shortly have a preponderance, which grave disaster in Euro-



pean waters, freeing an enemy's fleets for distant operations, can alone destroy. Much remains to be done in organising the colonial forces to act as a whole, in welding them into the general scheme of imperial defence of which they might easily form a most valuable part, and in laying down the necessary scale of their local armaments so as to avoid wasteful and ill-advised expenditure.

The Cape Colony is bearing a share of the cost of the defences tardily commenced; but here, too, there is pressing need of organising power. Table Bay, as the great half-way station on the ocean road to the East, is vital to the protection of the commerce of the empire. To maintain the Suez Canal route inviolate during war with a Mediterranean power would be a heavy task, and one not worth the sacrifice it would entail, at least during the earlier stages of hostilities. On the other hand, it will not be difficult with a squadron based on Aden to bar the Red Sea line to an enemy, and our own merchant steamers can take the ocean route with moderate risk, so long as the Cape Peninsula is the centre of a zone swept by British cruisers. The resources of the colony are great, and it contains admirable material for local forces which it is the duty of the imperial government to organise and to aid.

Canada possesses the advantage of a militia system well suited to her requirements, but insufficiently developed and ill found in much of the necessary material of war. Assuming the neutrality of the United States, Canada would be well able to garrison Esquimaux, reinforce Halifax, supply 30,000 useful troops for any imperial service, and call up another 30,000 for training; but months would probably be required for completing equipments and organisation, and most of the necessary arrangements would, under present circumstances, have to be made after the outbreak of war. By aiding the Canadian Militia on the understanding that, in certain eventualities, a strong contingent would be available for imperial purposes at short notice, a great accession of strength would be secured at a cost less than that of adding a half battalion to the standing army.

The minor colonies must necessarily rely for their defence upon the navy; but adequate naval preponderance and the command of the seas cannot altogether fetter the action of fast cruisers and armed merchant steamers possessing large coal endurance. Hostile vessels will roam the seas, especially in the earlier stages of naval war, and, in proportion as they may find themselves hard pressed for coal or other resources,

they will seek to replenish at the cost of undefended ports. Such vessels will be little fitted to face coast works of the simplest type, and their commanders will not greatly care to risk men ashore in face of any organised resistance. Wherever, therefore, there are any germs of military spirit and any real wish for local defence, it should be the object of the Imperial Government to render aid in inverse proportion to the financial prosperity of the colony. Every store of coal held for the navy in war is a distinct imperial gain.

Putting India out of consideration for the moment, and assuming that military intervention in Europe is an anachronism, the requirements of imperial defence will be fulfilled by (1) an adequate navy, whose standard is laid down solely with regard to the maximum naval strength of the power or powers which we may have to face single-handed; (2) coaling stations and naval dockyards\* moderately fortified, efficiently garrisoned, and thoroughly equipped and organised for war; (3) a long-service army, providing garrisons for Gibraltar, Malta, the Cape, and possibly Halifax,† with a reserve at home sufficient to provide a contingent for small wars and for expeditions against the colonial possessions of any European enemy; (4) a short-service army backed by militia and volunteers, thoroughly organised for home defence; (5) well-organised colonial forces completely affiliated to the regular army, and capable of being transferred from one part of the empire to another, in accordance with the exigencies of high imperial strategy.

All-important as is the part necessarily played by India in determining British policy, the vital question of the strength of the navy is practically unaffected by the needs of our greatest dependency. The commerce of India increases *pro tanto* the number of the hostages given to war, but the strength of the navy must be based solely upon the possibilities of naval attack. India is a country of a few great ports, thousands of miles distant from the naval bases of all

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\* To give greater freedom of action to the navy in war, each of the naval stations abroad should have its own base, with repairing facilities and stores, so that the several squadrons may be practically independent of home ports for a long period. Hong Kong, Sydney, Bombay, Table Bay, Bermuda, and Esquimaux are the ports naturally fitted to be the subsidiary bases of the navy in war.

† All other colonial stations in imperial charge should be administered by the Admiralty and garrisoned by marines, by which not merely would efficiency and economy be promoted in a high degree, but the requirements of war would be best fulfilled.

other powers. Calcutta and Rangoon lie far up channels where no hostile vessels would ever venture, unless England had lost the command of the seas. Bombay and Karachi are difficult of access to an enemy's ironclads, on account of their geographical position, and moderate defences will meet their needs. Madras is not a great commercial port, and a small armament will suffice to avert the danger of bombardment. The adequate fleets able to keep the command of the seas, and essential to the empire on other grounds, will, at the same time, secure the means of transporting reinforcements to India, and thus fulfil all her naval requirements.

On the other hand, the land defence of India dominates the military situation, and it is for the sake of India that Great Britain must remain a military power. The Eastern question, in all its many aspects and far-ranging influences, is but the question of the defence of India, and for her sake we fought the campaign of the Crimea, crushed Arabi, still occupy Egypt, and were brought to the verge of war in 1878, and, perhaps, in 1885. Although the decision as to how India is to be defended may have to be taken any day, and will inevitably exercise a powerful influence on the future of the empire, there are no signs whatever that the question has been fairly faced, or that any solution has been officially adopted. There are at least two schools of thought absolutely divergent in political and in strategic principle, but each apparently sustained by profound conviction.

In one respect opinion is rapidly crystallising. It is becoming generally recognised that, whatever may be the commercial advantages of the Suez Canal in peace time, it is not, and never can be, the war route to the East. Assured communication is the first necessity of war, and a channel that can be blocked at any moment by accident or design will not serve the purposes of imperial defence. Transports carrying an army corps for India arrive at Port Said to learn that a vessel has sunk at Kantara, and that at least three weeks will be needed to clear the waterway. This is what might actually occur, and no First Lord of the Admiralty would accept such a risk for a possible gain of only a few days in the voyage to Bombay. Block the Canal and uncertainty ceases, while we fall back on the ocean route, where Great Britain, if she chooses, can be strongest.

Egypt in the permanent possession of a hostile naval power able to use it as an advanced base would be an evident source of danger; but so long as this condition remains unfulfilled we have no real interests whatever in the delta of

the Nile, and the purchase of the Canal shares, though doubtless a sound commercial transaction, had no military importance of any kind.\* Broad tracts of desert guard Egypt on either side, and, given the dominant navy, no foreign power could place a soldier in Cairo without the leave of England.

Constantinople is one of the hundred or more places which at different times and by different authorities have been regarded as the keys of India. It was from no real love of the Turk that we carried out somewhat faltering naval demonstrations in the Marmora and brought native troops to Malta in 1878. Colonel Maurice, in alluding to the 'complete collapse which had attended the Russian attempt to march 'upon Constantinople,' unnecessarily discredits the effect of Lord Beaconsfield's action. Lieutenant Greene, the able American officer who made the campaign with the Russians, points out that at the time of the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano 'there were but 30,000 Turks in front of the 'Russian army, which could have entered Constantinople 'without any difficulty;'† and there is no doubt whatever that the Anglo-Indian troops would have arrived too late to prevent the occupation of the town had Skobelev been permitted to advance. The British navy, however, dominated the situation, and if the fleet had passed into the Black Sea, and gunboats ranged the lower Danube, Russia would have lost the whole of the fruits of the war.

The military aspect has entirely changed since 1878, and against a purely land attack Constantinople is now one of the strongest capitals in the world. Shorn of Bulgaria and part of Roumelia, the Turks are the better able to defend their remaining foothold in Europe, and, without naval supremacy, it would be hopeless for Russia to attack Constantinople to-day. Moreover, the Bulgarian army, which, unlike our own, can be mobilised, may not be left out of account; while Austria, steadily looking in the direction of Salonica, will not acquiesce in a Russian annexation of any portion of the Balkan Peninsula without a supreme effort. Whether the democracy could now be induced to fight for Constantinople is at least doubtful; but it is certain that, except in the case of a Franco-Russian alliance, the British navy, inadequate as it is, can intervene with decisive effect, and

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\* Except in so far as the dividends, when we receive them, will be available to meet military expenditure.

† The Russian Army and its Campaigns.

England may say 'hands off' to Russia without moving a corporal's guard.

In the view of one school of military opinion, the questions of Constantinople and of Asia Minor have little real bearing on the defence of India, except in so far as the possession of the one and encroachment upon the other might increase the strength and resources for offence of the power which Colonel Maurice, writing, as he explains, for 'the world,' terms, with questionable taste, 'our great enemy.' Territorial aggrandisement does not, however, necessarily imply increase of strength, and the present inaccessibility of Russia is her most formidable characteristic.

The other school would defend India by Turkish troops, and would bind Great Britain to an agreement 'with Turkey to assist her in preventing Russia from carrying out further aggressions in Asia Minor, on condition of her assisting us in attacking the Russian lines of communications should Russia move on India.'\* We are to purchase the goodwill of the central alliance at the price of an increased navy, and confidently expect our allies to enter Poland if Russia moves towards Herat. We are to conclude a further bargain with the Porte, guaranteeing Constantinople and the Armenian frontier, and we are to provide two British army corps and a cavalry division as a 'nucleus' in addition to unlimited funds and an indefinite number of 'officers that can be trusted, many of whom can speak Turkish.' In return, England is, apparently, to obtain complete control over the armed strength of Turkey, who, we are to believe, is now 'steadily working up to a standard' which will enable her to put more than seven hundred thousand men in the field. What line of operations is to be assigned from Downing Street to this vast mass of Turks with their little British 'nucleus' is doubtful. They are to be flung upon the Russian line of communication, leading to the Indian frontier, but whether through the Caucasus, or from the Persian Gulf, or both, Colonel Maurice leaves us in doubt.† The school of which he is a spokesman would base imperial defence on that mere chance grouping of the European counters, infelicitously termed the 'balance of power;' while, in order to hold India, we are to rely, in addition, on the visionary control of fictitious forces.

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\* The Balance of Military Power.

† 'We know what we are talking about;' but 'we utterly refuse to enter into further details for the benefit of our enemies.'

The dream of sweeping the Caucasus with a Turkish army dates back to days when every military condition was different. When, in 1855, Mr. Laurence Oliphant vainly pressed a Caucasus campaign upon the authorities who misdirected the Crimean war, the Russian position was weak in the extreme. The Circassians were in a chronic state of rebellion, and Schamyl was a power. 'The Transcaucasian provinces of Abkhasia, Mingrelia, Imeritia, Georgia, and Gouriel were all of them disaffected.'\* It was only necessary to raise the country and grip the passes of Dariel and Derbend, in order to cut Mouravieff's communications with Russia,† and probably secure the surrender or dispersion of his whole army. Now, Circassia is almost as quiet as Kent; Schamyl has no successor, and all the region between the Caspian and the Black Sea has undergone that assimilating process of which Russia so well knows the art. Tiflis is the military centre of some of the best troops of the Russian army, and through it runs the railway connecting the two seas. The Caspian bears a large steam fleet upon its waters, and the completion of the railway from Vladikaukaz to Petrovsk‡ will bring all the resources of European Russia down to its shores. What was possible in 1854 is hopeless to-day, and to entangle our two poor army corps in a rugged region which Russia can now fill with troops at her leisure would be simple lunacy.

Perhaps wildest of all dreams is that of manipulating Turkish armies as a Von Moltke can handle his Germans. There are some few things which British gold will not do, and to weld the military strength of Turkey into a solid whole and secure the unswerving loyalty of self-seeking pashas to each other and to a common cause, requires far more than mere millions, or even the presence of the handful of British officers who can speak the language. The Turk is an ideal soldier, and the appearance of a brigade of Nizams impresses the eye with a sense of fitness which no German force conveys. The one seems to personify infantry to the manner born; the other shows too plainly that it is a work of art—the laborious result of infinite care and thought. Shut up a Turkish garrison in a beleaguered fortress, and—

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\* 'Episodes in a Life of Adventure,' by Laurence Oliphant.

† Except by Astrakhan and the Caspian, at that time a most difficult line on account of the extreme paucity of steamers.

‡ This line, all-important from a military point of view, will probably be completed this year.

as was proved at Silistria and Kars—the men will instinctively turn to the cool-headed Englishman, full of energy and resource, and guileless of palace intrigue. The slightest study of the 1877–8 campaign serves, however, to show the inherent weakness of Turkish armies in the field. Each commander carried on the rôle that suited his fancy; and combined operations were impossible. Suleiman could wantonly shatter his fine force against the crags of the Schipka Pass rather than join hands with Mehemet Ali, whom he was intriguing to supplant; and the canker of mutual disloyalty extended to division and brigade commanders. Shut up in Plevna, the Turk was practically independent of his generals; and his admirable fighting qualities were well displayed. On the Lom, where the conditions demanded discipline in the higher ranks, there was every sign of military feebleness. General Baker, with his wide experience and exceptional qualities, failed utterly to secure the power and win the confidence which would have enabled him to change the whole aspect of the campaign. Hobart Pasha failed as completely to obtain any real service from the Danube flotilla. What faintest possibility is there of manœuvring Turkish armies among the wild mountains of Armenia or the defiles of the Caucasus under the leadership of a few British officers plunged, on the outbreak of war, into the midst of an effete political and military system of which they would have practically no knowledge whatever? If we are to meet the serried masses of Russia on these terms, it is at least necessary that we should take full charge of the Seraskierate at once; since to réorganise the Turkish army and accustom it to British leading after war had been declared would be an impossible task. Such organising power as we may at present have at disposal would, however, be sufficiently taxed in other directions, and a transference of the methods of Pall Mall to the shores of the Bosphorus might, perhaps, prove a doubtful boon to Turkey.

The defence of the Armenian frontier is a different matter. With a British fleet controlling the navigation of the Black Sea and menacing Batoum, with two British army corps landed at Trebizond—not Iskanderoon—and with a lavish expenditure of British money, Erzeroum and the frontier can be held, in the unlikely event of a Russian advance in that direction. Whether England would embark on this enterprise and commit her only field army to operations which would afford no real aid whatever to India may

well be doubted. The advance from the head of the Persian Gulf, which Colonel Maurice appears to regard with vague approval, is even less promising. Whether such an operation is to be carried out with Indian troops, or with Turks led by borrowed officers, is not stated; but it involves a march of 500 miles through a roadless and almost waterless country in order to meet an enemy possessing full command of the Caspian. The hapless force would have to make a further march of 200 miles and to cross the Attrek before striking the terminus of the Central Asian Railway at Krasnovodsk Bay, or cutting that line at Kizil Arvat or Askabad. An advance from Bushire through Yezd and Tun on Sarakhs and Merv appears utterly impracticable. India, at least, will lend no countenance to these wild schemes of the paper strategist, nor will Indian officers accept for a moment the dictum that 'we cannot safely advance upon Herat' from our own territory.

It is impossible to estimate the harm which has been done to the cause of imperial defence by the exaggerated statements to which professional soldiers have committed themselves. The statesmen on whom rests the ultimate responsibility for the military policy of the empire have learned to mistrust those who should have been their surest guides, and to lean upon their own untutored instincts. Military opinion cannot always be unanimous; but the extreme divergence of which there are signs everywhere has sadly weakened its rightful authority. The advance of Russia in Central Asia was absolutely inevitable, and, however unpleasant the fact may have been, there was no necessity whatever for the undignified outcry which has attended each successive step beyond the Caspian. The contention that Great Britain should go out to meet Russia in the Khanates and occupy Sarakhs or Merv was, however, fortunately too much for the national common sense, which will unquestionably reject the dream of driving back 'our great enemy' behind the wall of the Caucasus, or scattering our small army over the caravan routes of Persia. 'Our true policy in India,' has been well defined by a recent writer,\* who urges with irresistible force that, when the danger comes, we must strike from India itself, and that, avoiding all European complications, and maintaining her heritage of the sea against the world, England may calmly await the future. If it is true that a mere frontier raid of subsidised Afridis will



suffice to raise widespread revolt at our backs, then *cadit quæstio*, and India cannot be held. It will, however, occur to most people that the military energies of 'Afridis, Ghil-zais, and Murris' may readily be diverted to the west of the Suleiman range. The fighting races of Afghanistan can be turned to full account when the time comes, if only all interference in their country is meanwhile avoided. Finally, it is to be remembered that the defences of the North-West frontier, which are largely due to Lord Dufferin's administration, have materially changed the military situation. So long as the internal tranquillity of India is assured, a Russian advance to the Indus is now an operation of stupendous difficulty. The power which was completely checked, and might easily have been defeated, by the rough fortifications of a Bulgarian village a short distance from its home frontier, may perhaps hesitate before sending an army to be shattered before Quetta or Peshawur. Such a repulse as was thrice received at Plevna would, if the scene were transferred to Beloochistan or the Punjaub, involve swift and irreparable disaster.

The needs of imperial defence imperatively demand that a question so vital as the manner in which India is to be defended should be definitely settled, and it is appalling to know that there is a hopeless conflict of opinion between the authorities in England and in India, notwithstanding that war appeared imminent less than four years ago. While questions of the first magnitude remain the sport of the schools, there is no possibility whatever of resting war preparations on a stable basis, or adjusting military measures to high imperial requirement. We need before all things a consistent and comprehensive scheme for the defence of the empire as a whole, and this absolute conflict between the plans of campaign evolved in Pall Mall and those emanating from Simla is not merely fatal to all scientific organisation of the imperial resources, but may one day involve national disaster. Organic differences of opinion cannot be satisfactorily settled after war has been declared, and the evils of beginning hostilities without any predetermined line of action were sufficiently illustrated in 1870.

The position of Great Britain among the nations is supremely strong, if only the nature, as well as the standard, of her military preparations is brought into harmony with her true policy. That position is assailable all the world over, so long as no attempt is made to frame and to maintain an organisation in accordance with real needs. The basis of

defence is reliance on the vast internal resources of the empire, which, in the present chaos of military administration, could not be rendered available in a national emergency. The verdict of war is now quickly given, and when hostilities commence the day of organisation has already ended. To determine the necessary strength of the navy is the duty of Government, and to create and maintain that navy, at any sacrifice, is a responsibility from which the nation will not shrink when once it has fully grasped the prime condition of its existence. Coaling stations and naval ports, moderately fortified, but well equipped, ably commanded, and thoroughly organised for war, are the corollary of mobile fleets and the guarantee of unfettered naval action. Even with a less preponderance than Mr. Cobden demanded, the command of the sea is more easily maintained now that steam has bid defiance to the winds; and, given that command, modest coast defences will fulfil all real requirements. The dream of military intervention in Europe must be abandoned; for the days of Marlborough have long passed away, and neither the dignity nor the interests of the empire will be served by attaching a little force as an appendage to the huge armies of the Continent. Carefully avoiding European entanglements, Great Britain will, nevertheless, wield a powerful weapon in her navy should necessity or the dictates of honour compel intervention. So will the proud words of Cromwell be applicable to modern England: 'Peace is desirable with all men, so far as it may be had with conscience and honour. . . . There is not a nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.'

The principles which it has been attempted to formulate touch the root of the organisation of the army. The eight army corps scheme, which so long figured bravely in the official Army List, is now declared to have been 'never intended to do more than expose the weakness of our condition,'\* and two army corps with a cavalry division, completely equipped on the European scale, appear to be the present ideal of military preparation. If, however, it is recognised that to become a mere appendage to an armed nation is not a necessary or desirable function of the British army, other ideals may perhaps present themselves. The great and costly transport trains of continental pattern, for the sake of which, as Sir C. Dilke complains, our field artillery has been ruthlessly sacrificed, are certainly not required for purposes of home

defence. They would be totally unsuited for small wars and equally so for operations in Afghanistan. They will not meet the requirements of a siege of Vladivostock.\* There is no place for them, if once the Marlborough dream is dispelled. The military demands of imperial defence cannot be adequately met by two army corps, which would not, in any case, exist as such till drawn up in line of battle on the plains of Belgium or Roumania. The external functions of the regular army may be stated as follows: in peace, to supply the reliefs and make good the waste of the army in India, and of the garrisons of certain stations abroad; in war, to reinforce the army in India rapidly, and to provide an expeditionary force to act against an enemy's distant possessions, or to deal with semi-civilised races. Troops sent to India at the outbreak of war should be provided with field transport there, as 'an Indian Officer' appears to suggest,† and, if his main thesis is accepted, the necessary preparations should be made at Karachi instead of at Aldershot. In all other cases which are likely to arise, special equipments will be needed which can be provided for only in so far as the probable needs can be foreseen. The breakdown of the Service transport in Egypt clearly proved its unfitness for special conditions, and a German army corps landed at Ismailia complete with every wagon would not have reached Tel el Kebir a day sooner than did Lord Wolseley. The above requirements can be economically met only by a long-service army, and the present system—an attempt to satisfy incompatible conditions by compromise—is necessarily unsatisfactory. The needs of India and of colonial garrisons cannot be made to harmonise with those of home defence, and the result is extravagant expenditure and inefficiency. Localisation, with all its many advantages, breaks down completely when called upon to maintain an army abroad, and the effort to adapt the German system to conditions different in all respects has inevitably failed.

A home army is required to garrison the naval ports, and, by guaranteeing the country against invasion, to free the

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\* Sir C. Dilke's opinion that Russia could be bled to death at Vladivostock is obviously preposterous. The loss of this port would paralyse her naval action in the China seas, but would have no more effect upon her military action in Central Asia than an occupation of Nova Zembla.

† *Fortnightly Review*, February 1889.

mass of the navy for a temporary purpose. In their valuable report on the naval manœuvres of last year, the Admiralty committee \* point out the necessity for 'an effective reserve 'squadron, absolutely confined to home waters, sufficient to 'hold the Channel and protect the coast and commerce of 'the United Kingdom.' Given the presence of this force, and the further naval strength demanded by the committee, invasion would be impossible. It might be desirable, however, for the sake of some great object, to free the reserve squadron for a time, and a well-organised system at home is therefore essential. Success in war depends upon a rapid concentration of force for great ends, and just as, under certain circumstances, it might be advisable to withdraw for a time from the Mediterranean and leave Malta to its own resources, so for a definite object it should be possible to utilise the home defence squadron at a distance from our shores. Further, this squadron might conceivably be temporarily outmatched, and to reinforce it at once might involve the abandonment of some important enterprise. Hence arises the need of a military force for home defence, which can only be met by a strictly localised army recruited for short service, providing large reserves, and closely affiliated to the Militia and Volunteers. Hence also arises the necessity for moderate defences of certain home ports. The object of all fortification is to gain time; and coast defences give time for effective naval combinations.

In addition to furnishing the garrisons of defended ports, the home forces should be able rapidly to mobilise a field army; but the transport may be regulated on a totally different scale from that of the Continent. England is intersected in all directions by railways, admirably managed, and easily able to move an army to any point at short notice if there has been any attempt to organise their resources. Similarly, for service in England, cavalry in the European proportion is evidently unnecessary, and heavier artillery than the approved field type would be an advisable adjunct. If once the principle of creating a force for home defence is accepted, a slavish imitation of German models will no longer satisfy the ambition of military reformers, and fitness for special conditions will be the sole basis of organisation. The home army, including the Militia, should be available for service abroad in case of war, but should remain in peace

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Admirals Sir W. Dowell, Sir R. Vesey Hamilton, and Sir F. Richards.

time in its own districts, each large unit being brought together at suitable intervals for manœuvres. The system of splitting up the home forces into detachments—a legacy of the days before either railways or police existed, and fatal to efficient military training—would gradually disappear under a real local organisation.

In Ireland the present custom of freely employing troops for police purposes, destructive to their training and *morale*, would disappear automatically if the monstrous practice of charging the cost of this misuse of soldiers to army votes were discontinued. The military question of Ireland remains as in 1846, when Sir J. Burgoyne wrote: ‘Ireland’s hope and time for energetic proceedings is to be found in England’s difficulties.’ To occupy Ireland would now offer no real attraction to an enemy, since steam has changed all the conditions which operated in the days of Hoche. The invasion of England would not be in the least facilitated by an occupation of the sister island, and so long as the command of the sea is not permanently lost by Great Britain, the position of a hostile army landed in Ireland would lead to another Sédan. Imperial defence would be hampered by a disaffected Ireland in the exact proportion of the number of troops who might be considered necessary to support the constabulary in preventing a rising. In that sense Ireland is an ever-present source of weakness, and, until some mode of pacifying the country is devised, not only must the evil pointed out by Sir J. Burgoyne remain, but the national cause will suffer in addition from the loss of the strength which Ireland might well contribute to the cause of imperial defence. The soldier has a right to demand from the statesman the solution of a problem less difficult than those successfully dealt with by Austria in Hungary, and now in process of settlement by Germany in Alsace.

Second to an adequate navy, at once the indispensable shield of colonial and commercial Britain, and the strong right arm by which her place among the great powers of Europe can alone be maintained, stands an army organised solely to meet real imperial requirements. England must no longer be sacrificed to India, nor India to England, nor both to the dream of masquerading on European battlefields. The British army, as at present constituted, has grown up on past traditions, modified by accident and a partial adoption of German principles totally inapplicable to the imperial needs. The result is costly failure. To change all this and to devise an harmonious scheme under which all the

vast potential resources at the disposal of the nation can be smoothly and rapidly turned to account when the day of trial arrives, is a difficult, but by no means an impossible, task. It is, however, a task which cannot be attempted until some general agreement as to future military policy has been authoritatively settled as the basis of organisation.

Meanwhile it is necessary to take account of the profound distrust of War Office administration which has grown up in our midst. What Colonel Maurice too lightly describes as 'Lord Randolph's escapade' is an indication of a widespread feeling. Failure to give the country an organisation which is satisfactory at any one point, incapacity for transacting ordinary business with reasonable despatch, inability to procure the armaments which distant colonies acquire with ease, the perpetration of blunders occasionally bordering upon the ludicrous, some scandals—all these things are, rightly or wrongly, charged against the administration of the army, and, when coupled with demands for more and yet more money, have produced a revolt only too natural. The training of the army for war is not entirely dependent upon increased estimates, and Lord Wolseley has plainly told us that it is signally defective. An administration which can be trusted, even one which can claim to be regarded as a good working machine, will find no difficulty in securing the fulfilment of its just demands. Neither the House of Commons nor the country has ever grudged military expenditure upon objects which have been properly explained to them; but both feel growing reluctance to entrust ever-increasing funds to a department whose administrative failure has become a byword.

These remarks are not addressed to the present head of the department, who has endeavoured with great zeal and earnestness to overcome the defects of the system he is called upon to administer. It is the system that is in fault, and probably no man is more conscious of its abuses than the Secretary of State who suffers from them.

There is no inherent incompatibility between military strength and democratic institutions, or the history of the world would be different; but democracies are preternaturally suspicious, and it is necessary to take them into confidence and to lay before them the grounds of naval and military expenditure in terms that they can understand. The cardinal difficulty of imperial defence is that of bringing home to our virtual rulers the conception of such an empire as is our heritage. The idea of a Russia stretching from

Poland to Kamschatka, or of an America striding from the Atlantic to the Pacific, can be grasped readily enough. The British Empire, scattered in fragments over the world, linked only by ocean routes, comprising nationalities without end, embodying governments varying from the severe Crown colony type to practical independence, and bound together by commercial interests of the highest complexity, is at present within the realisation only of the few. The average Englishman reads of Greater Britain much as of Central Africa; and the Board schools, while able to find room for superfluities of all kinds, have so far failed in one of their first duties. Meanwhile the House of Commons appears to grow steadily less qualified for dealing with imperial questions. A House animated by the true spirit of an imperial policy would have long ago demanded a comprehensive scheme of defence based upon real needs, and would have insisted upon readiness for war as the first necessity of national existence.

The future is darkened by many clouds. Possible causes of war abound, some of which do not lie wholly within our control; since a wronged colony may lose patience and claim a support which could not be denied. Great Britain cannot afford to trust to the European chapter of accidents, or to leave her safety to the chance combinations which serve to fascinate the military speculator. She must be prepared to hold her own, relying only on her inherent resources, and on the great natural advantages she possesses, so long as no attempt is made to involve a little standing army in a giant struggle among the armed nations of the Continent.

While there is yet time, it is necessary, not only to make material preparations for the day of trial, but to arrive at some clear understanding as to the first principles of action. Are we to qualify for admission to the central alliance on terms which—so it is implied—are of Prince Bismarck's making, and hand over to others the control of our action? Above all, are we to defend India from India, as 'an Indian Officer' so strongly maintains; or prepare to sweep the Caucasus with Turkish armies, and place British gunboats upon the Caspian? Questions such as these cannot safely await an answer till events inexorably demand it, and while they remain in dispute there is no solid ground on which to base imperial defence. In the striking lines put into the mouth of a 'messenger,' Shakespeare tells the whole story of national indecision:—

' Among the soldiers this is muttered—  
That here you maintain several factions ;  
And whilst a field should be despatched and fought  
You are disputing of your generals.  
One would have ling'ring wars with little cost ;  
Another would fly swift, but wanteth wings ;  
A third man thinks, without expense at all,  
By guileful fair words peace may be obtained.  
Awake, awake, English nobility !  
Let not sloth dim your honours. . . '

END OF VOL. CLXIX.



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*No. CCCXLVII. will be published in July.*





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